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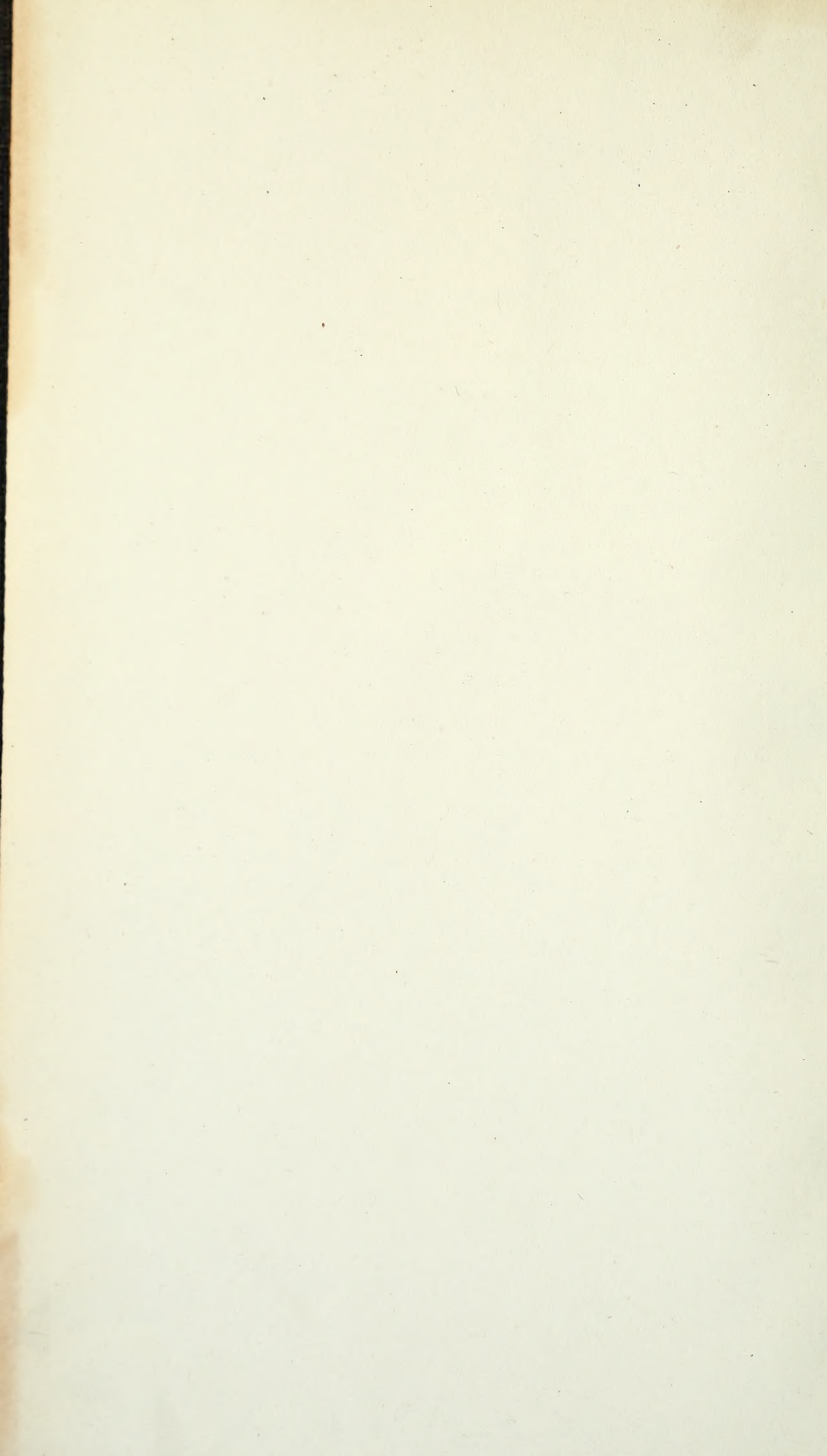
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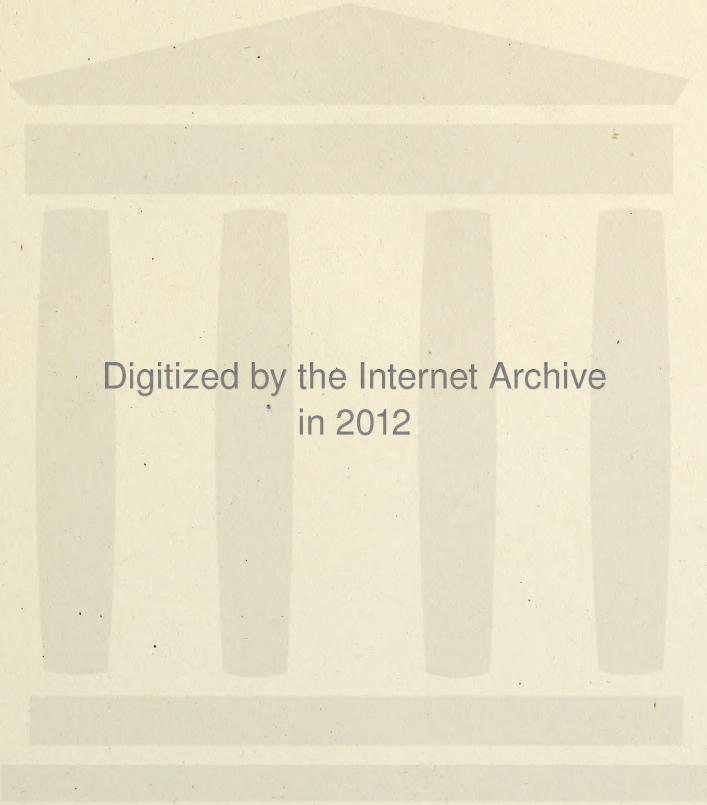
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THE EXTRAORDINARY COMMANDS FROM 80 TO 48 B. C.:
A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF THE PRINCIPATE

THE ultimate basis of the Principate, as established by Augustus, was the *imperium*, unrestricted in its scope, which gave its holder the supreme command over the whole army of the empire, so that all troops took the military oath of allegiance to him and obeyed his orders.¹ The *maius imperium* which the Princeps held was essentially an extraordinary *imperium*, because of the fact that it conferred the sole independent command over all the Roman troops, was not limited to any definite area, and, after a short time, was freed likewise from any temporal restriction. Mommsen² long ago pointed out that this was but the culmination of a series of extraordinary *imperia* of a military nature which had been created from time to time during the last century of the republic, and which must be regarded as preparatory steps in the establishment of the Principate. In this respect the career of Pompey the Great especially foreshadowed that of Augustus.

It is the purpose of this study to trace the history of these extraordinary commands from the reforms of Sulla to the victory of Caesar at Pharsalia: not only such as fall within Mommsen's classification as the commands of extraordinary military officials,³ but all commands which were extraordinary in that they exceeded in some way the *imperia* of the regularly constituted officials and required to be created or defined by a special enactment of the Senate or Comitia. It is hoped that the study of these commands in their chronological order, apart from other political problems of the time,

¹ Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. II., pt. 2 (third ed.), p. 840 ff. All subsequent references to this work are to the third edition.

² *Staatsrecht*, vol. II., pt. 1, p. 662.

³ *Ibid.*

will help to bring into clearer light the essentially military character of the foundations of the Principate.

For the purpose in view it will be found convenient to consider separately the following periods: (I.) 80-70 B. C.; (II.) 70-60 B. C.; (III.) 60-48 B. C.

I. THE EXTRAORDINARY COMMANDS UNDER SENATORIAL CONTROL, 80-70 B. C.

Before the reorganization of the Roman governmental system effected by Sulla in the years 81 and 80 B. C., it had been the regular custom for the consuls, in virtue of their *imperium militiae*, to undertake any military operations required by circumstances arising within or without the empire during their term of office. The exercise of this power had been restricted in some degree by the creation of the provincial governorships, whose holders had authority to deal with such wars as were confined within the limits of their respective spheres, but even within these provinces the consul could exercise his *maius imperium* when occasion demanded. Thus the conduct of wars with other peoples was a recognized part of the consul's duties, and, if he who first undertook the command failed to end the affair, the consul of the following year succeeded to the command of the army in the field, unless the former was retained beyond his regular term, as a proconsul. The determination of the consular *provinciae* had come to be entirely in the hands of the Senate,⁴ and up to 123 B. C. they had been decided upon after the election of the consuls. The Lex Sempronia (*de provinciis consularibus*) of that year weakened the senatorial control by requiring that these *provinciae* be fixed prior to the elections, although the Senate's authority was recognized by a provision forbidding the use of the veto on the senatorial assignments.⁵

But the vicissitudes of war had forced the Romans to depart at times from their regular system. For example, in 211 B. C. Publius Cornelius Scipio, who had not yet held any magistracy, in place of one of the consuls, as they were needed for the conduct of the war in Italy, was entrusted with the command in Spain with the *imperium* of a proconsul, by a special law of the Comitia Centuriata.⁶ In 147 B. C. Scipio Aemilianus, then consul elect, received the command in the war against Carthage by a special vote of the people,⁷ and in

⁴ Livy, XXI. 17 (218 B. C.).

⁵ Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 27; Cicero, *Pro Domo*, 9, 24; *De Provinciis Consularibus*, 8, 17.

⁶ Livy, XXVI. 18; XXVIII. 43, 11.

⁷ Appian, *Libyca*, 112.

the same way Marius, consul for 107, had been appointed to conduct the war against Jugurtha.⁸ In the first case we have to do with the creation of an extraordinary office, and in the last two with the usurpation by the Comitia of the Senate's right to fix the consular provinces.

Military necessities had likewise brought about the four successive consulships of Marius, and the danger of such a prolonged military command, over an army of professional soldiers, in the hands of the first magistrate, had been revealed by the union of the popular demagogues with the soldiers' idol, which caused the temporary success of Saturninus and Glaucia, and the sixth consulship of Marius. That the value of such an important military command in conjunction with the consulship was fully recognized by Roman political parties is shown by the struggle between Marius and Sulla for the command in the Mithradatic War in 88 B. C., when the former actually succeeded in having a law passed which conferred the command upon him, although he was then a *privatus*.⁹ In 83 Sulla demonstrated more clearly than ever that the successful general was master of the political situation. Thus the problem of the command in every war of any considerable magnitude was almost certain to contain a latent danger to the security of the Senate's control of the state.

This fact cannot have escaped the notice of Sulla, when he endeavored to place the Senate once more firmly in the saddle, and the study of the extraordinary commands during the decade following his abdication of the dictatorship will show what measures, if any, he took to protect the Senate against the rise of an ambitious general of the opposing faction, while it may also throw light upon what limitations were placed upon the exercise of the *imperium militiae* by the consuls in office.

(a) *The Command of Pompey in Sicily and in Africa, 82-79 B. C.*

The decade 80-70 B. C. opens with an extraordinary command that had originated during the struggle between Sulla and the party of Marius, namely that of Cnaeus Pompey in Africa, which won him the honor of a triumph on March 12, 79 B. C.¹⁰ The origin and precise nature of this command are not very clearly indicated in our sources. Apparently, up to 82 B. C., Pompey was merely in the position of commander of the forces which he had raised by his own efforts, without any official warrant for his authority, but gladly

⁸ Sallust, *Jug.*, 73, 7; 84, 1.

⁹ Appian, *De Bellis Civilibus*, I. 56.

¹⁰ Granius Licinianus, 36; Livy, *Periochae*, 89; *CIL*. (second ed.), I. 178.

welcomed by Sulla and acting under his orders. However, in that year, while Sulla remained in Italy, Pompey received a commission to carry on the war in Sicily and, later, in Africa. He now exercised an *imperium* bestowed by a decree of the Senate.¹¹ This *imperium* was that of a *propraetor*,¹² but he himself was as yet a mere equestrian, having held no magistracy.¹³ Still, the conferment of *imperium* upon a *privatus* was, as we have seen, not without precedent, and in the turmoil of the civil war would have passed with little comment had not Pompey insisted on a triumph.¹⁴ The novel feature of his appointment was that it was made by the Senate without any participation by the *Comitia*. However, few could have thought of it as the first of a long series of extraordinary commands which had such fatal consequences for the senatorial régime.

(b) *Pompey's Command against Lepidus, 77 B. C.*

After a brief interval, in 77 B. C., Pompey received his second extraordinary command, on the occasion of the revolt of Lepidus against the Senate. Plutarch¹⁵ tells us that Pompey, throwing in his lot with the Senate, was appointed *στρατεύματος ἡγεμών* against Lepidus. Our other sources merely record his part in the struggle without reference to his appointment or position. We have to determine, therefore, whether Pompey actually held an *imperium*, and, if so, what it was. One might suppose that Pompey was merely a *legatus* of Catulus, who was *proconsul* and the senatorial commander. The Senate, as is well known, had control of the appointments of *legati* until 59 B. C.,¹⁶ and his was a senatorial commission. But if such were the case it seems likely that Plutarch would have styled him *ὑποστρατηγός* or *πρεσβεύς*.¹⁷ Further, in view of the fact that Pompey had just recently enjoyed a *propraetorian imperium*, it is hardly likely that he would have been content with a post of lesser rank.

We may conclude then that the senate, having need of an experienced general such as Pompey already was, and fearing that he

¹¹ "Cum imperio, a senatu missus", Livy, *Per.*, 89; *δόγμα συγκλήτου*, Plutarch, *Pompey*, 11.

¹² Gran. Licin., 36: "eques Romanus, quod nemo ante *propraetore* ex Africa triumphavit IV Idus Martias".

¹³ Livy, *Per.*, 89: "adhuc eques Romanus, quod nulli contigerat, ex Africa triumphavit".

¹⁴ From the references quoted it will be seen that this is what created the greatest impression at the time; cf. Plut., *Pomp.*, 14.

¹⁵ *Pomp.*, 16.

¹⁶ Cicero, *In Vatinius*, 15, 35.

¹⁷ As in *Pomp.*, 25.

might join the popular party, sought to bind him more firmly to their interests by giving him a command when he attached himself to their cause. His *imperium* would naturally be defined. That it was not proconsular is certain, for he was under the orders of Catulus, at least nominally.¹⁸ Most probably, therefore, it was a command *pro praetore*. The most important features of this appointment are that it was again as a *privatus* that Pompey received his command, and that he was given it by the Senate.

(c) Pompey's Command against Sertorius in Spain, 77-71 B. C.

In the same year Pompey received his third extraordinary command, regarding which we have fuller information than in the preceding cases. The war against Sertorius in Spain was going badly for the Romans. Metellus, who had been sent out while consul to Hispania Ulterior in 80 B. C. and who had remained there as proconsul, failed to make any headway.¹⁹ In 79 B. C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the praetor governing Hispania Citerior with proconsular rank, had fallen in battle.²⁰ Lucius Manlius, the proconsul from Narbo, coming to the help of Metellus, met the same fate.²¹ The despatch of a new commander was an imperative necessity. It was considered the duty of the consuls to go,²² but they refused.²³ Then Pompey, eager for new laurels, sought the command. He had refused to disband his army at the orders of Catulus, and at the head of his troops awaited the answer to his demand.²⁴ In spite of considerable opposition within their ranks, the senators, on the motion of Lucius Philippus, passed a decree conferring the command upon him.²⁵

Thus Pompey, while still a mere *eques*,²⁶ was entrusted with proconsular *imperium* for the conduct of a serious war. Although exercising this *imperium pro consule*,²⁷ equal with that of Metellus,²⁸ he had not the title proconsul. Indeed, as was remarked sarcastically

¹⁸ *Pomp.*, 17.

¹⁹ Appian, *B. C.*, I. 97; Valerius Maximus, 9, 3, 9.

²⁰ Sallust, *Hist.*, I. 111; Plut., *Sertorius*, 12; Eutropius, VI. 1; Liv., *Per.*, 90.

²¹ Plut., *Sert.*, 12; Liv., *Per.*, 90.

²² Cic., *Pro Lege Manilia*, 21, 62.

²³ *Ibid.*; *Philippica*, XI. 8, 18: "consules recusabant".

²⁴ Plut., *Pomp.*, 17.

²⁵ Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, 21, 62; *Phil.*, XI. 8, 18.

²⁶ *Locc. cit.*; Liv., *Per.*, 91; Plut., *Pomp.*, 17.

²⁷ [Aurel. Vict.], *De Viris Illustribus*, in calling Pompey praetor with proconsular *imperium*, has in mind the constitutional position of the regular governors in Spain. Liv., *Per.*, 91, erroneously has *imperium consulare*.

²⁸ Valerius Maximus, VIII. 15, 8: "pari imperio cum Pio Metello principe civitatis".

in the Senate, he went *pro consulibus, non pro consule*.²⁹ His *provincia* is not specifically recorded. Cicero merely says that Pompey was entrusted with the *bellum Sertorianum*,³⁰ while Plutarch describes him as Μετέλλω βοηθός.³¹ However, it seems beyond question that Pompey's *provincia* was Hither Spain, for no successor was sent to the slain Domitius, and Metellus, governor of the other province, remained in Spain until a few months before the return of Pompey himself in 71.³²

It is interesting to compare this command of Pompey, the first of its kind created under the Sullan "constitution" regarding which we have definite information, with the command conferred upon Publius Cornelius Scipio in 211 B. C., for the latter doubtless served as a precedent for Pompey's appointment. Both men had previously distinguished themselves as soldiers, but Pompey had commanded armies, while Scipio was a mere *tribunus militum*. Neither, however, had as yet held any magistracy. In both cases the appointments were occasioned by the defeat of Roman armies in Spain, where they found their sphere of operations. Their *imperia* were the same—proconsular. But there were some striking differences in the way in which the commands were obtained. Scipio volunteered his services as a simple burgess; Pompey demanded his appointment, with an army at his back. A still greater contrast appears in the authorities conferring these commands. Scipio received his by a *lex* of the Comitia Centuriata; Pompey's was created by a *senatus consultum* without any sanction by the *populus*. Yet the legality of the latter was never questioned.

(d) *The Commands of Lucullus and Cotta in 74 B. C.*

Nicomedes III., king of Bithynia, died in the fall of 75 B. C.³³ and left his kingdom to the Romans.³⁴ Meanwhile Mithradates, king of Pontus, having reorganized his forces after his defeat at Sulla's hands, was in correspondence with Sertorius and preparing to renew his attack of 88 B. C. upon the Roman power in Asia.³⁵ The war began in the spring of 74, while Lucullus and Cotta were the consuls at Rome.³⁶ The consular provinces for the following

²⁹ Cic., *Phil.*, XI. 8, 18.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Pomp.*, 17; Appian, *Iberica*, 76, wrongly calls him the successor of Metellus.

³² Drumann-Groebe, *Geschichte Roms*, IV. 392.

³³ On the question of the year, cf. Maurenbrecher, *Sallusti Historiae*, II. 228.

³⁴ Appian, *B. C.*, I. 111; Liv., *Per.*, 93.

³⁵ Appian, *De Bello Mithridatico*, 70; Plut., *Sert.*, 23; Eutrop., VI. 6.

³⁶ Maurenbrecher, *Sall. Hist.*, loc. cit.

year had been allotted already and Lucullus had obtained Cisalpine Gaul.³⁷ But as there was prospect of a war of considerable magnitude arising in Asia Minor he was anxious to be transferred there and to be entrusted with the command so as to win a reputation that would offset the renown that Pompey was acquiring in Spain.³⁸ At this juncture word came that Octavius, the proconsul of Cilicia, was dead.³⁹ At once Lucullus sought to have his proconsular command transferred to that province, and, having won over to his side Cethegus, the political "boss" of the day, not only attained his immediate object, but also had the conduct of the war against Mithradates placed in his hands.⁴⁰ At the same time his colleague Cotta received a minor command.

Lucullus and Cotta received their commands from the Senate.⁴¹ Cotta was sent to Bithynia to protect the Hellespont,⁴² while to Lucullus were entrusted the main operations—"ut Mithridatem persequeretur".⁴³ The provinces of Cilicia and Asia were placed under his authority.⁴⁴ He was likewise authorized to take one legion from Italy, and to assume command of the two Fimbrian legions still in Asia. A fleet was also placed at his disposal.⁴⁵

The consuls proceeded to their commands during their term of office: therefore with consular *imperium*.⁴⁶ But for the year 73 and subsequently they were proconsuls and had the *imperium proconsulare*.⁴⁷

The power of Lucullus at its height in 70 B. C. is worthy of attention. He had a fleet and an army, and governed practically the whole of Asia Minor, including Asia, Cilicia, and the newly acquired Bithynia. Cotta had only operated on the coast and went home after taking Heraclea in 70 B. C.⁴⁸

The noteworthy features of these two commands are that they

³⁷ Plut., *Luc.*, 5.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Pompey was also threatening to return with his legions, *Pomp.*, 20.

³⁹ Plut., *Luc.*, 6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*; Cic., *Paradoxa*, V. 3, 40.

⁴¹ Cic., *Academica Priora*, II. 1, 1: "ad Mithridaticum bellum missus a senatu"; Memnon, *Fg.*, c. 37.

⁴² Memnon, *loc. cit.*; Plut., *Luc.*, 6; Cic., *Pro Murena*, 15, 33.

⁴³ Cic., *Pro Murena*, 15, 33.

⁴⁴ For Cilicia see above. In Asia no successor was appointed to Marcus Junius, propraetor in 75, and Lucullus reorganized the taxation there in 70 B. C. Plut., *Luc.*, 20, 23; App., *B. M.*, 83; Velleius Paterculus, II. 33; Cic., *Acad. Pr.*, II. 1, 3; Pro Flacco, 85.

⁴⁵ App., *B. M.*, 76; Plut., *Luc.*, 6, 12.

⁴⁶ Liv., *Per.*, 93, 94; Cic., *Pro Mur.*, 15, 33; App., *B. M.*, 72; Maurenbrecher, *Sall. Hist.*, II. 228; "consulari imperio", Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 34, 85.

⁴⁷ Liv., *Per.*, 95.

⁴⁸ Memnon, *Fg.*, 51.

were entrusted by the Senate to the two consuls, and that the latter undertook them during their term of office. Our sources do not comment upon this as an unusual or unconstitutional proceeding.

(e) *The Command of Antonius against the Pirates, 74 B. C.*

In the year in which the consuls Lucullus and Cotta went to the East to carry on war against Mithradates, the strength of the pirates in the Mediterranean caused a special effort to be made to crush them. For this purpose an extraordinary command was created, which, in the absence of the consuls, was conferred upon a praetor, Marcus Antonius, through the influence of Cotta and the faction of Cethegus.⁴⁹

Antonius received this command by a senatorial decree,⁵⁰ by which he was authorized to war against the pirates along the whole coast line of the Mediterranean.⁵¹ His command, almost free from territorial limitations, extending as it did over the whole sea and its shores, was called an *imperium infinitum*,⁵² a term which appeared then for the first time in the history of the extraordinary commands. An inscription from Epidaurus, reading Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν [πάν]των στρατηγοῦ gives the Greek interpretation of his imperium.⁵³ The conception of the *imperium infinitum* associated with the idea of the command at sea was destined to play a very important rôle in the growth of the extraordinary commands.

As a praetor, Antonius must have exercised a praetorian *imperium*, which would have made him equal in rank with the propraeors in the provinces, but subordinate to such governors as had proconsular *imperium*, including Pompey and Lucullus.

(f) *The Command of Crassus against Spartacus, 72 B. C.*

The insurrection of the gladiators and slaves in southern Italy, which had broken out in 73 B. C.,⁵⁴ had assumed alarming propor-

⁴⁹ [Asconius] in *Verr. II.*, p. 206; Vell. Pat., II. 31, 3.

⁵⁰ *Locc. cit.*

⁵¹ [Ascon.] in *Verr. I.*, 60, p. 176: "tota ora maritima"; Lactantius, I. 11; Schol. ad Juv., VIII. 105: "ora maritima qua Romanorum esset imperium"; cf. [Ascon.] in *Verr. II.*, p. 206.

⁵² Cic., *In Verrem, actio secunda*, II. 3, 8: "post M. Antoni infinitum illud imperium"; III. 91, 213: "ita se in isto infinito imperio M. Antonium gessisse"; Lact., I. 11; "curatio infinita", [Ascon.] in *Verr. I.*, 60.

⁵³ *IG.*, IV. 932, 1, 25. That this inscription refers to the Antonius in question and not to his father of the same name (as Fränkel, in *IG.*) seems clearly proven by Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur Gr. Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna, 1909), p. 114.

⁵⁴ Cic., *Ad Atticum*, VI. 2, 8; *De Haruspicum Responsis*, 25; Liv., *Per.*, 95; App., *B. C.*, I. 116, 539; Vell. Pat., II. 30, 5; Plut., *Crass.*, 8; Flor., II. 8, 3; Orosius, V. 21, 1.

tions in the following year. Spartacus, the leader of the gladiators, had defeated both consuls, Lentulus and Gellius, as well as a proconsul and two praetors who exercised subordinate commands.⁵⁵ The situation in 72 was accordingly so serious that the Senate recalled the consuls from the field to make room for a new commander.⁵⁶ Their choice fell upon the praetor Marcus Licinius Crassus, who, when all others shrank from the task, volunteered his services.⁵⁷

As we have no information to the contrary, we must conclude that the *imperium* of Crassus was praetorian, in accordance with his magisterial rank. His sphere of operations was the conduct of the war against the gladiators,⁵⁸ and thus the duration of his command was loosely indicated. The forces at his disposal were six new legions, in addition to the consular legions already in the field.⁵⁹

Crassus received his commission from the Senate.⁶⁰ The circumstances under which he was appointed show that it was the ordinary procedure for the consuls to exercise the military *imperium* within the Italian peninsula, but also that it was within the power of the Senate to supersede them in favor of another general of their own choosing. The extraordinary nature of the command of Crassus, therefore, consists in his appointment while a praetor, when there were consuls still in office. Had there been no consuls in Italy at the time, then the command would naturally have devolved upon one of the praetors.

From the preceding survey of the extraordinary commands from 80 to 70 B. C. we obtain the following results. Three times a private citizen, once the two consuls, and twice a praetor were entrusted with extraordinary *imperia*. These commands they received from the Senate alone, without any expression of the will of the Comitia. The Senate defined the commands as well as created and appointed to them. In point of time the commands of this decade were not definitely restricted, but as they were created for specific purposes they naturally terminated when these military objects were attained. The consuls were able to undertake such commands outside of

⁵⁵ App., *B. C.*, I. 117; Liv., *Per.*, 96; Plut., *Crass.*, 9. The proconsul was C. Cassius, governor of Cisalpine Gaul.

⁵⁶ Oros., V. 24, 5; Plut., *Crass.*, 10. For the date, 72 B. C., cf. Drumann-Groebe, IV. 91.

⁵⁷ App., *B. C.*, I. 118.

⁵⁸ Liv., *Per.*, 96: "idque bellum M. Crasso praetori mandatum est"; Plut., *Crass.*, 10.

⁵⁹ App., *B. C.*, I. 118; Oros., V. 24, 5.

⁶⁰ Plut., *Crass.*, 10; Oros., *loc. cit.*

Italy and, indeed, were looked upon as the first persons to be considered when such nominations were made. Within Italy itself the consuls exercised the *imperium militiae* when need arose, as a matter of course, without this being considered as an extraordinary command. Consequently we are obliged to conclude that Sulla had passed no law making the consulship a purely civil office.⁶¹ However, in practice, the consuls were not regularly employed for overseas campaigns, and, as there was little opportunity for the exercise of their military *imperium* within the boundaries of the peninsula, practically, if not theoretically, their duties were almost exclusively of a civil character.⁶² The idea of the consular *imperium* as higher than that of all provincial governors still remained; likewise the view that the consuls could exercise this outside of Italy.⁶³ The consuls had not lost the *imperium militiae*⁶⁴ although it tended to become a dormant right. And so when they were called upon to exercise it outside of Italy, they did so by virtue of a special senatorial decree which gave them what was really an extraordinary command. Even in Italy the exercise of the *imperium* by the consuls might be suspended by the Senate in favor of an extraordinary commander.

Accordingly, we see that the Senate was in possession of an apparently unchallenged right to select any person it chose to exercise military *imperium* in any sphere determined by itself. The question, then, arises, "Did the Senate acquire this power by one of Sulla's laws?" At any rate we have no mention of such an enactment. But the creation of extraordinary *imperia* had previously been a prerogative of the Comitia and the action of the Senate was at least contrary to precedent.⁶⁵ Possibly it may have been looked upon as a development of the power of the Senate over the allotment of the provinces.

The object of the Senate's action is not far to seek. By exercising a free choice in the appointment of a commander the Senate was able to avoid entrusting an important campaign to an incapable consul and could utilize the services of the best general or generals at its disposal. Furthermore, it hoped in this way to be able to prevent a suspected opponent, especially if a consul, from obtaining a command that might give him the power to undermine the Senate's

⁶¹ As Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I. 378.

⁶² This is the view of Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, p. 238, note 3.

⁶³ Cic., *Phil.*, IV. 9: "in consulis jure et imperio debent esse provinciae"; *Ad Att.*, VIII. 15: "consules, quibus more majorum concessum est, vel omnes adire provincias".

⁶⁴ As Mommsen implies, *Staatsr.*, vol. II., pt. 1, p. 654; vol. II., pt. 2, p. 846; cf. I. 57.

⁶⁵ Mommsen, *Staatsr.*, vol. II., pt. 1, p. 658.

influence. Doubtless the Senate expected its appointees quietly to resign their commands at its behest. The question was, could it retain this power over the extraordinary commands and would its commanders always prove subservient to its authority.

Finally, we have noted the first appearance of an *imperium in finitum* in the shape of an extraordinary command at sea, a sphere which, with the lapse of the active exercise of the consuls' military *imperium*, stood outside of any permanent command.⁶⁶

II. THE RIVALRY OF THE SENATE AND THE COMITIA FOR THE CONTROL OF THE EXTRAORDINARY COMMANDS, 70-60 B. C.

Before taking up the extraordinary commands of this period it is necessary to call attention to the restoration of the tribunician power, which Sulla had so narrowly restricted. By the Lex Aurelia of 75 B. C. the law which made the tribunate a bar to other offices was revoked,⁶⁷ and, in the consulate of Pompey and Crassus, 70 B. C., this office recovered the remainder of the rights of which it had been deprived, including the power to initiate legislation.⁶⁸ This was destined to prove a very important factor in the creation of future extraordinary commands.

(a) *The Command of Pompey against the Pirates, 67 B. C.*

Marcus Antonius, the praetor, who, as we have seen, had been sent with an extraordinary command against the pirates in 74, had failed to accomplish anything before his death in 72.⁶⁹ The ravages of these corsairs subsequently extended so widely and the damage they inflicted upon commerce was so great that Rome was again obliged to take action against them. The result was that Pompey, now the recognized leader of the popular party, was appointed to sweep the pirates from the seas.

This extraordinary command of Pompey was created by a law proposed by the tribune Aulus Gabinius,⁷⁰ to appoint a single commander against the pirates,⁷¹ which was passed after considerable opposition from the senatorial faction.⁷² Although this law did not name the person upon whom this command was to be conferred,

⁶⁶ Momm., *Staatsr.*, vol. II., pt. 1, p. 654.

⁶⁷ Ascon. in *Cornel.*, pp. 66, 67.

⁶⁸ Liv., *Per.*, 97; Vell. Pat., II. 30; Plut., *Pomp.*, 22.

⁶⁹ Liv., *Per.*, 97.

⁷⁰ Liv., *Per.*, 99; Plut., *Pomp.*, 25; Dio, XXXVI. 23-24.

⁷¹ Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, 17, 52: "lex de uno imperatore contra piratos constituendo"; Dio, XXXVI. 23: *στρατηγὸν ἓνα αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ' ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς.*

⁷² Dio, XXXVI. 24; Plut., *Pomp.*, 25.

only restricting the appointment to persons of consular rank,⁷³ yet the opinion of the voters was so clearly expressed in a *contio* that the choice of Pompey was a certainty.⁷⁴ His actual nomination to the command was made in a *senatus consultum*,⁷⁵ in accordance with the terms of the law.

Pompey's *provincia* was defined by the Gabinian law as embracing the whole sea within the Pillars of Hercules and all Roman territory to a distance of fifty miles inland, including the islands.⁷⁶ The appointment was for three years and carried with it extensive powers.⁷⁷ These included the right to select *legati* of senatorial rank, to raise money in addition to what he received from the quaestors, and to use his discretion in recruiting soldiers and men for his fleet.⁷⁸ The number of *legati* was at first fixed at fifteen but was later raised to twenty-four; likewise the naval contingent was increased from 200 to 500 ships; and two quaestors were attached to his command. These additions were made through a law of the Comitia.⁷⁹

The extent of Pompey's *provincia* naturally brought his *imperium* into conflict with that of the provincial governors: hence it required precise definition. Accordingly it was defined as equal with the *imperia* of the provincial governors of proconsular rank, "*imperium aequum in omnibus provinciis cum proconsulibus*".⁸⁰ With considerable exaggeration Plutarch calls it a "monarchy" and "an absolute universal authority". Like the command of Antonius in 74, it was also an *imperium infinitum* and may be fully defined as an *imperium infinitum aequum*. Mommsen⁸¹ thought of it as the old unlimited consular *imperium* with the restriction that on the coasts of the empire it was equal to that of the rulers of the provinces in question, but not superior. However, that interpretation does not seem quite satisfactory, for, although the extent of Pompey's *provincia* recalls the old sphere of the consul's activities, nevertheless not only in the provinces but also in Italy⁸² and undoubtedly at sea

⁷³ Dio, *loc. cit.*; Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*, 17, 52.

⁷⁴ Plut., *Pomp.*, 25; Dio, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁵ Vell. Pat., II. 31, 3; Dio, XXXVI. 37.

⁷⁶ App., *B. M.*, 94; Vell. Pat., II. 31, 3; Plut., *Pomp.*, 25; Dio. XXXVI. 36a and 37, 1.

⁷⁷ Dio, XXXVI. 23; App., *B. M.*, 94.

⁷⁸ App., *B. M.*, 94, gives 6000 Attic talents as the amount received from the treasury; Plut., *Pomp.*, 25; Dio, XXXVI. 23-24.

⁷⁹ Plut., *Pomp.*, 25, who gives the troops at his disposal as 120,000 foot and 5000 horse.

⁸⁰ Vell. Pat., II. 31, 3, who points out the analogy between this command and that of Antonius seven years before; Dio, XXXVI. 37, 1.

⁸¹ *Staatsr.*, II. 654.

⁸² Dio, XXXVI. 37, 1.

it was only an *imperium pro consule*. The best evidences that it was an *imperium aequum* and not *maius* are the refusals of Metellus, proconsul in Crete,⁸³ and Piso in Gaul⁸⁴ to submit to Pompey's orders.

(b) *The Command of Pompey in the East, 66 B. C.*

Within three months after the passing of the Gabinian law Pompey had completed his task of clearing the Mediterranean of pirates.⁸⁵ But the war with Mithradates and Armenia still lingered on. Lucullus, owing to the mutiny of his troops, had been unable to carry out his plans and the enemy had begun to recover lost ground.⁸⁶ Besides he had offended the capitalist class by his reorganization of the tribute of Asia. Already he had been superseded in the command of Asia, Bithynia, and Cilicia, and now a movement was on foot to take away the remnants of his power.⁸⁷ This was finally accomplished in 66 B. C. by a law of the tribune Manilius,⁸⁸ which transferred the command of Lucullus to Pompey, much to the dissatisfaction of the senatorial party.

This Manilian law extended the *provincia* of Pompey by the addition of the command against Mithradates and Tigranes, of the territory still under the authority of Lucullus, of Bithynia where Glabrio was governor, and of Cilicia.⁸⁹ Two years of the time allotted for the command against the pirates had still to run, so the powers he had acquired by the Gabinian law had not lapsed. For the new command no specific limit was set.

Pompey's *imperium* remained as before, ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμοίας ἐξουσίας, as Appian expresses it.⁹⁰ But he now received the general power to make peace or war wherever he wished,⁹¹ and in Plutarch⁹² his position appears as the concentration of the whole power of the state in one hand.

⁸³ Liv., *Per.*, 99; Plut., *Pomp.*, 29.

⁸⁴ Dio, XXXVI. 37, 2.

⁸⁵ Plut., *Pomp.*, 28.

⁸⁶ Plut., *Luc.*, 34 and 35.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁸⁸ Cic., *Pro Leg. Man.*; Vell. Pat., II. 33; Liv., *Per.*, 100; Plut., *Pomp.*, 30; *Luc.*, 35; Dio, XXXVI. 42-43.

⁸⁹ Liv., *Per.*, 100; Vell. Pat., II. 33; App., *B. M.*, 97; Plut., *Pomp.*, 30; *Luc.*, 35; Dio, XXXVI. 42.

⁹⁰ *B. M.*, 97.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*: αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα, ὅπῃ θέλοι, συντίθεσθαι τε καὶ πολεμεῖν, καὶ φίλους ἢ πολεμίους Ῥωμαίους οὕς δοκιμάσειε ποιεῖσθαι.

⁹² *Pomp.*, 30.

(b) *The Proposed Land Commission of Servilius Rullus, 64-63 B. C.*

While Pompey was absent in the East several attempts were made by other prominent leaders of the popular party to secure for themselves extraordinary commands to counterbalance his increasing power.

The first of these attempts, regarding which the details are obscure, had something to do with Egypt, and seems to have been the result of a coalition between Caesar and Crassus. In 65 B. C. Crassus made an unsuccessful attempt to enroll Egypt and Cyprus among the Roman provinces, on the basis of the alleged will of Alexander, king of Egypt, who died in 81 B. C.⁹³

With this move of Crassus coincides an attempt on the part of Julius Caesar to obtain an extraordinary *imperium* by a plébiscite presented by some of the tribunes to assign Egypt to him as his province.⁹⁴ This proposition likewise failed because of the vehement opposition of the opposite faction. But in the following year the same men launched a still more ambitious project.

This was contained in the land law introduced by the tribune P. Servilius Rullus. The agitation for this measure had begun shortly after the consular elections in 64, and its definite provisions were known after the tribunician elections of the same year.⁹⁵ It was opposed by Cicero in his *De Lege Agraria* of January 1, 63, and was subsequently withdrawn.⁹⁶ Although this proposal failed to become law, the extraordinary command which it aimed to create deserves attention.

This extraordinary command was to be vested in a land commission of ten members,⁹⁷ to be elected from candidates of praetorian rank who should announce their own candidature. The election was to take place in a special Comitia of seventeen tribes, whom Rullus should choose by lot.⁹⁸ By these means Pompey would be excluded from the list of candidates and the conduct of the elections placed in the hands of the authors of the law. No names were proposed by Rullus, but all were aware that the scheme was concocted in the interests of Crassus and Caesar, and that they would be the dominating members of the commission.⁹⁹

The term of office for the commissioners was to be five years.

⁹³ Cic., *De Lege Agraria*, II. 17, 44; Plut., *Crass.*, 13.

⁹⁴ Suetonius, *Julius*, 11.

⁹⁵ December 10. Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, II. 5, 11 and 13; Plut., *Cic.*, 12.

⁹⁶ Cic., *In Pisonem*, 2, 4; Plut., *Cic.*, 12.

⁹⁷ Plut., *loc. cit.*

⁹⁸ Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, II. 7, 16 and 18; 8, 21; 12, 31.

⁹⁹ Cic., *op. cit.*, I. 1, 1; I. 5, 16; II. 17, 44 and 46.

Their powers were very extensive, including the right to sell the *ager publicus* in Italy, Syria, and Pompey's recent conquests, to exercise judicial authority, to confiscate lands, to found colonies, to receive funds from the treasury, and to enroll and maintain as many soldiers as they required.¹⁰⁰ They were also to be provided with two hundred aides from the equestrian order.¹⁰¹ It was also suspected that the backers of this measure intended to stretch their authority over Egypt, on the pretext of the will of King Alexander.¹⁰²

The effect of this measure would have been to place in the hands of the ten commissioners an *imperium* or military command effective both in Italy and in the provinces, backed by an unlimited army, the maintenance of which was guaranteed by the revenues they would control, and supported by the right of civil jurisdiction. The military character of this board was but thinly veiled by its nominal duty of disposing of the public land. However, the attack upon the Senate's prerogative of administering the latter, as well as the general mistrust of the purposes of such a measure, caused such a strong opposition that its sponsors recognized their defeat without bringing the matter to a vote.

The most striking change that appears in this period with regard to the extraordinary commands is that the Comitia asserted and made good its right to create such commands. Not only this, but it also exercised the power of enlarging the sphere of an *imperium* already established, in conferring upon Pompey the command against Mithradates in addition to that against the pirates. From another point of view this action is the exercise of the right to depose a senatorial commander and transfer his command to another officer already in the field. It is true that the actual appointment was still made by the Senate, but the Comitia defined the number and the qualifications of the appointees. In the case of the proposed land commission, the members were to have been elected, but here there was no violation of precedent, for this commission could claim to be of the same character as the *IIIviri agris assignandis dandis* created in 133 B. C., who were elected by the Comitia. The unusual feature here was the clothing of such commissioners with military authority, which gave them an extraordinary *imperium*.

The bitter opposition which the Senate offered to the Gabinian law¹⁰³ shows that they regarded it as a violation of senatorial rights,

¹⁰⁰ Cic., *op. cit.*, II. 15; Plut., *Cic.*, 12.

¹⁰¹ Plut., *loc. cit.*

¹⁰² Cic., *De Leg. Agr.*, I. 1, 1; 2, 16, 41; II. 17, 44.

¹⁰³ Dio, XXXVI. 23 ff.

and saw in it a deathblow to the retention of the control of the extraordinary commands in the hands of the Senate.

The command of Pompey in 67 was limited to three years, and the proposed land commission was to hold power for five. Thus we find that the idea had developed of fixing a definite limit for the duration of such commands. This is perhaps an indication that the extraordinary *imperia* were coming to be looked upon as pro-magistracies and, like these, tenable for definite terms only. However, it may be simply a proof that the idea of an *imperium* unlimited in time was beginning to cause wide-spread suspicion and alarm.

The history of the second decade following the death of Sulla is dominated by the personality of Pompey, and there can be no doubt that his aims were the determining factors in the creation of the extraordinary commands of the time. His policy seems to have aimed at securing for himself the conduct of all important military operations carried on by the Roman state, and to leave no opportunities for rivals to acquire military renown. Seeing that the Senate would not fall in with his views, he turned to the popular party. By restoring to the tribunate the power of initiating legislation he both won the support of the *populares* and made the tribunate an instrument for carrying out his ideas.¹⁰⁴ Thus it was the alliance of the general and the demagogue which wrested from the Senate the control of the extraordinary commands. But what this method could accomplish for one commander, it could also accomplish for his rival, as the following years were to show.¹⁰⁵

III. THE RIVAL COMMANDS OF POMPEY, CAESAR, AND CRASSUS, 60-48 B. C.

(a) *Caesar's Command in Gaul, 59 B. C.*

The election of Julius Caesar to the consulship for the year 59, one of the fruits of the informal coalition known as the First Triumvirate, was a direct, if not immediately recognized, challenge of the position which Pompey had held during the previous decade.

The opportunity to lay a firm basis for his future career came

¹⁰⁴ Plut., *Pomp.*, 25, indicates collusion between Pompey and Gabinius; Dio, XXXVI. 23, 24, suggests the same, although admitting that Gabinius may have acted from a desire to curry favor with Pompey.

¹⁰⁵ Perhaps a word should be said regarding the command of Metellus against the Cretans (68-67 B. C.). This has not been treated as an extraordinary command, for it was a regular proconsular *provincia*. It was one of the provinces assigned by the Senate for the consuls of 69, and for which the latter drew lots. Hortensius obtained this as his province, but withdrew in favor of his colleague Metellus, who left Italy for Crete in 68 (Xiphil., p. 3, R. Steph.; Drumann-Gr., II. 42).

to Caesar through the death of Q. Metellus Celer, the proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul, in February, 59 B. C.,¹⁰⁶ when there was prospect of a war breaking out in Transalpine Gaul in the near future.¹⁰⁷ The Senate, in accordance with the Sempronian law, had allotted the consular provinces for 58 already. According to Suetonius,¹⁰⁸ these were *silvae collesque*, spheres where no opportunity could arise to make the proconsuls dangerous to the Senate's authority. It was necessary to pass a special law to effect any change in these arrangements. And so Caesar secured the passing of the Lex Vatinia, which created for him an extraordinary command, including the vacant province of Cisalpine Gaul and thus involving the conduct of operations in case of any movement among the Gauls.¹⁰⁹ A *senatus consultum*, which sanctioned this law, increased the powers conferred by the latter.¹¹⁰

The Lex Vatinia, which was carried by a display of armed force on the part of Pompey,¹¹¹ gave Caesar the command of Illyricum and Cisalpine Gaul for a term of five years, with a garrison of three legions.¹¹² The *senatus consultum*, passed on a motion of Pompey, added Transalpine Gaul and one legion.¹¹³ This command, as we have seen, extended for a period of five years. Therefore, since it terminated on March 1, 54 B. C.,¹¹⁴ it must have been reckoned from March 1, 59, and for the rest of the year 59 must have run concurrently with Caesar's consulship.¹¹⁵

The *senatus consultum* also gave Caesar the right to appoint *legati* at his discretion,¹¹⁶ possibly of proprætorian rank,¹¹⁷ and granted him money from the *aerarium* for his expenses.¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁶ Cic., *Pro Cælio*, 24, 59.

¹⁰⁷ Cic., *De Divinatione*, II. 41, 90; *Ad Att.*, I. 19, 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Jul.*, 19, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Suet., *Jul.*, 22, 1; Dio, XXXVIII. 8, 5.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Dio, XXXVII. 57, 2; Plut., *Caes.*, 14; Zonaras, X. 6.

¹¹² Suet., *Jul.*, 22, 1; Dio, XXXVIII. 8, 5; App., *B. C.*, II. 13; Plut., *Caes.*, 14, 6; *Pomp.*, 48, 3; *Cato Min.*, 33, 3; Vell. Pat., II. 44, 5; Oros., VI. 7, 1, giving seven legions; Eutrop., VI. 17, 1, ten legions; Zon., *loc. cit.*; all fail to distinguish the two separate conferments.

¹¹³ Cic., *Ad Att.*, VIII. 3, 3; Suet., *loc. cit.*; Dio, *loc. cit.*; Oros., *loc. cit.* This included the Roman province later known as Gallia Narbonensis, Caesar, *B. G.*, I. 10, 5; VII. 1; VII. 6, 1, etc.; Liv., *Per.*, 103; cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, III. 190; T. Rice Holmes, *Conquest of Gaul* (1899), pp. 21, 195, 823.

¹¹⁴ Cic., *De Prov. Cons.*, 15.

¹¹⁵ Hirschfeld, in *Klio*, IV. 176 (1904).

¹¹⁶ Cic., *De Prov. Cons.*, 17, 42; *In Vat.*, 15, 36.

¹¹⁷ E. G., Labienus, *Caes.*, *B. G.*, I. 21; cf. Momms., *Staatsr.*, vol. II., pt. 1, p. 657, note 1.

¹¹⁸ Cic., *Ad Fam.*, I. 7, 10.

Throughout the year 59 Caesar held the *imperium consulare*, but after his abdication of the consulship on December 31 of that year, his *imperium* was *pro consule*.

In 56 B. C. there was held the conference of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus at Luca, which resulted in the extension of Caesar's command in Gaul and the extraordinary provincial commands of the two other members of this triumvirate.¹¹⁹

This prorogation of Caesar's *imperium* was granted by a law introduced by Pompey during the latter's second consulship, 55 B. C.¹²⁰ The prorogation went into effect upon the expiration of the first term on March 1, 54. For the purpose of this study it is of no importance whether we consider that the duration of Caesar's second term was three¹²¹ or five years,¹²² or hold that no definite time limit was set, but only a provision introduced forbidding the discussion of the appointment of his successor prior to March 1, 50 B. C.¹²³

(b) *The Command of Crassus in Syria and the East, 55 B. C.*

One of the fruits of the conference of Luca was the election of Pompey and Crassus to the consulate for 55, and their subsequent appointment to proconsular commands which in importance rivalled Caesar's command of 59.¹²⁴

During their consulship the tribune Gaius Trebonius, at their instigation, introduced a law which took the definition of their proconsular commands out of the hands of the Senate and created two extraordinary commands for which the consuls subsequently drew lots.¹²⁵ This law met with bitter opposition from Cato and the senatorial faction, and was only passed after a considerable display of force.

The command which fell to the lot of Crassus included Syria and the war against the Parthians, with some authority over the adjacent provinces.¹²⁶ It was to last for five years, and gave him power to

¹¹⁹ App., *B. C.*, II. 17; Suet., *Jul.*, 24; Plut., *Pomp.*, 51-52; *Caes.*, 21; *Crass.*, 14, 15.

¹²⁰ Vell. Pat., II. 46: "lege quam Pompeius ad populum tulit".

¹²¹ Dio, XXXIX. 33.

¹²² Vell. Pat., II. 46; Suet., *Jul.*, 24; Plut., *Pomp.*, 51-52; *Caes.*, 21; *Crass.*, 15; App., *B. C.*, II. 17, 63; II. 18, 65; and possibly Cic., *Phil.*, II. 10, 24; *Ad Att.*, VII. 6, 2; Holzapfel, in *Klio*, IV. 327 f.; V. 107 f.

¹²³ Hirschfeld, in *Klio*, IV. 75 ff.

¹²⁴ Suet., *Jul.*, 24; Plut., *Pomp.*, 51; *Cato Min.*, 41.

¹²⁵ Liv., *Per.*, 105; Plut., *Pomp.*, 52; *Cato Min.*, 43; *Crass.*, 15; Dio, XXXIX. 33, 2.

¹²⁶ *Locc. cit.*; and App., *B. C.*, II. 18, 65; Dio, XXXIX. 33, 2; Crassus also had some designs on Egypt, Plut., *Cato Min.*, 43.

raise armies of citizens and allies at will, to maintain naval forces, and to make war and peace with whomsoever he chose.

As with Caesar in 59, Crassus's command for part of the year 55 ran concurrently with his consulship, for Crassus left Rome for his province in the course of that year.¹²⁷

We shall see that the province which fell to the lot of Pompey was no less important than that of Crassus.

(c) *Pompey's Curatorship of the Corn Supply, 57 B. C.*

Although Pompey received the *cura annonae* in 57 B. C., I have postponed the discussion of it until after taking up the commands of Caesar and Crassus so as to trace more clearly the concentration of offices in Pompey's hands up to 52 B. C.

The inadequate arrangements for the maintenance of a regular grain supply for the city of Rome had resulted in a famine in 57.¹²⁸ The clamors of the mob induced the consuls to propose a law to entrust Pompey with the control of the grain traffic throughout the Roman world.¹²⁹ A rival measure, introduced by one Messius, would have conferred far greater powers upon him, but the former proposal, supported by Cicero, became law.¹³⁰

By this law Pompey received the *cura annonae*, which Cicero¹³¹ describes as "omnis potestas rei frumentariae toto orbe terrarum", and which included the control of the ports, the markets, and the traffic in grain within the Roman dominions.¹³²

His term of office was fixed at five years,¹³³ and he had the right to appoint fifteen *legati*.¹³⁴ Within Italy and without he exercised an *imperium pro consule*,¹³⁵ which, in the provinces, was equivalent to the old *imperium infinitum aequum* which he had enjoyed in 67.¹³⁶

Previously, Roman grain commissioners had lacked military authority, and probably in this case also the *cura annonae* was meant to be essentially a "food dictatorship". But, owing to the military

¹²⁷ Plut., *Pomp.*, 52.

¹²⁸ Dio, XXXIX. 9, 2; Plut., *Pomp.*, 49.

¹²⁹ Dio, *loc. cit.*; Cic., *Ad Att.*, IV. 1, 6, 7. Pompey was now reconciled with the Senate and Cicero.

¹³⁰ Cic., *loc. cit.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Plut., *Pomp.*, 49; Dio, XXXIX. 9.

¹³³ Liv., *Per.*, 104: "Cn. Pompeio per quinquennium annonae cura mandata est".

¹³⁴ Cic., *Ad Att.*, IV. 1, 6, 7. Cicero was the first appointed.

¹³⁵ Dio, XXXIX. 9.

¹³⁶ Messius had proposed "maius imperium, omnem pecuniae potestatem", a fleet, and an army. Cic., *Ad Att.*, IV. 1, 7.

power which it conferred, in Pompey's hands it became really an extraordinary command. There can scarcely be any doubt that Pompey, who was then without office or command, regarded it as an opportunity to acquire once more the military *imperium*, for the powers which he received were practically dictated by himself. His supporters looked upon this office in the same way and favored the proposal of Messius, which would have given Pompey the *maius imperium* in the provinces.¹³⁷

(d) *The Command of Pompey in Spain and Africa, 55 B. C.*

The circumstances which attended Pompey's appointment to his extraordinary provincial command in 55 B. C. have been recounted in connection with the command of Crassus received at the same time.

By the Trebonian law of that year Pompey received Libya and the two Spanish provinces, with four legions.¹³⁸ His command commenced in 55 B. C. and ran for five years, and he had the same powers to raise armies from citizens and allies, to maintain naval forces, and to make war and peace, that Crassus enjoyed.¹³⁹ But, in addition, Pompey was granted the privilege of remaining in Italy after the expiration of his consulship and of governing his provinces through *legati*.¹⁴⁰ This concession was made probably on account of his duties in connection with the *cura annonae*.

This provincial command did not lapse until 51, but in 52, while in control of affairs at Rome, Pompey secured for himself an extension of it for another five years,¹⁴¹ in imitation of the prorogation of Caesar's *imperium* in 55.

(e) *The Position of Pompey in 52 B. C.*

In the year 52 B. C. Pompey reached the height of his official career. He was appointed sole consul to check the disorders in the city with which the Senate and the regular magistrates had proved unable to cope, and which had prevented the holding of the elections for the consulship of that year.¹⁴²

Pompey was appointed by an *interrex*, in accordance with a decree of the Senate.¹⁴³ The idea had been entertained of making

¹³⁷ Cic., *loc. cit.*; cf. Momm., *Staatsr.* vol. II., pt. 1, p. 672.

¹³⁸ Liv., *Per.*, 105; App., *B. C.*, II. 18, 65; Plut., *Pomp.*, 52; *Crass.*, 15; *Caes.*, 28; *Cato Min.*, 43; Dio, XXXIX. 33.

¹³⁹ *Locc. citt.*

¹⁴⁰ Plut., *Pomp.*, 53; *Crass.*, 16; *Cato Min.*, 45.

¹⁴¹ Plut., *Caes.*, 28, 5; *Pomp.*, 55 (four years); Dio, XL. 56, 2.

¹⁴² Liv., *Per.*, 107; Dio, XL. 49, 50, 1; Plut., *Pomp.*, 54.

¹⁴³ Suet., *Jul.*, 26; Plut., *loc. cit.*; *Cato Min.*, 47; Dio, *loc. cit.*

Pompey a dictator, but it had been abandoned owing to the opposition of Cato.¹⁴⁴ However, there was but little more than a difference of title between the two positions, for, as Appian says,¹⁴⁵ he had the *ἐξουσίαν δικτάτορος, ἄρχων μόνος, τὴν δ' εὐθυναν ὑπάτου*. The twenty-four lictors bearing axes within the *pomerium* and the exemption from being called to account for his conduct were all that Pompey lacked of the dictator's powers. As the dictator could choose his *magister equitum*, so Pompey was given the privilege of nominating a colleague after two months, if he so desired, with the sole restriction that this colleague should not be Caesar.¹⁴⁶ This was the first sole consulship in Roman history.¹⁴⁷ And Pompey's appointment to it was a violation of the law regulating re-election to the consulship, for, as he had been consul in 55, he was ineligible to hold that office again before 45 B. C.

At the same time, Pompey was still in enjoyment of his control of the *cura annonae* and his extraordinary provincial command. And in this year he received a grant of one thousand talents annually from the *aerarium* for the upkeep of his legions.¹⁴⁸

(f) *Pompey's Status from 52 to 48 B. C.*

Pompey's *cura annonae* lapsed in the course of the year 52 B. C., and his consulship terminated at the close of the same year. However, he still possessed his proconsular command and retained the privilege of remaining in Italy.¹⁴⁹ This proconsular status he retained until his death in 48, for his second term of office was not to terminate until the end of 47.

However, in 49 Pompey received additional authority. The *senatus consultum ultimum* of January 7 authorized the consuls, praetors, tribunes of the plebs, and whatever proconsuls might be at Rome, to see to it that no harm overtook the state.¹⁵⁰ Of course Pompey was included among the proconsuls who were in the vicinity of Rome.¹⁵¹ In addition to this general commission, he received specific authority from the consuls to march against Caesar with the army then at Capua and elsewhere in Italy, besides such additional

¹⁴⁴ Plut., *Caes.*, 28, 5.

¹⁴⁵ B. C., II. 23, 84.

¹⁴⁶ Plut., *Pomp.*, 54; Dio, XL. 50, 4.

¹⁴⁷ Liv., *Per.*, 107; Dio, XL. 50, 5.

¹⁴⁸ Plut., *Pomp.*, 55; Dio, XI. 56, 2.

¹⁴⁹ Plut., *Pomp.*, 55.

¹⁵⁰ Caes., B. C., I. 5: "dent operam consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, quique consulares sunt ad urbem, ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat"; Dio, XLI. 3.

¹⁵¹ Liv., *Per.*, 109: "mandatum est a senatu consulibus et Cn. Pompeio, ut viderent, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet".

troops as he might raise.¹⁵² Further, the Senate authorized him to raise 130,000 troops in Italy, besides contingents from the allies of Rome, and to use all the public resources and accept private contributions for military purposes.¹⁵³

Throughout the campaign against Caesar Pompey conducted himself as the nominal subordinate of the consuls, for their *imperium* was higher than his,¹⁵⁴ but, actually, owing to his military experience and prestige, he was in supreme command of the Senate's forces.¹⁵⁵

From the above consideration of the Leges Vatinia, Trebonia, and Pompeia we see that after 60 B. C. the Comitia exercised an undisputed right to create extraordinary commands and to confer them upon whomsoever it pleased. The Senate merely confirmed the action of the Comitia, or, as in the case of the Lex Vatinia, increased the powers thus conferred. The exercise of this right by the Comitia involved a repeated usurpation of the Senate's control over the assignment of the provinces, especially those designated as consular in successive years. This had previously occurred for the benefit of Marius in 107 B. C., but in 74 it was the Senate alone which had rearranged the provincial assignments in the interests of Lucullus and Cotta.

With the exception of the *imperium infinitum aequum* revived by the *cura annonae*, the extraordinary commands of this period took the form of special proconsular governorships, embracing several regular provinces and extending for a term of five years.¹⁵⁶ They found their model in Lucullus's command of 74 B. C., although this lacked the definite time-limit. Such commands, once created, could be extended by the same authority that established them, namely a law of the Comitia.

Finally, we have seen that Pompey had proved unable to retain a monopoly of the important extraordinary commands. The path by which he had advanced to his commands of the preceding decade was open to others also, and Julius Caesar obtained his command in Gaul through the support of the tribunate and the city populace.

In this way, as we have seen, between 80 and 48 B. C. the extraordinary command developed from an unusual to a regular feature of Rome's imperial government. And along with this development

¹⁵² App., B. C., II. 31.

¹⁵³ App., B. C., II. 34; Dio, XLI. 3.

¹⁵⁴ E. g., App., B. C., II. 36; Dio, XLI. 12.

¹⁵⁵ Dio, XLI. 43, 5.

¹⁵⁶ Mommsen has pointed out that the Lex Vatinia was the first law to extend a proconsular command beyond one year and at the same time to limit it definitely, *Staatsr.*, I. 596.

there arose the following characteristic ideas associated with the extraordinary *imperium*: the extension of the military command for longer than annual periods, the grouping of several ordinary provinces under one *imperium*, the absence of the holder of such a command from his *provincia* and the delegation of his authority to lieutenants, the exercise of the supreme command at sea in the form of the *imperium infinitum*, and the existence of a general *imperium maius* outside of the regular magistracies. All these ideas, as Mommsen¹⁵⁷ points out, find expression in the organization of the Principate.

IV. POMPEY THE FORERUNNER OF AUGUSTUS

From 28 to 23 B. C. the power of Augustus was based upon (1) the consulship, held annually, and (2) an *imperium consulare* granted for ten years. His *provincia* included one-half of the Roman provinces and all the armed forces of Rome, on land and sea alike. Thus he held the chief magistracy in the city and, at the same time, had an *imperium infinitum*, which was superior (*maius*) to that of all proconsuls and propraetors, for he wielded this *imperium* as a consul.¹⁵⁸ In other words, Augustus was consul and held an extraordinary command besides. This latter because of its extent and its continuity made him the real ruler of the state, for it vested in him alone the supreme command of the Roman armies.

Now, as we have seen, at two separate moments in his career Pompey succeeded in procuring for himself powers almost equal to those of Augustus. In 66 B. C., by virtue of the Gabinian and Manilian laws, he possessed an *imperium* effective over the sea and its shores for fifty miles inland and over the provinces in the region affected by the Mithradatic War. This gave him the control of practically all the armed forces of Rome outside of Italy.¹⁵⁹ But his power was restricted by the limitation of his command at sea to three years, and by the fact that he held no official position at Rome. Further, he held his *imperium pro consule*, and thus it was an *imperium aequum* with respect to the provincial governors.

In 52 B. C. Pompey had even greater power concentrated in his hands. He was consul (for a time sole consul), and had a *provincia* embracing Spain, Libya, and the sphere assigned to him with the *cura annonae*. In this year his *imperium* was no longer *aequum* but *maius*, for he exercised it as consul. Further, he had the same right as

¹⁵⁷ *Staatsr.*, II. 662.

¹⁵⁸ Pelham, "The Imperium of Augustus", *Essays*, pp. 60-71.

¹⁵⁹ App., *B. M.*, 97: *στρατιᾶς τε πάσης, ὅση πέραν ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀρχεῖν ἔδωκαν.*

Augustus to govern his provinces through *legati* of his own appointment. His provincial command extended for two periods of five years, and in 52 his *cura annonae* lapsed after one such term. Consequently his contemporaries justly referred to him as the First Citizen (*princeps*).¹⁶⁰

Thus we see that the position of Augustus between 28 and 23 B. C. was not much more than a continuation of the status of Pompey in 52. The essential differences were this very continuity and the wider scope of the *imperium* of Augustus, which made him the commander-in-chief of all the armed forces of Rome. The permanence of his power was in this way practically assured. His *imperium*, however, like that of Pompey, was conferred for a definite term only, by the Senate and the Comitia,¹⁶¹ the source of Pompey's power.

From 23 B. C. until his death in 14 A. D., the main props of the authority of Augustus were (1) his extraordinary *imperium*, held for successive terms, and (2) the *tribunicia potestas*, which he had held before but which he had not emphasized, in view of the fact that he had been consul each year.¹⁶² When he resigned the consulship in that year, he made good the loss of power thus incurred at Rome, by bringing into play the *tribunicia potestas*, supplemented by certain privileges added by laws of the next few years. But when he ceased to be consul his *imperium* was no longer the *maius imperium*, for, being held *pro consule* only, it no longer outranked that of the proconsular governors. Hence special laws were passed defining his *imperium* as *maius* and effective within the city as well as without.¹⁶³ This restored to Augustus the consular *imperium* which he had held from 28 to 23.¹⁶⁴ This *imperium* was renewed in 18 and 13 B. C. for five-year periods; in 8 B. C., 3 A. D., and 13 A. D. for ten-year terms.¹⁶⁵

Thus we see that the *imperium infinitum maius*, which was the true basis of the power of the Princeps, was not the creation of Augustus. It was Pompey's goal in his endeavor to establish himself as the permanent commander-in-chief of the Roman armies. For a short time in 52 B. C. it was almost within his grasp, but he never obtained it in its fullness. Brutus and Cassius had it con-

¹⁶⁰ Cic., *Ad. Fam.*, I. 9, 11 (December, 54).

¹⁶¹ Pelham, *Essays*, p. 60, note 3; cf. Momms., *Staatsr.*, vol. II., pt. 2, p. 745, note 2.

¹⁶² Pelham, *Essays*, p. 71 ff.

¹⁶³ Dio, LIII. 32.

¹⁶⁴ Pelham, *Essays*, p. 71 ff.

¹⁶⁵ Pelham, p. 60 ff.

ferred upon them by the Senate in the crisis of 43/2 B. C.¹⁶⁶ But it was left for Augustus to develop it as the solution of the military problem of the empire with which the senatorial régime had failed to cope. It was characteristic of Augustus that he should thus convert into one of the pillars of the Principate a power which had the sanction of constitutionality and to which the Senate itself had had resort in the struggle to maintain its prerogatives.

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¹⁶⁶ App., *B. C.*, IV. 58; cf. Momm., *Staatsr.*, II. 655.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE ABORTIVE ARMED NEUTRALITY OF 1794

ASIDE from the great issues between the belligerents, nothing has been more strongly forced upon international attention by the present war than the increasingly difficult position in which neutral states find themselves between the two groups of antagonists reeling at grips across the face of the world. Economic, national, and imperial interests have impelled the great belligerents to form their own systems for the preservation of their lives; only when a neutral is able to present power behind its behests are the mighty combatants of world wars likely to depart enough from their own considerations to give heed to its demands. The history of American neutrality from 1914 to 1917 will remain one of the greatest illustrations of this fact.

On two familiar occasions in the past, neutral nations who have seen their interests injured and unheeded by belligerents in world wars have adopted a joint defense by threat of armed force as a means of obtaining what they deemed their rights, short of actually entering war. Such a combination has been successful according to the degree of force that has been behind it, and according to the degree in which the interests of the united neutrals have coincided.

In the First Armed Neutrality, of 1780-1783, to which the United States was a party, the alliance of neutrals to enforce enlightened principles of international law was sufficiently numerous, sufficiently unified in interests, and sufficiently strong to force Great Britain to much greater prudence, and to a mitigation of the severity of her prize laws.¹ It constituted one element in the forces balancing against the United Kingdom that induced British statesmen to come to terms with America.² The Second Armed Neutrality, of 1800, including Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and Prussia, was not strong enough to prevent the collapse of Denmark under the guns of Nelson. Skillful British diplomacy playing on the divergent interests of the neutral allies, the bombardment of Copenhagen, and the death of the Tsar Paul, shattered that neutral combination before it attained sufficient momentum to influence materially the naval policy of Great Britain.

¹ Kleen, *Lois et Usages de la Neutralité*, I. 20 et seq.

² Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, p. 328.

Not much mention has ever been made of the beginnings of another armed neutrality that threatened British naval control in a manner equally dangerous, in the year 1794. It is interesting to students of American history, because the relation of the United States to it shows how the action of small belligerents in the face of all-powerful opponents is dictated thoroughly by the interests of self-preservation, just as deviations from accepted principles of international law on the part of great belligerents are frequently dictated—and always explained—by the same motives. It is interesting, again, because the decision then taken by the government of the United States to abstain from such an alliance, and to acquiesce in the principal British interpretations of sea law, marks the first conscious and official embarkation on a policy which remained the pole-star of American foreign relations until the vastly altered conditions of 1917—the policy of abstention from entangling alliances.

Great Britain's entrance, in February, 1793, into the European conflagration precipitated by the French Revolution, extended that great conflict of political antagonisms beyond the marches and countermarches of Continental armies. Republican legions of France successfully met the threat of Pillnitz and the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, but the regenerated vigor of revolutionary warfare found indomitable opposition in the British sea power and the controlling diplomacy that worked hand in hand with it. To sweep the tricolor from the seas, and by choking the commerce of France so to impede the effectiveness of her armies as to force them to yield to those of the Coalition, was the policy of Great Britain. With the development of this maritime policy neutral nations saw themselves seriously injured by the increasingly arbitrary Orders in Council and the wholly one-sided decisions of the admiralty courts. Great Britain did not propose for one minute that the protection of a neutral flag should nullify her naval might.

Though strong, British sea power was not at the beginning of the war omnipotent. The diplomacy of Downing Street was therefore directed in the spring and summer of 1794 toward bolstering by treaties and alliances the naval power of the empire. First fruit of this masterful foreign policy was the treaty with Russia, in which both powers agreed to stop all exports of military supplies or provisions to French ports and frankly acknowledged the purpose of taking "all other measures for injuring the commerce of France" and preventing neutrals from giving protection to it on the high seas. In quick succession there followed a series of measures of like consequence. Spain acceded to a similar arrangement on May 25. The

first Orders in Council came, June 8, to bring into British harbors all provisions found on board neutral ships bound for French ports, whether these ports were blockaded or not.³ The Two Sicilies (July 12), Prussia (July 14), Austria (August 30), and Portugal (September 26) acknowledged in treaties with Great Britain the same determination to annihilate the commerce of the new republic.⁴ French armies withstood valiantly the blows of Europe armed against them. The reborn vigor that never fails France delivered counter-strokes of more than equal weight. Yet the rulers of the Revolution saw the British naval-diplomatic system engulfing the principal monarchies of Europe, and British fighting vessels everywhere threatening arbitrary control of all other powers.

France by the autumn of 1793 saw herself almost completely encircled by the constricting coils of the power that controls the sea. The diplomatic representatives of Russia and Great Britain had informed the monarchs of Sweden and Denmark that British and Russian fleets would be stationed in the Baltic and North seas to stop all kinds of provisions bound for France under whatever flag.⁵ If the plan were carried out successfully, the English had succeeded in blocking the Baltic to France by extending contraband to cover not only naval-store products of that region, so necessary to the French navy, but the great supplies of food that the Swedes and Danes sent through the Sounds to the impoverished republic. The same prohibitions confronted vessels from America. They were forced to land their masts and barrels of tar and pitch on British wharves, and to empty their cargoes of grain into the bins of British warehouses. Except for the Baltic Scandinavian ports, a few Italian harbors, and the cities of the Levant, all Europe and America, as a result of the British system, was closing to the ships of the new republican flag.

³ "That it shall be lawful to stop and detain all vessels loaded wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port of France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to send them to such ports as shall be convenient, in order that such corn, meal, or flour may be purchased on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and the ships be released after such purchase, and after a due allowance for freight, or that the masters of such ships, on giving due security, to be approved by the court of admiralty, be permitted to proceed to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal, or flour, in the ports of any country in amity with His Majesty." *Amer. State Papers, For. Rel.*, I. 240.

⁴ For text of these treaties see *Am. State Papers, For. Rel.*, I. 243 (for Russia); for Prussia, Austria, Spain, the Two Sicilies, and Portugal, see *Parliamentary History*, XXX. 1053-1058. Portugal and the Two Sicilies, however, did not accept the provision concerning neutrals.

⁵ For text of notes see *Annual Register*, 1794, p. 241.

Among those nations still upholding the more liberal interpretations of international law lingering from the First Armed Neutrality remained only Sweden, Denmark, feeble Poland (now already slipping into the grasp of the three partitioners), and Turkey. The United States, to be sure, had incorporated these principles in its first treaties and had made formal protest against the Orders in Council of June 8;⁶ but the protests were fortified only by paragraphs from Pufendorf and Vattel. The relentless pressure of naval power had made them only perfunctory. The British ministry had been careful to feel out the attitude of the American administration toward any such proceeding before the Orders were issued. Alexander Hamilton, the most influential and cogent of the advisers of Washington, for five years had been in confidential communication with the British minister, George Hammond, and with Major George Beckwith, in an informal sense his predecessor.⁷ He quietly assured Hammond that he saw the justice behind the Orders in Council, though he was not able to answer for the opinions of his colleagues.⁸ As a result, the British Foreign Office paid only polite attention to the protests penned so assiduously by Jefferson, secretary of state.⁹ Even along the thinly populated shores of the coast of northern Africa the pressure made itself felt; there lurked the sea-harpies of the Mediterranean, the Barbary pirates, whose corsairs, released by British mediation from a war with Portugal,¹⁰ were free to prey on such French vessels as might slip past hostile cruisers on the voyage to Venice and the Levant. Both in the old and in the new world the remorseless force of the enemy's sea power threatened to strangle the commercial life of France.

With this aggressive diplomatic and naval system threatening to neutralize all the valor of the armies of France, the revolutionary executives strove to achieve some effective opposing combination. There was one obvious possibility. Encroachments and restrictions on neutral trade struck vitally at the prosperity of the Scandinavian

⁶ *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, I. 241, 449-454.

⁷ The confidential relations of Hamilton with the British representatives at Philadelphia may be seen clearly in the correspondence of those representatives with the Foreign Office. See Record Office, Foreign Office, America, ser. 4, vol. 12 for Beckwith correspondence; vols. 13-16 for Hammond correspondence.

⁸ Hammond to Grenville, Philadelphia, May 17, 1793. R. O., F. O., ser. 5, vol. 1. Where there is not specifically mentioned in these notes the name of some other state, in parenthesis, it is to be understood that citations of these volumes of Foreign Office Correspondence refer to America. Record Office, Foreign Office Papers, is abbreviated as R. O., F. O. See *List of Indexes to Foreign Office Records* (London, 1914).

⁹ Grenville to Hammond, January 11, 1794. R. O., F. O., ser. 5, vol. 4.

¹⁰ *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, I. 288.

nations, whose flags in war-times obviously would cover great profits, but who depended even in times of peace on the business of the carrying trade. They followed that impulse which is almost an instinct with small nations that have large merchant marines but small fighting navies. The two northern monarchies, whose interests led them to adopt more liberal principles of the law of nations, protested vigorously against the British provision order. Their protest brought nothing but chagrin. Neither kingdom could undertake resistance by force. Sweden, lacking funds to equip a half-dozen ships-of-the-line, had the dangerous Finnish and Pomeranian frontiers and little real strength to guard them. Denmark was clamped in a vice, the jaws of which were the British and Russian navies.

French diplomats, however, saw in the Baltic a chance to offset the system of the English. It consisted in resurrecting the armed neutrality of the previous war. Soon after matters had begun to adjust themselves to British participation in the conflict, a French agent had accompanied to Stockholm the Baron de Staël, Swedish minister in France, in an effort to induce the two powers of the north to unite in a new armed neutrality. But the Regent of Sweden—with an eye always to his threatened frontiers—had desired a permanent alliance; and France, already launched on the successful campaign of 1793, did not regard with much enthusiasm the few equivalents which Sweden, diplomatically and geographically isolated, could offer for such an alliance.¹¹

These early negotiations withered away, but the French continued to give sharp attention to the Baltic and to the possibility of concerted action by Sweden and Denmark in the face of England. A French agent, Philippe de Grouvelle, was vested with the powers of minister plenipotentiary in the summer of 1793 and sent to Copenhagen as representative of the French republic. He had instructions to keep Denmark and Sweden united diplomatically in defense of their neutral rights as interpreted by themselves, and if possible to stimulate the two courts to a real joint alliance in favor of France.¹² Grouvelle soon found that France had a common grievance with the Baltic Powers because of the British and Russian notes, above referred to, and he had no difficulty in establishing himself on the most friendly terms with the Count von Bernstorff, royal Danish chancellor.¹³ In the face of the monarchs allied against

¹¹ Rapport au Comité de Salut Public, Suède et Dannemarck, 16 Floréal, an II. (May 5, 1794). Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Suède, vol. 286, pp. 224–227.

¹² Grouvelle au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Copenhagen, September 10, 1793. Arch. Aff. Étrang., Dannemarck, vol. 169, p. 245.

¹³ Grouvelle au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Hamburg, August 14, 1793. *Ibid.*, vol. 169, p. 213.

France, Bernstorff did not quite dare to receive Grouvelle as the official representative of the revolutionary French republic.¹⁴ Nevertheless, he had frequent and intimate conferences with him and for all practical purposes Grouvelle had the status and influence of French ambassador. He made arrangements for the quicker and more lucrative disposal of French prizes brought into Norwegian harbors, brought forward proposals for a new commercial treaty, supplied the Committee of Public Safety with such information as he had gleaned from the chancellor concerning the belligerent courts—then, as now, neutral Denmark was a great clearing-house for European war news, and Bernstorff was best informed of all diplomats—and above all pushed his proposals for joint armed neutrality of Sweden and Denmark.¹⁵

Bernstorff asserted to Grouvelle that complete confidence and unanimity as to policy prevailed between Denmark and Sweden, but refused to make any definite promises.¹⁶ He said that such a proposal for a joint armament had been made by Denmark to Sweden. It was soon hinted by Erenheim, Swedish minister at Copenhagen, that Sweden's delay in preparing any armament to be used in possible co-operation with Denmark was due to poverty—a French subsidy to help Sweden to maintain her armed neutrality would be useful and proper.¹⁷ The French Minister of Foreign Affairs thought such an investment unwise on the ground that commercial privileges offered by France would be sufficient stimulus for such an armed neutrality; the interest of Denmark and Sweden, Grouvelle was instructed,¹⁸ would be sufficient to induce them to combine forces against Russia and England. Grouvelle wrote back that though apparently steps were being taken by the Scandinavians to preserve neutrality by separate action, he did not think such inducements would suffice to maintain a joint alliance.¹⁹

Meanwhile plans were being made in Paris to expand the possibilities of a Baltic armed neutrality into a grandiose combination. There is a memorandum of the plan in the library of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Committee of Public Safety

¹⁴ Same to same. *Ibid.*, pp. 394, 427, 428.

¹⁵ Same to same (no. 18), Copenhagen, 11 Nivôse, an II. (December 31, 1793). *Ibid.*, p. 476.

¹⁶ Grouvelle au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Copenhagen, September 3, 1793. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁷ Same to same, Copenhagen, October 1, 1793. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

¹⁸ Deforgues, ministre des Affaires Étrangères, à Grouvelle, Paris, November 13, 1793. *Ibid.*, p. 347.

¹⁹ Grouvelle au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Copenhagen, December 17, 1793. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

elaborated the early approaches to Sweden and Grouvelle's diplomacy into an ambitious design to strengthen the European influence of the revolutionary government, already stiffened into some coherence by the victories of 1793. The project was to unite all remaining neutral naval states about the French revolutionary executive in resistance to British sea power. It included Sweden, Denmark, Turkey, Poland, Venice, Genoa, and the United States. Singly these nations saw themselves powerless to enforce what they considered to be principles of fairness toward neutral flags. Together they might be strong enough to revive the power of the armed neutrality of the last war. The foundation of the League, reads this interesting document, was to be "the indefeasible rights and independence of these nations and their immediate interests".

As a *foyer* for this "counter-coalition", so formidable on paper, and really pregnant with powerful possibilities, the committee selected the Scandinavian courts. The monarchies were to enter a joint defensive alliance to assert the principles of armed neutrality against all naval aggressions. France would offer peculiar commercial advantages to the armed neutrals, and on actual signature of a treaty she would engage to furnish 6,000,000 *livres*, in addition to 500,000 *livres* for each vessel of the line fully equipped and 300,000 *livres* for each frigate.

The committee had drawn up instructions accordingly and had appointed proper diplomatic agents for the affair, when there arrived in Paris a copy of a convention²⁰ already signed by Sweden and Denmark and setting forth in a timorous way the armed neutrality principles. This treaty, signed secretly on March 27, 1794, was for the duration of the war. The two northern powers agreed to furnish a joint armament of sixteen ships-of-the-line to protect their subjects in the exercise of rights sanctioned by law and indisputably to be enjoyed by independent nations. The Baltic was to be closed to the war-vessels of belligerent nations, and to be free, therefore, from rules of war. Faltering protection against illegal interference with their rightful commerce by the immense British and Russian naval forces was provided as follows: the neutral allies would make reprisals in concert after all other means of dissuasion had been rejected, and "at the latest, four months after the rejection of their behests, whenever such reprisals should be deemed suitable, the

²⁰ "Projet d'Arrêté du Comité de Salut Public", undated. It was never carried out. Adet, former minister to the United States, was nominated. It is indorsed "N'a pas eu lieu". Arch. Aff. Étrang., Dannemarck, vol. 170, p. 85. See also "Rapport au Comité de Salut Public, Suède et Dannemarck", Arch. Aff. Étrang., Suède, vol. 286, p. 225, *verso*. This document enables one to fix the date of the *Projet*.

Baltic always excepted". In no specific form were the rights of neutral nations defined; definition was to be covered by the treaty interpretations of the Baltic Powers²¹—the principles of the First Armed Neutrality. The lack of resolute provision for energetic action made the convention at best a weak one. "It is a demonstration of a force and temper which do not exist", wrote the observing Gouverneur Morris from France.²²

Half-hearted as this instrument may have been, it was a good beginning for the plans then being formulated in Paris. The instructions already drawn up were dropped, for what they aimed to accomplish in the first place had been attained. The Swedes had been indiscreet enough to close the convention door before the French-subsidy horse had been led in—unwisely they had asked for money after the treaty had been signed and made known.²³ At one time the committee had decided to advance substantial funds to accelerate the Swedish armament,²⁴ but Grouvelle wrote that it seemed probable that Sweden herself might afford the initial expenses of armament,²⁵ and the money-chest of the revolutionary executive was notoriously hollow. The advances were never made. The failure of the French subsidy, the threatening presence in the Baltic and North seas of Russian and British fleets, and one other factor smothered the infant armed neutrality in its cradle. With it expired the hopes of including other powers in the "counter-coalition". The other, third, factor in the downfall of this ambitious diplomatic enterprise was the diplomatic mission to England of John Jay, chief justice of the United States.

In the spring of 1794, without the ministry in London being immediately aware of it, owing to the tardiness of winter mail, British-

²¹ Treaty of Mutual Defense, Liberty, Security and Commerce, March 27, 1794. F. O., ser. 115, vol. 3; *Annual Register*, 1794, pp. 238-239.

²² "You will observe that time is given the belligerent Powers for repentance and amendment, before any hostile act of resentment by the contracting parties. You will observe, also, that the period specified is sufficient to permit the arrestation of all supplies shipped for this country [France] during the present season. Thus the next autumn and winter are left clear for negotiation, *should the allies be unsuccessful in this campaign.*" Morris to Randolph, Sainport, May 31, 1794. *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, I. 409.

²³ Grouvelle à Deforgues, no. 30, Copenhagen, March 28, 1794. Arch. Aff. Étrang., Dannemarck, vol. 70.

²⁴ "Rapport", etc., *supra*. Arch. Aff. Étrang., Suède, vol. 286, pp. 224-227.

²⁵ See long and interesting despatch of Grouvelle au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Copenhagen, February 18, 1794. Arch. Aff. Étrang., Dannemarck, vol. 170, p. 55.

American relations had reached a critical stage. The crisis had been brought about by the several familiar disputes between England and America that in March had suddenly ripened to an ominous condition. First were the old disputes about the northern frontier posts on American soil. British troops still held these strategic points under the ostensible but not real excuse²⁶ that the United States had first violated the treaty by obstructing the collection of ante-bellum debts to English merchants. With these stood the legacy of minor disputes also left by the treaty. Secondly, there was the disappointment of the American government at not being able to conclude a commercial treaty with Great Britain, whose navigation laws struck sharply at the now independent states, particularly by excluding their ships from the British West Indies. England at first had been quite content to "sit still" in the agreeable commercial *status quo*, since American trade still ran in old colonial channels to English wharves;²⁷ but this commercial situation, so undesirable to the United States, led to American tariff and tonnage duties in favor of American vessels.²⁸ This bore particularly hard on British trade, because the traffic with England constituted three-fourths of all American commerce and over half of this three-fourths was carried in British ships.²⁹ A strong movement, developing in Congress and the administration, under the leadership of Madison and Jefferson, to discriminate specifically against the British flag, had only been checked by a sudden decision to establish a permanent British legation in Philadelphia headed by George Hammond, first British

²⁶ This statement is based on a careful reading of the Canadian correspondence in Ottawa and London, which shows that orders were actually sent to General Haldimand to hold the posts before the very convenient and plausible excuse of American violations of the treaty was discovered. The evidence is too long to be quoted in detail here. Particularly illuminating, however, is the despatch of Sydney to Haldimand, April 8, 1784 (Canadian Archives, Q 23, 55), sent before the formal exchange of ratifications of the definitive treaty. It should be read in connection with Grenville's argument as stated in Jay to Randolph, London, September 13, 1794. *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, I. 485-496. See also Channing, *History of the United States*, IV. 148-149, for an illuminating note.

²⁷ Sheffield, *Observations on the Commerce of the American States* (1784, sixth ed.), p. 161; Report of the Privy Council on American Trade, January 28, 1791, in *Collection of Important Papers on Navigation and Trade* (London, 1808), p. 114.

²⁸ Acts of July 4, July 20, 1789; June 20, August 10, 1790. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, I. 27, 180, 335.

²⁹ The proportion which American commerce to Great Britain bore to the total is ascertained by a comparison of American exports and imports as stated annually from 1790 in *Am. State Pap., Commerce and Navigation*, vol. I. For figures for tonnage see: *Collection of Interesting and Important Papers on Navigation and Trade* (London, 1808), app. XXIV.

minister to the United States.³⁰ Soon it became evident that Hammond had no instructions to sign a commercial treaty and that he was trying to couple the evacuation of the frontier posts with the establishment of a "neutral" Indian barrier state that would keep the natives of the great American hinterland north of the Ohio in a British sphere of influence, economic and political. The negotiations as to the border fell into abeyance, and when frontier friction between British officers and "British" Indians, and the Americans, had worked disastrously on the self-control of Lord Dorchester, governor-general of Canada, the latter made his notorious and bellicose secret speech to a delegation of Indian tribes, February 10, 1794, in which he prophesied an immediate war with the Americans and sought the alliance of the tomahawk.³¹ Intelligence of this unwary utterance soon leaked out. It reached Philadelphia almost simultaneously with the arrival of news from the West Indies of the capture of about three hundred American schooners under the wholly arbitrary Order in Council of November 6, 1793, and the barbarous incarceration of their crews and officers.

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In late March and April the majority of the American people were for war with Great Britain. The crystallizing "Democratic" party, under the leadership of Madison and the now retired Jefferson, passed an embargo for a month, soon extended for another thirty days, on all shipping in American harbors. Bills for actual sequestration of British property and vigorous discrimination against the British flag specifically, immediately received strong support in Congress. The movement was headed off by Alexander Hamilton, profound leader of the Federalist party, that had formed in contradistinction to the "Democrats" (the division in 1794 was chiefly over the British policy). In a war with England at that particular time, the Federalists forecasted the total collapse of the new government under the Constitution. The new political system, brought into practical operation by Hamilton's genius in establishing American credit, depended for revenues almost wholly on the tariff and tonnage duties collected in American ports. Almost alone this financial means upheld the credit of the federal and the assumed state debts and paid the operating expenses of the government itself.

³⁰ See Beckwith to Grenville, March 3, 1791, R. O., F. O., ser. 4, vol. 12; P. Colquhoun to Grenville, August 5, 1791, *Dropmore Papers*, II. 157; Beckwith to Grenville, Philadelphia, July 31, 1791, R. O., F. O., ser. 4, vol. 12; Colquhoun to Grenville, July 29, 1791, *Dropmore Papers*, II. 145; *Can. Arch. Report*, 1890, p. 172.

³¹ For copy of speech see *Annual Register*, 1794, pp. 250-251; also *Can. Arch.*, Q 64, 109.

By war, suddenly to eliminate three-fourths of American commerce and to endanger the rest to the point of extinction meant to knock away the scaffolding of credit from beneath the new government, and so to precipitate its destruction. A lapse into the pitiful political helplessness of the Confederation would be then inevitable. To avoid this, Hamilton, in close and quiet intimacy with Hammond, used that connection, in a sort of "back-stairs" diplomacy,³² to thwart the official anti-Anglican character of the negotiations of the Secretary of State, Jefferson. With a group of Federalist senators³³ he now had sufficient influence in the administration to bring about the appointment of Chief Justice John Jay for the peace mission of 1794. In Congress he marshalled sufficient power to block the retaliatory and hostile measures until the results of Jay's mission should be known. Meanwhile the Federalists with vigor supported a bill for raising an army, and Hamilton led the British minister to believe that if Jay did not succeed in getting a certain minimum of moderate concessions, which he outlined in private to him, the existing peaceful relations with England could not endure.³⁴

At the very moment when the Danish-Swedish convention of March 27, 1794, was signed, this ominous American war-cloud was rising on the other side of the Atlantic. Meanwhile the solidity of the First Coalition was beginning to weaken. Secret agents of the British Foreign Office were reporting that France was seeking to detach Spain by approaches through neutral Denmark.³⁵ As a matter of fact, the Spanish minister in Copenhagen did have instructions to make overtures looking toward peace.³⁶ Simultaneously, in view of the greater allurements of the Polish spoil, Prussia's influence on the Rhine was weakening. Among the allies "there was far more of disunion than union".³⁷

Though the Swedish-Danish convention had been ratified in secret, and its negotiation was supposed to have been kept in the same secrecy, the whole train of Franco-Scandinavian diplomacy was well and with a fair degree of accuracy known to Lord Grenville. The increasing naval armaments of Denmark had for some time excited the suspicion of his representative in Copenhagen,

³² See evidence cited above, note 7.

³³ King, *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, I. 516.

³⁴ Hammond to Grenville (no. 15), Philadelphia, April 17, 1794. F. O., ser. 5, vol. 4.

³⁵ Précis of Secret Intelligence from Copenhagen. F. O., Holland, ser. 37, vol. 36.

³⁶ Grouvelle Correspondence, Arch. Aff. Étrang., Dannemarck, vols. 169 and 170.

³⁷ J. H. Rose, *William Pitt and the Great War*, p. 204.

though Count von Bernstorff had strongly denied any connection with France,³⁸ and at Stockholm express assurances were made that no arrangements with Denmark were contemplated.³⁹ Grouvelle, who was more privy to the chancellor than any other foreigner, was imprudent enough to send his despatches to Paris by ordinary mail, with only parts of them in cipher—a lack of caution wholly inexcusable, for which he was later roundly censured by the Committee of Public Safety.⁴⁰ It was so reckless a procedure as almost to prick the investigator's suspicions as to Grouvelle himself. Spies read nearly all of his correspondence. A concise précis of it is preserved at the British Record Office⁴¹ and tallies perfectly with the original despatches in the library of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris. They knew the content of Grouvelle's despatches at Downing Street almost as soon as at the Quai d'Orsay.

The Swedish minister in London was Laurent von Engeström. He informed Thomas Pinckney, American representative there, on April 28, 1794, that he had instructions not only to communicate a copy of the convention but to invite the accession of the United States to it. Pinckney seemed greatly pleased. He secured a statement to that effect in writing and sent it home the very day. It would be received "with open arms", Engeström understood him to believe.⁴² The same day, the Swedish and Danish ministers, "lest their sincerity be suspected",⁴³ gave a copy of the convention to Lord Grenville. Though nothing was divulged of the overture to Pinckney, Grenville, through the intercepted Grouvelle despatches, soon learned of it by the same means by which he had already known of the convention itself. Immediately he instructed Hammond, at Philadelphia, to make the utmost exertions to prevent the success of any such proposal. To the American "ministers" he must confi-

³⁸ D. Hailes (British chargé d'affaires at Copenhagen) to Grenville, Copenhagen, March 24, 1794, cipher, rec'd April 3, 1794. F. O., Denmark, ser. 22, vol. 18.

³⁹ H. G. Spencer (British minister to Sweden) to Grenville, Stockholm, April 18, 1794, cipher, F. O., Sweden, ser. 73, vol. 17; same to same, Stockholm, April 18, 1794, cipher, *ibid*.

⁴⁰ Commissionnaire des Affaires Étrangères (Buchot) à Grouvelle, Paris, 4 Prairial, an II. Arch. Aff. Étrang., Dannemarck, vol. 170, p. 16.

⁴¹ Précis of Secret Intelligence from Copenhagen. F. O., Holland, ser. 37, vol. 56.

⁴² Engeström to the Royal Chancellor (Frederick Sparre), London, April 29, 1794. Swedish Royal Archives, Anglica, Engeström's Despatches. For transcriptions of such Swedish documents as are cited here, I am indebted to Dr. Lydia Wahlström, of Stockholm.

⁴³ Engeström to Erenheim (Swedish minister, Copenhagen), May 26, 1794. *Ibid*.

dently emphasize the marked difference in circumstances between the position of the United States and the Baltic Powers, laying stress on the point that in return for fair neutrality on the part of the United States, American commerce had been treated in a spirit of fairness (this was written before Grenville had heard of the exploding American wrath against the British naval policy). The American government, wrote Grenville, must be aware of the risks of being drawn into a conflict with England, especially in view of the weak state of the Scandinavian navy.⁴⁴ Three weeks later, on June 5, Grenville informed Hammond that he had reason to believe that the Swedish proposal to America had not the sanction of the Danish court, but he urged the closest attention to the matter. It was true that the Engeström note to Pinckney did not have the support of Denmark. Grenville learned this through Grouvelle's despatches. Shortly after it had been made, Engeström received instructions that Denmark had not acquiesced in the *démarche*, and that any American answer must be considered merely *ad referendum*.⁴⁵ Bernstorff's reason for declining to join the invitation—this was still before the news of the British-American crisis was known in Europe—was that he considered the American navy wholly too feeble to co-operate effectively;⁴⁶ really the reason was that too much of this adventurous policy on his part would probably result in a quick offensive by the English or Russian fleet, then parading the Baltic⁴⁷—the lot of Holland in 1780 and the fate of Denmark in 1800.

One of the most interesting aspects of British-American diplomacy in this period lies in the relations of time and distance and the precarious schedule of packet-boats. In the days when neither cable nor wireless telegraph existed, the international situation of the world did not vary like a stockbroker's ribbon as the telegraph clicks off each detail of news from the governments of Christendom and other governments; the most important transatlantic intelligence was often long delayed, and often when news finally arrived it came in big consignments instead of in daily dribblets. Such was the case in the crisis of 1794. Up till June 10, after the American commissioner, Jay, had actually set foot on English soil, Grenville had not

⁴⁴ Grenville to Hammond, Downing Street, May 14, 1794 (no. 12), cipher. F. O., ser. 5, vol. 5.

⁴⁵ The Royal Chancellor (Sparre) to Engeström, Stockholm, May 16, 1794. Swedish Royal Archives, Anglica (1794).

⁴⁶ Grouvelle to Buchot (minister of foreign affairs), no. 41, 9 Prairial, an II. (May 29, 1794). Arch. Aff. Étrang., Dannemarck, vols. 170, 180.

⁴⁷ Erenheim to Engeström, Copenhagen, July 8, 1794. Swedish Royal Archives, Anglica (1794).

received an official word about the critical American situation.⁴⁸ On that day, June 10, a great deal of surprising news from North America lay on the desks of the foreign and home secretaries when the despatches from the Canadian and American mail-packets were opened. American indignation over the captures made under the additional and unprecedented Order in Council of November 6, 1793,⁴⁹ Dorchester's speech of February 10 to the Indians, the news of imminent hostilities on the frontier,⁵⁰ the embargo, the sequestration and non-intercourse bills, the resolution to send Jay, the sober interview between Hamilton and Hammond, the real and actual imminence of war with America—with America, the source of British naval supplies and the largest single customer for British manufactures—made up a budget of information that gave the Secretary for Foreign Affairs considerable pause and food for thought as on the same morning he unsealed a letter from Falmouth bearing the signature of John Jay, and announcing his commission from the President as special envoy to His Majesty.

The news was a complete surprise; up to this time Grenville had dealt with the United States in a leisurely fashion; there had been little uneasiness at Downing Street over the American situation. Now it was apparent, suddenly, that this confidence was wholly misplaced.

In addition to the information received by way of the intercepted French despatches, Grenville was receiving other secret reports, false indeed, which made the Scandinavian-American possibilities seem more alarming. On June 20, the day of the first conference between Jay and Grenville, came a letter from the British chargé at Berlin, telling of an interview with Count Finckenstein, the famous Prussian minister of foreign affairs, in which the dubious disposition of America had been discussed. Finckenstein confided some American information that, in view of Jefferson's resignation as secretary of state and retirement on January 1, 1794, to Monticello, was as weirdly fantastic as it must have been startling to Grenville. Jefferson, said the Prussian count, was expected soon in Denmark, there to concert measures that should be followed by the neutral nations.⁵¹ Strangely enough, the Danish chancellor also had

⁴⁸ Hammond to Grenville, February 20, April 17, May 1, 1794, F. O., ser. 5, vol. 4; Grenville to Hammond, June 5, 1794, cipher, F. O., ser. 115, vol. 3.

⁴⁹ To "stop and detain all ships laden with goods the produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying provisions or other supplies for the use of any such colony, and should bring the same, with their cargoes, for legal adjudication in our courts of admiralty". *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, I. 430.

⁵⁰ Dorchester to Dundas, February 24, 1794. *Can. Arch.*, Q 67, 88.

⁵¹ G. H. Rose to Grenville, Berlin, June 10, 1794, rec'd June 20. F. O., Prussia, ser. 64, vol. 29.

a similar notion.⁵² A few days later came a letter from Hammond, of May 25, telling of the increasing hostility of the American public due to the news of the occupation of the old Miami fort⁵³ by British troops, and enclosing the acrid correspondence between himself and Randolph, Jefferson's Francophil successor.

As if this were not enough, there arrived, at very near this time, one of the curious Francis Drake bulletins, which purported to transmit secret copies of the minutes of the meetings of the Committee of Public Safety, but were really literary productions meant to be perused by and designed to mislead the British Foreign Office.⁵⁴ Whether Grenville was wholly duped by these inventions is uncertain, but he expressly asked Drake to get him information about French negotiations with Sweden and Denmark. The "secret" information which Drake furnished professed to relate that in the Committee of Public Safety despatches had been read from its American agents, under date of April 1, which declared war between the United States and Great Britain inevitable, and stated that immediately afterward a treaty would be concluded between the former and Denmark and Sweden. The French commissioners in America were represented as having requested power to conclude preliminaries of a treaty with the United States and to guarantee Congress that the Convention would not treat with the Northern Powers without admitting

⁵² Grouvelle au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Copenhagen, 22 Prairial, an II. (June 11, 1794). Arch. Aff. Étrang., Dannemarck, vol. 170, p. 192. The present writer has not been able wholly to run down the source of this rumor.

⁵³ Near the city of Toledo, Ohio.

⁵⁴ The validity of the Drake despatches was first discredited by Mr. J. H. Clapham (*English Historical Review*, January, 1897) and by Professor A. Aulard (*Révolution Française*, 1897, vol. XXXII.) on the ground that they do not agree with certain well-established facts in the sources for the history of the Committee of Public Safety. This opinion rested unchallenged until 1914, when M. Albert Mathiez presented an article in defense of the documents, citing sources with which to him they appear to agree ("Histoire Secrète du Comité de Salut Public", *Revue des Questions Historiques*, January, 1914). Without being wholly familiar with the sources for the Committee of Public Safety, the writer was soon convinced, by collating the despatches from Grouvelle from Copenhagen (whence the committee got its information), those from the French commissioners in Philadelphia to the Committee of Public Safety, and the despatches of Gouverneur Morris, American minister to France, that the Drake information was not true. Very cleverly, just enough truth is put into the despatches to make them deceiving. For documents see: Turner, "Correspondence of the French Ministers", *Am. Hist. Assoc., Ann. Rept.*, 1903, vol. II.; Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, États-Unis, vols. 40-43, 1793, 1794; and Dannemarck, vols. 169, 170, 1793, 1794; *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, vol. I., and published works of G. Morris, edited by A. C. Morris (1889) and J. Sparks (1832).

the United States to any treaty made by them.⁵⁵ This last request was said to have been rejected, but the executive was authorized to negotiate with Morris, the American minister, and to report. It was also stated that letters from Stockholm of May 11 represented that court as ready to ratify a treaty with the French republic.⁵⁶

In short, the British ministry in the summer of 1794 stood confronted with all the dangers of the revival of the old Armed Neutrality at a time when—despite the Prussian treaty of April, 1794—the coalition against France was already weakening⁵⁷ toward the final disintegration of 1795. One exception there was to the situation of 1781: Pitt could count on Catherine the Great to join Britain against the Baltic Powers;⁵⁸ and Prussia, now a nominal ally of Great Britain⁵⁹ and absorbed in the Polish partition, had no inclination again to become a member of the Baltic combination. But there can be no doubt that the Baltic situation as viewed by the British ministry in June and July, 1794, had an appreciable effect on the American negotiations: it would be folly to allow the United States, the greatest foreign customer of Great Britain,⁶⁰ at a time when commerce and the entrepôt system were providing the revenue for the French war,⁶¹ to join in a war against England, or in any such system as the policy of the Northern Powers, greased by French diplomacy, seemed to invite. It would serve to divide the energies and diminish the supplies of the British navy, and to weaken the financial sinews of the government in its great struggle with France. Great Britain desired war no more than did the American Federalists. The time had come for some kind of immediate settlement with the United States.

Grenville took immediate steps to relieve the American tension. Concessions were made which postponed all immediate danger from America and looked toward a conciliatory negotiation. The old policy of procrastinating at the frontier posts until a "neutral" Indian barrier state had been created was abandoned and arrangements made to step across the line to Canadian soil, in the event of a treaty.

⁵⁵ Bulletin no. 25, Despatches of Francis Drake. *Dropmore Papers*, II. 578. The writer has been unable to find any despatch of April 1 in the French archives, or anything resembling it.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Rose, *William Pitt and the Great War*, ch. VIII.

⁵⁸ Prussia's treaty of alliance with Great Britain of 1793 provided for measures to induce neutral powers to adopt a harassing attitude toward French commerce.

⁵⁹ Whitworth to Grenville, St. Petersburg, April 15, 22, 23, 1794. F. O., Russia, ser. 65, vol. 27.

⁶⁰ See Chatham Papers, bdle. 286, R. O., cited above.

⁶¹ Mahan, *Sea Power and French Revolution*, II. 18.

For his hostile speech to the Indians, a sharp reprimand to Dorchester followed, accompanied by concise instructions to use every means to cultivate a friendly disposition on the part of the United States.⁶² In case hostilities had already broken out between frontier units of American and British forces, Grenville and Jay agreed that everything should remain *in statu quo* pending the negotiations.⁶³ The king issued an Order in Council admitting all the American captures made in the West Indies to appeal in English prize courts from the petty and arbitrary admiralty courts of the islands.⁶⁴ By this all that Hamilton had stipulated to Hammond, on the eve of Jay's departure, as "absolutely indispensable for an amicable settlement of differences",⁶⁵ was granted, and the door opened to a settlement of all points in dispute between the two nations. Grenville even went a step further. The Order in Council of June 8, 1793 (that of November 6 had been altered already in January to the sense of June 8), was unostentatiously repealed in so far as it directed the capture and pre-emption of neutral grain-ships bound for France.⁶⁶

From August till November the negotiations between Jay and Grenville went on in leisurely discussion. The main principles necessary for a treaty had been agreed on when the British concessions were made and when Jay had consented to a commission for the adjudication of debts due to British creditors, and for settling the question of French prizes sold in American waters after Washington's prohibition of their sale. Grenville's bargaining after this was very sharp. He attenuated his chaffering until he could hear from Hammond precisely the position of the American administration as to the Baltic Powers.

In Jay's official instructions, made familiar by the publication for the Senate of part of the Jay negotiations, was the following paragraph:

You will have no difficulty in gaining access to the ministers of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, at the Court of London. The principles of the armed neutrality would abundantly cover our neutral rights. If, therefore, the situation of things with respect to Great Britain should

⁶² This led eventually to Dorchester's resignation. Dorchester to Dundas, Quebec, September 4, 1794. Can. Arch., Q 69-1, p. 176.

⁶³ Jay to Randolph, London, July 12, 1794, *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, I. 479; Grenville to Hammond, July 15, 1794, F. O., ser. 115, vol. 3.

⁶⁴ Orders in Council, West Indies and America (1786-1797), R. O.

⁶⁵ Hammond to Grenville (no. 15), Philadelphia, April 17, 1794. F. O., 5, 4.

⁶⁶ Instructions to Naval Commanders, approved by the Privy Council, August 6, 1794, R. O., Colonial Office 5: 33; Orders in Council, West Indies to America, 1786-1797, Privy Council Register, vol. 141, p. 11.

dictate the necessity of taking the precaution of foreign co-operation upon this head; if no prospect of accommodation should be thwarted by the danger of such a measure being known to the British court; and if an entire view of all our political relations shall, in your judgment, permit the step, you will sound those ministers upon the probability of an alliance with their nations to support those principles.⁶⁷

Randolph wrote this paragraph. But Jay assumed a slightly patronizing tone toward an official superior who was really of inferior political stature,⁶⁸ and paid attention to the formal instructions of the Secretary of State only when convenient. That Jay might of necessity waive the principle of the armed neutrality, even to the extent of acquiescing in the Order of June 8, was admitted in Hamilton's private letter to him.⁶⁹ Hamilton later states his disapproval of any diplomatic union with the Baltic Powers.

At first Jay was intimate with the Danish and Swedish ministers at London. But it soon became their policy to "let him take his way" without making any definite assurances.⁷⁰ Denmark was threatened by the Russian fleet patrolling the Baltic. Sweden had to guard its Finnish and Pomeranian frontiers. There was also the English fleet which five years later worked such havoc at Copenhagen. The Armed Neutrality of 1794 was a threat rather than an immediate direct force. Only if political circumstances were opportune did it allow actual reprisals and the closure of the Baltic. Engeström's correspondence with Stockholm shows that while Swedish diplomats considered more initiative advisable as to the United States, the Danish chancellor hesitated. He thought that, if no agreement were reached by Jay with the British court, the Americans would fall naturally into the arms of the Scandinavians and an enlarged armed neutrality, and then would come the best time for real negotiations with them. If a treaty were concluded and concessions were made to the United States not allowed to other neutrals, it would be almost equivalent to a declaration of war by England on Denmark and Sweden.⁷¹ Whatever may have been the conferences with the Scandinavians, of which not a word was ever made known in the official correspondence turned over to the Amer-

⁶⁷ Instructions to Jay, May 6, 1794. *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, I. 473. This was before any news of the Engeström overture to Pinckney could have reached America, and was a mere conjecture of a possible diplomatic lever. Randolph's ignorance of the real state of European politics is shown by his allusion to Russia, then the maritime ally of England.

⁶⁸ Jay to Randolph, July 30, 1794. *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, I. 480.

⁶⁹ Hamilton to Jay, May 6, 1794. *Hamilton, Works*, IV. 551.

⁷⁰ Engeström to the Royal Chancellor (Sparre), August 12, 1794. Swedish Royal Archives, Anglica (1794).

⁷¹ Erenheim to Engeström, Copenhagen, July 8, 1794. *Ibid.*

ican Senate, Jay by August had turned aside from such cordiality.⁷² This was after the first conciliatory concessions had been made to him by the British negotiator. One wonders whether the Federalists could have later put the Jay Treaty through the Senate if *all* the correspondence had been published!

Before Grenville learned from Hammond the real attitude of the American government toward armed neutrality, he was on the point of making much greater concessions in the proposed American treaty than were eventually considered. On September 30, 1794, Jay submitted a draft which, he believed, incorporated most of the principles on which previous conferences had led him to expect agreement. No copy of this draft was conveyed to the Senate with the other drafts and projects of the negotiations turned over to it at the time when the treaty came up for ratification. One can guess the reason. This draft—more important than all the preliminary projects—was not included in the Jay correspondence, and probably was never even read by anyone on this side of the Atlantic,⁷³ because it compared too unfavorably with the terms of the final treaty itself. A copy, however, is in the British Record Office.⁷⁴

There is no space here to enumerate the favorable terms of the draft of September 30. They were never agreed to because, ten days previously, Grenville had heard from Hammond that Alexander Hamilton said the United States would never accede to the Scandinavian convention. Hammond reported that Hamilton said

with great seriousness and with every demonstration of sincerity . . . that it was the settled policy of this government in every contingency, even in that of an open contest with Great Britain, to avoid entangling itself with European connections, which would only tend to involve this country where it might have no possible interest, and connect it to a common cause with allies, from whom, in the moment of danger, it could derive no succor. . . . In support of this policy Mr. Hamilton urged many of the arguments advanced in your lordship's despatch, the dissimilitude between the political views as well as between general interests of the United States and those of the Baltic Powers, and the inefficiency of the latter, from their enfeebled condition, either to protect the navigation of the former in Europe or to afford it any active assistance if necessary in its own territory.

Hammond could not find out whether the supposed Swedish propositions had arrived from Pinckney, but from Hamilton's decided man-

⁷² Engeström to the Royal Chancellor (Sparre), August 12, 1794. Swedish Royal Archives, Anglica (1794).

⁷³ It is not included among the duplicates of Jay's correspondence in the Jay manuscripts in the New York Historical Society's collections, nor, of course, in the published *Works* of Jay.

⁷⁴ F. O., misc. ser. 95, vol. 512.

ner he believed that the matter had received his attention before, and that what he had stated represented the deliberations of himself and of the American administration.⁷⁵ That the Swedish proposal was received with no enthusiasm is indicated by Hamilton's letter of July 8, to Randolph, quoted in his works.⁷⁶

The result of this information in the hands of Grenville was to reduce all his fear of American co-operation with the Baltic Powers. With the latest news from Philadelphia in mind, no reason any longer existed why Grenville should submit to Jay's propositions of maritime law, and, so that the Americans were mollified sufficiently to prevent hostilities or injurious commercial legislation, there was no longer any particular occasion for hurry. Jay, on the other hand, feared that some unforeseen contingency in the maelstrom of European policy might derange the attitude of the British ministry toward the United States. The only concession Grenville would now make was to agree to a joint survey and settlement by commission of the unknown northwestern boundary. The other new points of Jay's draft he deemed "insurmountable obstacles".

Convinced that he could get no better terms and that on the whole those he had were satisfactory, the American envoy signed the treaty which has since been connected with his name. The articles, long familiar in American history, were a triumph of British diplomacy. The only concessions made were the evacuation of the posts, which Grenville had before decided on in order to prevent a disruption of the valuable British-American trade;⁷⁷ the admission of American vessels, during the war only, to a direct West Indian trade, which the conditions of war had rendered it impracticable for British ships adequately to maintain;⁷⁸ and compensation for captures "made under cover" of the arbitrary Orders in Council, without

⁷⁵ Hammond to Grenville, no. 28, New York, August 3, 1794, rec'd September 20. F. O., ser. 5, vol. 5. That the matter had received discussion, probably in the Cabinet, is indicated by Hamilton's letter of July 8, 1794 (at about the time the Engeström proposal would have been received in America): "The United States have peculiar advantages from situation, which would thereby be thrown into common stock without an equivalent. The United States had better stand in its own ground."

⁷⁶ "If a war, on the question of Neutral Rights, should take place, common interest would secure all the co-operation which is practical and occasional arrangements may be made; what has already been done in this respect appears to be sufficient." Hamilton to Randolph, Philadelphia, July 8, 1794. Hamilton, *Works*, IV. 571.

⁷⁷ Consideration on suggestions proposed for the Government of Upper and Lower Canada. R. O., C. O., ser. 42, vol. 88, pp. 575-579.

⁷⁸ Mahan, *Sea Power and French Revolution*, II. 258. This article was not ratified by the Senate.

giving up the principle of those orders. The price paid by the Federalists was, to make, by abeyance, a heavy though a regrettably necessary sacrifice of principle in the face of other national interests. Only one real advantage was secured—the evacuation of the frontier posts and the clearance of the last vestige of British control from the soil of the United States. By means of a mixed commission to compensate for spoliation “under cover” of the Orders in Council, Pitt secured from America a peaceable acquiescence in British naval policy that reversed completely the position taken by the young republic in all its previous treaties.⁷⁹

The episode of the abortive renewal in 1794 of the Armed Neutrality and the relations of the United States to it are interesting in two ways. The decision of Hamilton, who in 1794 preponderated in the councils of Washington, not to participate in a European combination, marks the first definite acceptance by the government of the United States of the principle of abstention from foreign entanglements. Though the idea of such a policy may not have been wholly original with Hamilton, it was he who first gave it practical application. It was the proposal of the Scandinavians in the world war of the French Revolution that offered a chance for such a decision, and on the basis of Hamilton’s reasoning the new government’s policy was first actually oriented in that direction.⁸⁰ Two years later it was publicly restated in Washington’s Farewell Address, as an American policy of abstention from foreign entanglements; Hamilton’s verbal coinage of 1794 was there repeated. In

⁷⁹ If the principle of the rule of 1756 was not recognized, it was consented to tacitly—a voluntary relaxation from it having been made, so far as the trade between the United States and the French islands was concerned, by the repeal of the Order of November 6, 1793. Restrictions on American exportations of stipulated West Indian products, of which the voyage had been broken by landing on American soil, would have cut off the carriage of French colonial products, had the article been ratified by the Senate. There was no agreement on the question of food-stuffs as contraband, which the United States was bound by treaties with France, Sweden, and Holland to treat as non-contraband; the practice of Great Britain, who controlled the sea, in pre-empting food-stuffs bound for France was allowed by not being prohibited. In fact, Grenville stated that the treaty was a specific recognition of the British principle in this respect, when a little later the American government questioned additional instructions to British naval commanders of April 25, 1795, to detain all ships laden with provision for France. (Grenville to Bond—chargé d’affaires at Philadelphia after Hammond’s departure—November 4, 1795, enclosing copy of the instructions, F. O., 115, 4). The principles of free ships, free goods, and the immunity of naval stores from seizure as contraband were wholly lost sight of.

⁸⁰ The idea, itself, that abstention from European alliances was advisable had occurred to other American political thinkers before Hamilton first put it into operation. See Hart, *Monroe Doctrine*, pp. 9-10.

this sense, Alexander Hamilton was the author of one-half of the Monroe Doctrine, just as nearly thirty years later John Quincy Adams was the author of the other half.

Again, the episode has its interest from the ambitious Franco-Scandinavian "neutral counter-coalition", so adventurously constructed in the imagination of French diplomatists. Though the lack of French subsidies to Sweden prevented that power from arming more actively in concert with Denmark against the preponderating naval power of England and Russia, the Jay Treaty administered the final blow to this daring diplomatic conception. Bernstorff constantly insisted to Grouvelle,⁸¹ while the Jay negotiations were proceeding, that it was the intention of the northern allies jointly to invite the accession of the United States. But that was not done, and meanwhile the treaty was signed. "The agreement by which the American agent, Jay, has just terminated the disputes between England and America", wrote Grouvelle from Copenhagen to the Committee of Public Safety after the treaty became known there, "breaks absolutely this *liaison*" (*i. e.*, a possible Scandinavian-American *liaison*).⁸² The French design for another armed neutrality quickly expired as the United States, under the guiding reason of Hamilton, acquiesced in the *real* facts of British sea power.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

⁸¹ Grouvelle au Ministre (des Affaires Étrangères), no. 50, Copenhagen, 27 Messidor, an II. Arch. Aff. Étrang., Dannemarck, vol. 170, p. 232.

⁸² Grouvelle aux Membres du Comité de Salut Public, Déchiffrement, Copenhagen, 3 Nivôse, an III. *Ibid.*, p. 359.

THE KAISER'S SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE TSAR, 1904-1905

SHORTLY before sunset on Sunday evening, July '23, 1905, the Kaiser's yacht *Hohenzollern* was steaming eastward across the Bay of Viborg toward Björkö Sound. The Russian pilot who had been waiting off Hochland since dawn was picked up, and a little later the large yacht swung up into "a pleasant, quiet place" off Björkö, and dropped anchor alongside another imperial yacht, the Tsar's *Polar Star*. The meeting had been arranged only four days before and had been kept strictly secret by both emperors. The Kaiser, who so loves dramatic scenes, had telegraphed ahead to the Tsar,

Nobody has the slightest idea of meeting. The faces of my guests will be worth seeing when they suddenly behold your yacht. A fine lark. Tableaux. Which dress for the meeting? WILLY.

The next day the Kaiser persuaded the Tsar to sign the Björkö Treaty, which, if it had become effective, would have had momentous consequences.

The public knew nothing for a dozen years of this treaty and the true purpose of the Björkö meeting. But during the past year new documents have come to light which make it possible to estimate its significance both in diplomatic history and in the light which it throws on the Kaiser's character and the methods of the Wilhelmstrasse.

The Great War has brought strange changes, and nowhere stranger than those which have taken place in Russia. Under the régime of Nicholas II. one of the revolutionaries most persecuted by the secret police was Vladimir Bourtsev. He managed to flee abroad. After the revolution of March, 1917, he returned to Petrograd and being put in charge of the private papers of the Tsar at Tsarskoe-Selo, brought to light a remarkable set of telegrams, exchanged between Nicholas II. and William II. during the period from June 16, 1904, to August 2, 1907. They were acquired by Herman Bernstein of New York, who published them in the *New York Herald* in September, 1917.¹ These "secret and intimate telegrams", curiously

¹ Reissued in book-form in January, 1918, by A. A. Knopf, *The Willy-Nicky Correspondence* (ed. Herman Bernstein). This edition, to which references below are made under the abbreviation *WNC.*, leaves much to be desired both as regards the editor's comments and as regards the dating of the telegrams: many are wrongly dated, many confuse Old Style and New Style, and many are left undated; the result is that many are not in their proper order.

enough, were exchanged in the English language, that being the language with which the Tsar had least difficulty and in which the Kaiser is also at ease.² They were despatched in cipher and were supplementary to a correspondence carried on by letters which were borne back and forth by special messengers. Whether there are other telegrams earlier or later than those published does not appear, though it is clear that early in the reign of Nicholas II. the Kaiser had begun the habit of communicating with him through personal and confidential letters.³ The imperial autocrats signed their messages "Willy" and "Nicky". Occasionally, however, when the Kaiser was angry or disappointed, he took a high, stern tone, and "Willy" became "Wilhelm" or "William".

In most of the telegrams Nicholas appears as little better than a weak puppet in the hands of his dominating brother-ruler. He usually acquiesces in everything that William suggests and even re-echoes, in parrot-like fashion, William's trivial comments on the weather, the hunting, and love messages to the Tsar's German wife. By insinuations about English hostility and French unreliability, the Kaiser played upon the Tsar's fears and suspicions in order to sharpen his antagonism to England, sow distrust in his mind against France, and draw him into a binding alliance with Germany. The more one studies these telegrams the more one realizes how completely "Nicky" was as clay in "Willy's" hands.

The Willy-Nicky revelations were so extraordinary that even the Berlin *Vorwärts* declared it "incredible that the Kaiser could have adopted this style which is appropriate to a commercial traveller, but not to a diplomatic document".⁴ It advised the *New York Herald* "when it swindles to swindle more cleverly". Outside Germany the *Amsterdammer Handelsblad* banished the revelations to the realm of fiction, declaring their untruth to be "obvious"; for "even if the Kaiser thought of doing something against England—which, however, is unthinkable, after his refusal to adopt an unfriendly attitude towards England during the Boer War—he would never have con-

² By those acquainted with Nicholas II. it is said that he knew English better than Russian. The Kaiser's English is forceful but contains many Teutonisms and an occasional obscurity in meaning.

³ Tsar to Hohenlohe, September 11, 1895: "Dites à l'Empereur [William II.] qu'il continue à m'écrire personnellement, quand il aura quelque chose à me communiquer". Hohenlohe, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, II. 521.

⁴ Cf. Kaiser to Tsar, October 8, 1904 (*WNC.*, p. 59): "I think it would be practical for you to begin ordering line of battleships with [German] private firms, as the Japanese have done in England." And again, October 27, (*WNC.*, p. 71): "Our private firms would be most glad to receive contracts." See also below for the negotiations about deliveries of coal.

cluded an alliance with a beaten and destroyed Russia". And Mr. Bernstein seems to have felt it necessary to guarantee their genuineness in a telegram which the publishers print on the paper cover of the volume containing the Willy-Nicky telegrams. All doubt as to their authenticity, however, was soon set at rest by the German government itself. Through the medium of a series of five articles in the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of September 10-14, 1917, it published a German translation of a carefully made selection of five out of a total of sixty-five Willy-Nicky telegrams. It added a valuable telegram—or at least a part of it—which the Kaiser sent to Prince von Bülow the day after the meeting at Björkö, and the notes concerning a coaling agreement made between Russia and Germany in December, 1904. Certain slight alterations were made in the documents, and they were accompanied by a commentary giving the German interpretation of the whole matter, one of the main points of which was to make it appear that no treaty at all was signed at Björkö. This perhaps seemed to the German government in September, 1917, a safe thing to do, as the Willy-Nicky correspondence does not contain the text of any signed treaty, though it contains many unmistakable references to one. But the text of this interesting document was published by the Bolsheviki in the Russian *Izvestiia* on December 29, 1917.⁵

⁵ The Willy-Nicky correspondence has now been further supplemented by statements from several diplomats of the time. M. Izvolsky, who was Russian minister at Copenhagen in 1905 and Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1907, happening to be in Paris in September, 1917, gave an interview to a Danish journalist which was published in the Paris *Temps* and the Copenhagen *Berlingske Tidende*, September 15, 1917; in it he gave the substance of what the Kaiser said to him a few days after the Björkö interview. More interesting are the personal character-sketches of Count Lamsdorf, M. Witte, and other persons around the Tsar given by M. A. Nekludov, at that time counsellor of the Russian embassy in Paris, "Souvenirs Diplomatiques: Autour de l'Entrevue de Bjoerkoe", in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XLIV. 127-144 (March 1, 1918). Most valuable is the narrative of M. Bompard, French ambassador at Petrograd from 1902 to 1908, "Le Traité de Bjoerkoe", in *Revue de Paris*, XXV. 423-448 (May 15, 1918). Among other works which throw light upon the Kaiser and the Tsar or upon the general situation in 1904-1905 are: *The New Europe* for 1917; D. J. Hill, "Impressions of the Kaiser", *Harper's Magazine* (June-August, 1918); S. C. Hammer, *William the Second* (New York, 1917); E. J. Dillon, *The Eclipse of Russia*, (New York, 1918); J. Penzler and B. Krieger, *Die Reden Kaiser Wilhelms II.*, III., IV. (Reclam ed., Leipzig); Prince von Bülow, *Imperial Germany* (new revised ed., 1916); Ernst zu Reventlow, *Deutschlands Auswärtige Politik, 1888-1914* (second ed., Berlin, 1915); E. Laloy, *La Diplomatie de Guillaume II.* (Paris, 1917); A. Tardieu, *La Conférence d'Algésiras* (second ed., Paris, 1908); *id.*, *France and the Alliances* (New York, 1908); *id.*, *Le Prince de Bülow* (Paris, 1909); A. Mévil, *De la Paix de Francfort à la Conférence d'Algésiras* (Paris, 1909); A. Debidour, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe, 1878-1916* (Paris, 1916-

In March, 1890, when William II. forced the resignation of Bismarck, Germany held the leading diplomatic position in Europe. Dominating the firmly established Triple Alliance, and secured on the East by the very secret "reinsurance treaties" with Russia, Germany could look unconcernedly beyond the Rhine at weakened and isolated France, or across the Channel at England, with whom she yet had no quarrel. This was the achievement of Bismarck's firm and consistent policy. A few days after he had dropped the veteran pilot, the youthful Kaiser telegraphed to the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, "To me has fallen the post of Officer of the Watch upon the Ship of State. We shall follow the old course; and now—full steam ahead." In the course of the following fourteen years, during which the Kaiser assumed personal direction of Germany's foreign policy, the ship moved rapidly, but upon an uncertain and zigzag course, very different in fact from that which Bismarck had steered. At the very moment of Bismarck's resignation his inexperienced young master decided to omit the renewal of the "reinsurance treaties" with Russia and to support Austria more closely. The inevitable result was that Russia turned to France as an ally, and Italy eventually became less enthusiastic for an alliance in which her *irredentist* and Balkan hopes were likely to find scant support. A little later the Zanzibar-Heligoland Treaty with England (June 11, 1890), which during the negotiations had appeared to be a natural and friendly exchange of territories, was foreshadowed in its true light when the Kaiser proclaimed (August 10, 1890) to the people of Heligoland that "the island is destined to be a base for my war-ships, a defense for the German Ocean against every enemy who may force his way in and attempt to show himself there". It was the preliminary step to those naval schemes which he had not yet mentioned in his after-dinner speeches, but which were later to be the main source of that increasing distrust with which he came to be regarded in England.

During the first seven years Germany did not suffer seriously in prestige or position, in spite of frequent acts on the Kaiser's part, which seemed to manifest great friendliness or the reverse, first in one direction, then in another. The foreign offices of Europe were more astonished and perplexed than seriously alarmed. But during the next seven years, with the advent in 1897 of Admiral von Tirpitz as Naval Minister and of Count (now Prince) von Bülow as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Kaiser's policy began to be

1917); T. Hayashi, *Secret Memoirs* (ed. A. M. Pooley, New York, 1915); B. E. Schmitt, *England and Germany, 1740-1915* (Princeton, 1916); and contemporary newspapers.

regarded in a more sinister light both by the public and by the responsible diplomats of the other Powers.

At the opening of the momentous year 1904, the net result of German diplomacy since Bismarck's fall was that Germany found herself in a much less comfortable position than fourteen years earlier. Through a number of episodes which there is here no opportunity to explain, she had shaken the confidence of her neighbors and brought on a situation in which her prestige was diminished. Aside from domestic difficulties, such as an over-extended system of credit, the increasing defiance of the government by the Social Democrats, and the colonial scandals culminating in the terrible Herero Rebellion, neither von Bülow's clever speeches in the Reichstag nor a duly inspired newspaper press could conceal unpleasant truths. The Triple Alliance was no longer what it used to be in Bismarck's day. France, with her new three-year army law, her loyal Russian ally, and her growing friendship with England, was stronger than at any time since 1870. The United States, with a navy which was not negligible, had shown her determination to uphold the Monroe Doctrine. Japan, with her English ally, and her new army and navy, modelled on the best that German and English experience could suggest, was a powerful commercial rival in the Far East. England, in cordial relations with France and Italy as well as with the United States and Japan, was suddenly beginning to wake up to the necessity of an increase in naval construction which would keep her far ahead of the German fleet.

On February 6, 1904, the Powers were taken by surprise by Japan's attack on Russia and by the prospect of great unforeseen changes in the Far East and of possible consequent complications in Europe. On April 8 the Anglo-French Entente Cordiale was signed, giving notice to the world that France and England were at last fast friends and that Morocco was henceforth a field in which the special interests of France were as definitely recognized as those of England in Egypt. To the Kaiser and von Bülow this was the last straw. Something must be done. In their minds the most important thing to do was to dislocate the Entente Cordiale and nullify its power before it should solidify into a formal alliance. Two methods might be used. The first was a secret intrigue with the Tsar which would draw Russia over into the orbit of German policy; this would result either in drawing France also and in establishing a German-Russian-French combination directed against England; or it would result in rupturing the Dual Alliance and leave England and France face to face with the old Triple Alliance, now reinsured again, as in Bismarck's day, on the Russian side. To

Germany it did not make a great difference which of these consequences would result, for in either case, Germany's position would be strengthened and she would win the prestige of a diplomatic success. The second method of dislocating the Entente Cordiale was by some diplomatic triumph over France, backed up by a policy of force, which would make patent to all the world the essential hollowness of the Entente Cordiale and proclaim that important arrangements in the world still could not be made without consulting Germany. These two methods, the one secret and the other open, used alternately and in combination, during the next fifteen months, in a series of manoeuvres of extraordinary interest and intricacy, are the true explanation of the Kaiser's secret interview at Björkö and his public speech at Tangiers. The secret diplomacy with the Tsar dovetails most interestingly with the better known crises in the Morocco affair.

In the early spring of 1904, on account of trouble with his throat, the Kaiser took an extended vacation in the Mediterranean on board the *Hohenzollern*. It was there that he heard of the signing of the Entente Cordiale on April 8. It was not long before the first notes of the Moroccan policy—the threat of force—were heard. Returning from the sunny south through Baden, the Kaiser, in a speech at Karlsruhe on April 28, sought to turn the German mind from the disappointing present to the glorious past, yet added:

You have rightly suggested that the task of the German people is a heavy one. Let us think of the great epoch when German Unity was created, of the battles of Wörth, Weissenburg, and Sedan. . . . I hope that peace will not be disturbed and that the events which we see taking place before our eyes tend to fix feelings in one direction, to clear the eye, to steel the courage, and to make us united, if it should be necessary for us to interfere in the policy of the world, so that peace will not be disturbed.⁶

On May 1, in inaugurating a bridge at Mainz, he spoke again and still more clearly:

I wish from my heart that peace, which is necessary for the further development of industry and trade, may be maintained in the future. But I am convinced that this bridge will prove completely adequate, if it has to be used for more serious transport purposes.⁷

On May 14, at Saarbrücken, he struck the same note. After congratulating himself that the town in which he was speaking had ceased, thanks to German victories, to be a frontier town, he emphasized German duty to the Fatherland and expressed his "rock-

⁶ *Reden*, III. 203.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

fast conviction that we have a clear conscience, and do not look for trouble anywhere, God knows, and He will stand by us if ever our peacefulness is attacked by hostile power".⁸

Then for ten months no act followed these words. The world was reassured, especially as Prince von Bülow, with characteristic dissimulation, appeared to be as little disturbed by the Anglo-French agreement as he had been by that between France and Italy two years before. On the contrary, as we shall see, he took pains to state that no German interests in Morocco were threatened. The method to be first employed to dislocate the Entente Cordiale was not after all a threat of force in Morocco, but secret diplomacy with the Tsar.

From Karlsruhe, Mainz, and Saarbrücken, the Kaiser went on to Kiel to take part in the aquatic sports in which he takes such a genuine delight. At this regatta of 1904, in which yachts of many countries took part, it had been arranged that Edward VII. should be present. The English king and his imperial nephew saw much of each other during those gala days, and had ample opportunity to discuss fully the European situation. Nothing apparently could be more friendly than their outward cordiality. On June 25 William II. heartily welcomed "Uncle Bertie" as honorary admiral of the German fleet,

which is the latest creation among the fleets of the world and an expression of the reviving sea power of the German Empire recreated by the great emperor. Destined for the protection of its trade and its territories, it also serves, like the German army, to maintain peace which the German empire together with Europe has maintained for over thirty years.

Everyone knows, too, Your Majesty's words and work, that Your Majesty's whole effort is also directed toward this goal—toward the maintenance of peace. As I also have steadily set my whole strength to reach this goal, may God give success to our efforts.⁹

There were here no boasting words and no threats of force such as the Kaiser had used a few weeks before on the Rhine.

The Kiel meeting made also a generally excellent impression on the press and people of Germany. The substance of some hundreds of columns of press comment was that the hearty manifestations on both sides attested a mutual desire to establish friendly relations between England and Germany. The regatta seemed to complete the soothing effect which von Bülow's optimistic and unconcerned references to the Entente Cordiale were calculated to exert. At the beginning of the summer holidays, the indignation and suspicions in Germany caused by the Anglo-French agreement of April 8

⁸ *Reden*, III. 206.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

seemed to have calmed down. King Edward's visit was followed by the signing between England and Germany of one of those relatively inconsequential arbitration treaties by which disputes which cannot be settled through the ordinary diplomatic channels are to be referred to the Hague Tribunal, "except those touching the vital interests, independence, or honor of the contracting parties".

Yet some of the newspapers in Germany did not conceal how much they were impressed with the ease and command with which King Edward moved about among his German hosts. Surely this man was no mere constitutional puppet, such as German teaching had represented the limited monarch of England to be. Such a man as King Edward must surely exercise a very real, direct, personal influence, not only on his own ministers and on English policy, but also upon the other sovereigns of Europe with whom he came in contact in his frequent visits to the Continent. This could scarcely have been pleasant reading to William II. with his passion for unrivalled pre-eminence. For him it now became a question whether he or his uncle could exercise the greater influence over Nicholas II. It was on the day of the final banquet at Kiel, June 29, 1904, that William decided to attempt to reknit the old, close, Bismarckian ties with Russia, by sending off the first of the Willy-Nicky telegrams:

From KIEL, the 16th of June, 1904.

Sa Majesté l'Empereur:

Uncle Albert's visit going, of course, well. . . . His wish for peace is quite pronounced, and is the motive for his liking to offer his services wherever he sees collisions in the world. The weather is simply disgusting. Best love to Alice. Sympathise sincerely with your fresh losses of ships and men.

WILLY, A. of A.¹⁰

This first telegram was merely the friendly opening of the way for more important political messages. Yet in this first telegram, in view of what followed, one wonders whether King Edward's "liking to offer his services wherever he sees collisions in the world" was not an innuendo designed to start a rankling suspicion in the Tsar's mind, that England might interfere in the Russo-Japanese War to protect her ally and spoil Russia's military hopes. During 1904, especially in the spring and summer, it was generally felt, not only in Russia but in Germany and elsewhere, that Russian arms, as in so many previous wars, after initial disasters and disappoint-

¹⁰ *WNC.*, p. 47; the date printed is probably that on which the telegram was received and marked in accordance with Russian custom, and is therefore Old Style. It cannot, of course, be June 16, New Style, for on that day the Kaiser was in Homburg, in Hesse, and King Edward had not arrived at Kiel.

ments would in the end achieve victory. After the disadvantage of being taken by surprise had been overcome by the sending of an adequate number of troops over the Trans-Siberian railway, the tide would begin to turn again in Russia's favor. Until that time came, Russia wanted no interference.¹¹ The more he turned the Tsar's mind against England, the more the Kaiser would throw him into the arms of Germany.

A fortnight after this first telegram, William II. sought to further his secret diplomacy by a courteous act which should create a friendly sentiment among the Russian public. He sent an open telegram, July 10, to the Russian commander of the Viborg Infantry Regiment, of which he was honorary colonel, congratulating them on their prospect of soon meeting the enemy. It caused a good deal of surprise and comment in the European press and led a considerable part of the public to conjecture that the recent Kiel meeting with King Edward had resulted in some agreement that Germany should intervene to stop the progress of the war. As this would have been unwelcome in Russia, those German newspapers which ventured this conjecture were speedily and sternly rebuked by Prince von Bülow's organ, the *Süddeutsche Reichskorrespondenz*.¹²

The Viborg telegram was probably also designed to facilitate the negotiations for a new commercial treaty between Germany and Russia. The old treaties had not been favorable to Germany. Von Bülow might hope that the moment was opportune for their revision. Russia's embarrassment "in the Far East, her need of obtaining money on the German market, and her desire for Germany's benevolent neutrality might presumably make her willing to make considerable tariff concessions, in the direction so clamorously desired by the German agrarian party. It augured well that it was Witte, regarded as Germanophile and now president of the Russian Council of Ministers, who came in person to Berlin on July 12 and then passed many hours in conference with von Bülow at the latter's summer residence at Norderney. In view of the fact that it was the Russian minister president and not the minister of finance who had come supposedly to negotiate the commercial treaty,¹³ and in view of Witte's persistent disinclination to state the object of his visit, one may surmise that in the long confidential talks between the two

¹¹ Cf. Reventlow, p. 236.

¹² "It proudly affirmed that Russia would not allow her confidence in German neutrality to be shaken by reports of this kind, since she knows that she possesses in Germany a safe neighbor and a true friend" (summary in *London Times*, July 13, 1904).

¹³ Nicky to Willy, August 3, 1904 (*WNC.*, p. 50): "Saw Mr. Witte, who reported the conclusion of the treaty with Count Bülow."

leading ministers, high matters of general European policy as well as the duty on bushels of wheat found a place.

Meanwhile, a week after the close of the Kiel regatta, the Kaiser started on the *Hohenzollern* on his annual summer cruise among the wonderful fjords of Norway. During this cruise, which lasted from July 6 to August 10, an incident occurred which threatened greatly to arouse irritation between Russia and Germany, and thus make much more difficult the *rapprochement* which the Kaiser now had so much at heart. A Russian steamer, the *Smolensk*, of uncertain status though called a "cruiser", had held up the North German Lloyd steamer *Prinz Heinrich* in the Red Sea and carried off the mail bags containing correspondence for Japan. The Kaiser realized how his plans would be jeopardized if this kind of thing should continue, and instantly telegraphed to the Tsar,

This act, a violation of international law, will create great surprise and disgust in Germany, considering the friendly feeling shown to Russia by our country, and, if repeated, will, I fear, contribute to considerably reduce the sympathy still cherished for your country by Germany.¹⁴

The Tsar hastened to express his regrets at this excess and *trope de zele* [*sic*] of the *Smolensk* and promised that it should not happen again, for it "would be sad if one episode were to spoil the excellent relations existing between our countries".¹⁵

During the following summer weeks, the Kaiser continued from time to time to show little acts of friendliness or send secret telegrams which he hoped would bind the pliant and unsuspecting Tsar more closely to him. He condoled with Nicky upon General Keller's sudden death.¹⁶ He gave to a certain Baron von der Wenge the title, Count Lamsdorf, and attached him as special military attaché to the person of Nicholas II.; the Tsar did the same with Schebeko for the Kaiser.¹⁷ This arrangement was a revival of one which pre-

¹⁴ WNC., p. 51, July 18. Prince von Bülow also protested through the German Foreign Office.

¹⁵ WNC., pp. 51-52. Some other cases did occur, but were apologized for in the same manner and remained without serious consequences.

¹⁶ WNC., p. 49. The date printed on no. 2, "From Nordfjordeidet, the 20th of June, 1904", cannot be correct for, whether O. S. or N. S., the Kaiser was still in Germany. Furthermore Count Keller was not killed till July 31, the news appearing in the European papers the next day. Probably "20th of June" was misread for "20th of July" by the editors. This would make the correct date, N. S., August 2, 1904. Telegrams 2 and 3 should therefore properly come between telegrams 9 and 10.

¹⁷ WNC., p. 71. Cf. London Times, October 24, 1904. It is supposed that the Kaiser was also attempting in this matter to pay a delicate compliment to the great Count Vladimir Lamsdorf, the Russian minister of foreign affairs at this

vailed for many years between Prussia and Russia before 1890. It was no mere form. These military attachés, who bore also the title "military plenipotentiary", were constantly in the neighborhood of the sovereigns to whom they were attached, and were used to carry confidential letters and verbal messages back and forth between their rulers.¹⁸ They were also treated as if they were officers of the ruler's own staff. Their revival after an interval of many years was regarded by the *Vossische Zeitung* as "a symptom of renewed warmth between Germany and Russia, which since the days of Alexander III. has been very cool". Others, similarly, believed it to be "the outward and visible sign of the close personal bond uniting both sovereigns. It implies, if not the existence of a new reinsurance treaty, at any rate a condition of close relationship rendering such a treaty unnecessary".¹⁹ The journalists little knew how close they were to the real truth.

As the Russo-Japanese War progressed even more unfavorably for the Tsar, the Kaiser began to give him naval and military advice, as he claims to have done to the English in the Boer War.²⁰ Twice in the same telegram, he strongly advises that the Russian fleet, bottled up at Port Arthur, should

make a try for the Japanese fleet, and if they manage to run down or smash or damage the four lines of battleships left to Japan, though they themselves may perish, too, they will have done their duty, shattering the strength of the Japanese sea power and preparing the way for the Baltic fleet's victorious success on its arrival, in winning easily against a damaged antagonist unable to repair his ships or build new ones in time. Then the sea power is back in your hands and the Japanese land forces are at your mercy; then you sound the "general advance" for your army and the enemy. Hallali!²¹

Two weeks later, on October 19, while encouraging Nicholas to plunge boldly and rapidly on, before the crafty but exhausted Japanese could bear off the fruits of victory, the Kaiser at the same

time. But if so, he was, according to Nekludov (pp. 136-137), singularly infelicitous. The great Count Lamsdorf came of an old German Lutheran family of the Baltic provinces, perhaps distantly related by blood to the new military attaché.

¹⁸ Cf. *WNC.*, pp. 58, 71, 89, 145-147.

¹⁹ How important the Kaiser deemed the new arrangement to be may be seen by his eager argument for its continuance when the Tsar, his eyes at last opened to the Kaiser's plot, questioned whether they should not drop it (December 30, 1905, *WNC.*, pp. 146-147).

²⁰ In the famous "interview" in the *Daily Telegraph*, October 28, 1908; for the story of how this indiscretion on the Kaiser's part passed the Chancellor and the whole German Foreign Office, see Hammer, pp. 215-226.

²¹ October 8, 1904. *WNC.*, pp. 57-58.

time was seeking to sow suspicion in the Tsar's mind against France and especially against England:

I have information from good source that former Japanese Minister at Petersburg, Kurino, has reappeared in Europe. He is in Paris, and seems to be authorised to try to get France and England, l'entente cordiale, to mediate in favour of Japan for peace. It seems also as if the Chinese were being pushed forward by Japan to offer to mediate on their part, too. This shows that Japan is nearing the limits of its strength in men and money, and now that they have gained advantages over the Manchurian army they fancy that they can stop now and try to reap the fruits of their efforts by enticing other Powers to mix themselves in the matter and to get at Manchuria by peace conference. . . . I thought it my duty to inform you of what seems going on behind the scenes. I think the strings of all these doings lead across the Channel.²²

Whether the Kaiser's encouragement had any influence on the feverish haste and nervousness with which the Baltic fleet under Rodjestvensky started for the Far East, or whether the Kaiser was deliberately pushing the Tsar forward in his disastrous Asiatic adventure, in order to weaken his position in Europe, are questions which lack of space forbids me to discuss. There can be no doubt, however, that Germany's relative diplomatic position in Europe was improved, when the Tsar's hands were tied by the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. The departure of Rodjestvensky's fleet not only opened the possibility of new business for German ship-building firms, but, what was far more important, it would leave the German fleet for many years to come supreme in the Baltic, unrivalled by any naval power except that of England. And England's exclusion from the Baltic was, as we shall see, soon to be provided for. It seemed at last that the much-coveted *dominium maris Baltici* might virtually fall into German hands and open the way perhaps for the Pan-Germans to strengthen their hold on the Baltic Provinces and even reach out toward Finland. There is much in the Willy-Nicky correspondence which seems to support such a view of the Kaiser's perfidy toward a weak ruler who had put faith in a "loyal friendship which I trust beyond anything". On the other hand, it is possible that the Kaiser still honestly believed, as did many military critics in Germany, that Russia would prevail and that "the Baltic fleet on arrival will only have to finish the rest of the hostile ships off".²³

But whatever opinion one may hold about the sincerity and dis-

²² October 19, 1904. *WNC.*, pp. 61-62. The Tsar replied that he also had heard about Japan's activity, but "cannot quite make out whether the strings of these doings lead across the Channel or perhaps the Atlantic . . . May God help us. Hearty thanks for your loyal friendship, which I trust beyond anything."

²³ *WNC.*, p. 58.

interestedness of the Kaiser's advice to the Tsar in the fall of 1904, there can be no doubt that he did his utmost to exploit the Tsar's difficult situation for his own diplomatic advantage by attempting to draw the Tsar into a secret alliance. The Dogger Bank incident, in which Russian naval officers gave a painful exhibition of their nervousness by firing into an English fishing fleet which they mistook for Japanese torpedo-boats, greatly excited public feeling in England and Russia. The Kaiser instantly seized upon this unfortunate incident as the favorable moment for definitely hinting, for the first time, at the scheme of a Russo-German alliance, which, though thwarted for a while by the Tsar's scruples, finally ripened to success at Björkö. On October 27, 1904, he telegraphed to the Tsar:

For some time English press has been threatening Germany on no account to allow coals to be sent to Baltic fleet now on its way out. It is not impossible that the Japanese and British governments may lodge a joint protest against our coaling your ships, coupled with a summation [*sic*] to stop further work. The result aimed at by such a threat of war would be the absolute immobility of your fleet and inability to proceed to its destination for want of fuel. This new danger would have to be faced in community by Russia and Germany together, who would both have to remind your ally, France, of obligations she has taken over in the treaty of dual alliance with you, the "*casus foederis*". It is out of the question that France, on such an invitation, would try to shirk her implicit duty toward her ally. Though Delcassé is an anglophile "*enragé*", he will be wise enough to understand that the British fleet is utterly unable to save Paris. In this way a powerful combination of three of the strongest Continent Powers would be formed, to attack whom the Anglo-Japanese group would think twice before acting. . . . The naval battles fought by Togo are fought with Cardiff coals. . . . I am sorry for the mishap in the North Sea.²⁴

Simple Nicky easily fell into the snare, replying immediately,

I agree fully with your complaints about England's behaviour concerning the coaling of our ships by German steamers, whereas she understands the rules of keeping neutrality in her own fashion. It is certainly high time to put a stop to this. The only way, as you say, would be that Germany, Russia, and France should at once unite upon an arrangement to abolish Anglo-Japanese arrogance and insolence. Would you like to lay down and frame the outlines of such a treaty and let me know it? As soon as accepted by us France is bound to join her ally. This combination has often come to my mind; it will mean peace and rest for the world.²⁵

The Kaiser lost no time in supplying the draft of the treaty which he himself so much desired, adding a rumor that there had been foul

²⁴ *WNC.*, pp. 68-70.

²⁵ October 29, 1904. *WNC.*, pp. 74-75.

play against the Russian fleet at the Dogger Bank affair, intended to excite the Tsar against England, and frighten him into a hasty acceptance of the treaty.²⁶

Nicholas, however, in his simple-minded honesty, had accepted ingenuously the idea that France was to be included in the treaty. We do not know the terms of the draft treaty, since it was sent by messenger instead of telegraph. It evidently, however, did not include France. Nicholas, therefore, hesitated to act behind the back of his faithful ally. To overcome his hesitation, the Kaiser continued to ply him with new rumors as to England's perfidy.²⁷ But the Tsar still hesitated, and finally, in his honest innocence, made a suggestion which shows how little he understood the import of the Kaiser's machination:

Before signing the last draft of treaty I think it advisable to let the French see it. As long as it is not signed one can make small modifications in the text, whereas if already approved by us both it will seem as if we tried to enforce the treaty on France. In this case a failure might easily happen, which, I think, is neither your wish. Therefore I ask your agreement to acquaint the government of France with this project.²⁸

As the Tsar's ingenuous suggestion would have been fatal to the Kaiser's ultimate purpose, the Kaiser vehemently tried to argue and frighten him out of it:

It is my firm conviction that it would be absolutely dangerous to inform France before we both have signed the treaty. It would have an effect diametrically opposed to our wishes. It is only the absolute sure knowledge that we are both bound by treaty to lend each other mutual help that will bring the French to press upon England to remain quiet and keep the peace for fear of France's position being jeopardized. Should, however, France know that a Russian-German treaty is only projected, but still unsigned, she will immediately give short notice to her friend (if not secret ally) England, with whom she is bound by "entente cordiale", and inform her immediately. The outcome of such information would doubtless be an instantaneous attack by the two allied Powers, England and Japan, on Germany in Europe as well as in Asia. Their enormous maritime superiority would soon make short work of my small fleet and Germany would be temporarily crippled. This would upset the scales of the equilibrium of the world to our mutual harm, and, later on, when you begin your peace negotiations, throw you alone on the tender mercies of Japan and her jubilant and overwhelming friends. It was my special wish—and, as I understand, your intention, too—to maintain and strengthen this endangered equilibrium of the world through expressly the agreement between Russia, Germany, and France.

²⁶ October 30, 1904. *WNC.*, p. 76.

²⁷ Long telegrams of November 15 and 19, 1904. *WNC.*, pp. 77-81.

²⁸ November 23, 1904. *WNC.*, p. 83.

... A previous information of France will lead to a catastrophe. Should you, notwithstanding, think it impossible for you to conclude a treaty with me without the previous consent of France, then it would be a far safer alternative to abstain from concluding any treaty at all.²⁹

But the Tsar was not to be convinced. After some further correspondence by wire and by letter, the most to which he was willing to bind himself was a coaling agreement embodied in an exchange of notes. This took place on December 11 and 12, 1904, between the German ambassador in Petrograd, Count von Alvensleben, and the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Lamsdorf.³⁰ The text of these notes is not in the Willy-Nicky correspondence, but was published in German in the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 12, 1917, as follows:

ST. PETERSBURG, November 28/December 11, 1904. The recent measures of the English government, whereby steamers which are loading coal in English ports have been hindered from putting to sea with their cargoes, demonstrate clearly and plainly that England regards and treats as a breach of neutrality the conduct which the merchant ships of neutral Powers are observing in providing coal for the Baltic fleet. On August 15 of this year, Lord Lansdowne informed the ambassador of His Majesty the Kaiser, in London, that in case Japan by reason of the breach of neutrality on the part of Germany were to take up arms, England would, on the request of the Japanese government, regard the case as coming within the meaning of the Alliance.

From its side the Japanese government makes known through the semi-official press that it will appeal to force against acts which in its opinion constitute breaches of neutrality on the part of a foreign Power, and that it will no longer respect the neutrality of that power.

From this it is apparent that Germany is threatened with a conflict with both of the Powers in question, namely, England and Japan. The Imperial Government therefore is under the necessity of putting to the Imperial Russian Government the question whether it will undertake to stand by Germany with all means at its disposal, in all difficulties which may arise as a result of coal deliveries to the Russian fleet during the present war.

Should it not be possible for the Imperial Russian Government to give its assurance to the Imperial Government in this sense, then the German Government will be under the necessity in regard to the supplying of coal of taking measures without delay such as are necessary for the safety of the Empire. The Imperial Government will have to take these measures without delay at the time of the arrival of the fleet under Admiral Rodjestvensky in Madagascar, in case the assurance in question has not then been received by the German Government.

On the following day, December 12, Lamsdorf, by the Tsar's command, gave the formal assurance,

²⁹ November 26, 1904. *WNC.*, pp. 85-87.

³⁰ Cf. *WNC.*, pp. 95-96.

that the Russian Government is resolved fully to stand by the Imperial German Government in the question of the deliveries of coal, in the firm conviction that the latter on its side, as Your Excellency confirmed to me yesterday, will observe the same friendly attitude which it has hitherto shown, and that it will facilitate the deliveries of coal to the Russian fleet.

The fall of Port Arthur on January 1, 1905, which the Kaiser had probably not expected,³¹ and the consequent loss of the Russian ships which had been bottled up there, now made very hazardous the fate of the Baltic fleet if it should venture to proceed from Madagascar to the Far East. German colliers which undertook to accompany it ran a great risk of being sunk or captured. Therefore, the Kaiser was no longer eager to deliver coal from colliers flying the German flag. He took refuge in the theory that the coaling question was a purely private business matter of the Hamburg-American Line. He also now suggested that Russia *buy* the colliers, whereby Germany would escape the risk of loss. But the Russians naturally did not want to buy, and gave as one pretext that they had no crews to man colliers.³² Irritated by the situation into which he had brought himself, of having made an agreement to "facilitate the deliveries of coal to the Russian fleet" which he was now unwilling to live up to, when it ceased to be for his interest to do so, the Kaiser abruptly ended the telegrams to Nicky. He turned instead to the Morocco affair, and did not begin them again until he had scored what he regarded as a first triumph over France.

To see the full significance of the Björkö interview, it is necessary to recall some facts in the Morocco affair. On March 23, 1904, fifteen days before the signing of the Anglo-French Entente Cordiale, M. Delcassé had courteously informed the German ambassador at Paris, Prince von Radolin, of the tenor of the new agreement with England, so that the German government should not think France was trying to surprise them. The ambassador replied that he found the arrangement "very natural and perfectly justified".³³ When it had been signed, Prince von Bülow took pains to state in the Reichstag, April 12, 1904:

We have no cause to apprehend that this agreement is levelled against any individual power. It seems to be an attempt to eliminate the points of difference between France and Great Britain by means of an amicable understanding. From the point of view of German interests we have no objection to make to it.³⁴

³¹ Cf. *WNC.*, pp. 57, 77-78.

³² *WNC.*, pp. 96-100.

³³ Tardieu, *France and the Alliances*, pp. 171-172.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 172.

Trusting to this, and other official statements by the German chancellor, and discounting the Kaiser's threatening utterances, M. Delcassé had made the mistake of failing to secure promptly for France, by agreements with Spain and with the Sultan of Morocco, the reforms in Morocco contemplated by the Anglo-French Entente of April 8. If he had done so and presented Germany with a *fait accompli*, perhaps Prince von Bülow would have prudently adhered to the attitude which he at first announced. But M. Delcassé had allowed many months to slip by, during which it became clear that France was weakened by domestic troubles as well as by the disasters which were rendering her Russian ally powerless in Europe.

When, therefore, it was clear that the Kaiser's secret diplomacy had failed to win the Tsar to an alliance after the Dogger Bank incident, it was decided that von Bülow should use Morocco as a weapon against France. In contradiction with the attitude which he had expressed in April, 1904, at the time when the Entente Cordiale was signed, he now took the opposite position, that German interests were threatened by the French in Morocco, after all. The first indication that the soft persuasive notes of the secret-diplomacy flute had been laid aside in favor of the noisy Tangiers kettledrum came on February 11, 1905, at the moment when the Kaiser's irritation over the coaling business had put a temporary cessation to the correspondence with Nicholas. On that day Herr von Kühlmann, Germany's chargé d'affaires at Tangiers, complained to his French colleague,

We find that we have been systematically kept ignorant of what was going on. . . . I thought it my duty to ask my government for formal instructions. Count von Bülow thereupon informed me that the Imperial Government had no knowledge of the different agreements that had been made with reference to Morocco, and did not recognize that he was in any way bound as regards the situation.³⁵

This surprising prelude, followed by a *crescendo* of assertions by the German consul in Fez (February 21), and by Prince von Bülow in the Reichstag (March 16 and 29), came to a resounding *finale* on March 31 in the Kaiser's famous appearance and ominous remarks at Tangiers.³⁶

³⁵ Tardieu, *France and the Alliances*, p. 171. Kühlmann's complaint was made on February 11; the Kaiser's final irritated telegram on the coaling business was of February 15, 1905 (*WNC.*, pp. 100-101).

³⁶ Into the large question of the motives and honesty of Germany's Morocco policy of 1905, I cannot here enter. Cf. on one side, Reventlow, pp. 219-280, and von Bülow's own statements to French journalists published in the *Petit Parisien* and the *Temps*, early in October, 1905; on the other side, the comment in the French press, in the London *Times* (especially editorial of October 5, 1905), and the works of Tardieu and Mévil.

The "Morocco Crisis" ensued and alarmed Europe for weeks. Prince von Bülow seemed to have scored a success in forcing the resignation of M. Delcassé on June 6 and the acceptance by M. Rouvier, two days later, of the principle that Moroccan affairs should be settled by a conference of the Powers.³⁷

There were, however, clouds on the horizon. It was uncertain how far England would be willing to see France humiliated. The outcome of the peace negotiations which President Roosevelt was arranging at Portsmouth was still problematical. The separation of Norway from Sweden and the search for a suitable ruler for Norway raised vital questions as to the Baltic which ought to be settled with the Tsar. Altogether the situation in July, 1905, seemed to invite and demand on the Kaiser's part another effort toward the Tsar. Secret diplomacy began again.

It happened by design or chance that in 1905 the Kaiser's summer cruise was not directed as usual among the fjords of Norway but to the Swedish coasts in the Baltic. At Gefle, on July 13, William II. discussed the European situation with the King and Crown Prince of Sweden on board the *Hohenzollern*. On July 19, from a Swedish port north of Stockholm, he casually telegraphed to Nicky,

I shall shortly be on my return journey and cannot pass across entrance of the Finnish Sea without sending you best love and wishes. Should it give you any pleasure to see me—either on shore or your yacht—of course am always at your disposal.

Nicky was "delighted".

Would it suit you to meet me at Bjoerkesund, near Viborg, a pleasant, quiet place, living on board our yachts?³⁸

Arrangements were speedily made as to a trustworthy pilot and the exact time and place,³⁹ and on Sunday evening, July 23, the Kaiser had the pleasure of the tableau he had anticipated.

Of the secret interview which took place between the Kaiser and the Tsar on Monday, July 24, there is of course no narrative in the Willy-Nicky correspondence, but from a variety of sources one can

³⁷ Tardieu, *La Conférence d'Algésiras*, pp. 481-484. The only question that then remained was the scope of the subjects which should be submitted for discussion at the conference. Here a serious hitch occurred, until M. Witte appeared as a *deus ex machina*.

³⁸ *WNC.*, pp. 104-105.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-109.

piece together pretty accurately what took place.⁴⁰ No other persons except the emperors were present at the main part of the interview. The Kaiser began by relating the news which he had picked up from King Oscar of Sweden, being careful to omit no touch which would arouse the fears in his timid listener, and excite his suspicions against the members of the Dual Entente, especially against England. The Kaiser mentioned that King Oscar was indifferent as to who should be chosen the new King of Norway; the king even had no objections to a republic. At this, poor Nicky threw his hands over his head, exclaiming, "And that, too! Well, that was the only thing lacking [colloquially, 'This is the last straw']. As if we had not already republics enough in the world."⁴¹ Nicky then suggested that if King Oscar was not ambitious to put a Swedish prince in Norway, and if the Danish family was interested in the matter, "Prince Waldemar might be sent";⁴² he has had some experience of life, has an elegant, nice wife, and fine, strapping children." The Kaiser appeared to agree, but deftly mentioned "private information from Copenhagen" that "the King of England has already given out his approval of the election of his son-in-law".⁴³ The Tsar was very disagreeably taken by surprise at this news, and remarked,

My cousin Charles is absolutely unsuited for this position. He has never been anywhere and has no experience of life and is indolent. Waldemar would be much better. If it is to be Charles, England "by fair means or foul" will stick her finger in Norwegian affairs, gain influence, begin intrigues, and finally by the occupation of Christiansand close the Skagerack and shut us all out from the Baltic, and thereby the Murman ports in the north will be settled.⁴⁴

Then the question of Denmark was discussed at length. The Tsar, according to the Kaiser's account, asked what measures they

⁴⁰ (a) From the Kaiser's telegram to von Bülow the next day, published in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 13, 1917; (b) from the Kaiser's explanation to the Tsar (August 2, 1905, *WNC.*, pp. 117-121) of why he did not tell the King of Denmark how the Björkö agreement threatened that small state; and (c) from Izvolsky's recollections published in the *Matin*, September 15, 1917.

⁴¹ "Auch das noch! Na, das fehlte gerade noch. Als ob wir nicht schon genug Republiken in der Welt hätten". Kaiser to von Bülow, July 25, in *Nordd. Allg. Zeitung*, September 13, 1917.

⁴² Waldemar, younger son of Christian IX. of Denmark, was the brother of Queen Alexandra, mother of George V. of England, and also brother of the dowager Tsarina Maria, mother of Nicholas II.

⁴³ Charles, grandson of Christian IX. and younger son of Frederick VIII., born 1872, elected King of Norway under the title of Haakon VII. in November, 1905.

⁴⁴ Kaiser to von Bülow, July 25, 1905. *Nordd. Allg. Zeitung*, September 13, 1917.

could take to assist King Christian and guarantee his position in his country, so that they themselves could be certain in case of war of maintaining the defense of the Baltic north of the Belts.

A declaration of neutrality would do us no good, if, at the same time, the Danes, according to their views, considered it right to pilot enemy vessels straight into the Baltic before our ports. The enemy, in case he does not respect the neutrality of Denmark, which is to be assumed considering the great weakness of the little country, would lay hands on it and it would be compelled to take sides with the enemy and furnish him with an excellent base for operations against our coasts. Denmark is now only a Baltic State and not a North Sea Power.

How far the Tsar was here giving original views of his own, and how far merely echoing the ideas which the Kaiser had put into his head, does not appear with certainty.⁴⁵ At any rate, they had no difficulty in coming to an understanding that

In case of war and impending attack on the Baltic from the foreign Power . . . Russia and Germany will immediately take steps to safeguard their interests by laying hand on Denmark and occupying it during the war.⁴⁶

The Kaiser on his way back to Germany from Björkö was to break the news gently to King Christian.

Having arranged amicably for the fate of this small nation and for the exclusion of English enemy ships from the Baltic, the Kaiser then came to the really important matter. He drew forth and handed to the Tsar a treaty of alliance between Germany and Russia. Whether the Tsar hesitated, we do not know. But we do know that in the course of this secret interview he did sign a formal treaty in the following terms:

Their Imperial Majesties, the Emperor of All the Russias on the one side, and the German Emperor on the other, in order to insure the peace of Europe, have placed themselves in accord on the following points of the herein treaty relative to a defensive alliance:

Art. I. If any European state attacks one of the two empires, the allied party engages to aid the other contracting party with all his military and naval forces.

⁴⁵ In his account of the interview to von Bülow, the Kaiser said, "I could not, to be sure, accept his views as my own, but promised to consider the matter with you. In Copenhagen, I will question Schoen [the German ambassador], and see what conception of neutrality is held there." But was the Kaiser being quite honest even with his Chancellor? There is no hint in this telegram, as published by the *Nordd. Allg. Zeitung*, that any treaty was signed at Björkö. Either the Kaiser in 1905 was concealing a most important matter from his Chancellor (as the Tsar concealed it for some weeks from his chief ministers) or those responsible for publishing these documents in 1917 suppressed part of the telegram.

⁴⁶ *WNC.*, pp. 118-119.

Art. II. The high contracting parties engage not to conclude with any common enemy a separate peace.

Art. III. The present treaty will become effective from the moment of the conclusion of the peace between Russia and Japan and may be denounced with a year's previous notification.

Art. IV. When this treaty has become effective, Russia will undertake the necessary steps to inform France of it and to propose to the latter to adhere to it as an ally.

	[Signed] NICHOLAS.	WILLIAM.
[Countersigned]	Von Tschirschky.	Count Benkendorf.
	Naval Minister, Birilev. ⁴⁷	

Such was the Treaty of Björkö. It was not suddenly improvised on July 24, 1905. It was the culmination of plans which the Kaiser had had in view ever since the Kiel regatta in June, 1904. It was what he had aimed to secure in the fall of 1904 after the Dogger Bank episode, but, being then unsuccessful, he had accepted *faute de mieux* the coaling agreement. The Björkö Treaty was in form a defensive alliance, but, taken in connection with the understanding in regard to Denmark, was obviously directed against England. It was in conflict with the spirit of the Dual Alliance and would consequently have overthrown the foundation on which Russian foreign policy had rested since 1891. The specious provision for the adhesion of France was incapable of execution, as the situation then was. France, suddenly confronted by the united force of a Russo-German alliance, would have been compelled, as has already been suggested, to choose between two alternatives: either she would have had to subordinate herself as an impotent third party to a combination of two great empires, both dominated in fact by the Kaiser; or she would have been forced to give up the Dual Alliance and stand isolated (except so far as England offered support) before the Kaiser's menacing power. To the Kaiser it would have made little difference which alternative France chose. In either case he would have extricated Germany from that position of isolation into which his own unwise policy had brought her, he would have an ally in case of war with England, and Germany would again have weakened and humiliated France.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ This treaty was published by the Bolsheviki in the Russian *Izvestiia*, December 29, 1917, copied in the Paris *Excelsior*, December 31, and, in slightly varying phraseology, by Bompard (pp. 425-426) and by Nekludov (p. 140). As the Kaiser insisted on the signature of witnesses, the men whose names appear were called in at the close of the interview and ordered to affix their signatures. Izvolsky heard afterward that they could not read the text of the document they were signing, because it was covered by the emperor's hand.

⁴⁸ If we may trust the recollection which Izvolsky set down in 1917 of the conversation which he had in 1905, it seems likely that the Kaiser expected

From Björkö the Kaiser sailed as agreed for Copenhagen, but on arriving said nothing to King Christian of the plan elaborated at Björkö. The reasons which he telegraphed to the Tsar for remaining silent are curious:

After my arrival I soon found out through reading the press reports—Danish and foreign—that a very strong current of mistrust and apprehension had been gendered against my visit, especially from England. The King had been so intimidated and public opinion so worked upon that I was unable to touch the question we had agreed I had to mention to him. . . . Also, considering the great number of channels leading from Copenhagen to London and the proverbial want of discretion at the Danish court, I was afraid to let anything be known about our alliance, as it would immediately have been communicated to London, a most impossible thing as long as the treaty is to remain secret for the present. By a long conversation with Isvolsky, however, I was able to gather that the actual Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Raben, and a number of persons of influence have already come to the conviction that in case of war and impending attack on the Baltic from the foreign Power, the Danes expect—their inability and helplessness to uphold even the shadow of neutrality against an invasion being evident—that Russia and Germany will immediately take steps to safeguard their interests by laying hand on Denmark and occupying it during the war. As this would in the same time guarantee the territory and future existence of dynasty and country, the Danes are slowly resigning themselves to this alternative and making up their minds accordingly. This being exactly what you wished and hoped for, I thought it better not to touch the subject with the Danes.^{48a}

Not the least interesting point in regard to the Björkö Treaty is what became of it. When the Tsar parted from the Kaiser at

France to accept the first alternative. Summoned one evening at the end of July to the German legation at Copenhagen, to talk with the Kaiser who was returning from Björkö, Izvolsky relates, "I was greatly struck by the insistence of William II. in explaining to me the necessity for an alliance between Russia, Germany, and France. 'A true guarantee of peace, of a solidly established peace, would be', he said, 'in the close collaboration of the three great Continental Powers; such an alliance would entirely exclude British hegemony and assure the blessings of peace to the world forever'. Challenged by the Emperor to give my opinion, I said, 'Sire, I have followed very attentively the explanation Your Majesty has been good enough to give me; nevertheless, the realization of this vast scheme appears to me quite impossible, because . . . of the question of Alsace-Lorraine.' 'I beg pardon, it is settled.' 'Sire, I do not understand.' 'Certainly it is settled. In the Morocco affair I threw down the gauntlet to France. France declined to pick it up. Therefore she refused to fight me. Consequently, the question of Alsace-Lorraine no longer exists between us.' . . .

"What could I reply", asks M. Izvolsky, "to such a *boutade*, which, after all, was perhaps only a *boutade*, though it clearly showed William's state of mind. This impression grew on me when he developed the idea that France must, so to speak, be forced to accept a Russo-German alliance, and in any case be brought in *volens nolens*." (Le Temps, September 15, 1917).

^{48a} August 2, 1905. WNC, pp. 117-119.

Björkö, he returned to Tsarskoe-Selo with the secret treaty in his possession, and laid it away, not mentioning its existence to anyone. But he could not long so leave it. For according to article III. of the treaty, it was to become effective at the conclusion of peace between Russia and Japan. This took place at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on September 5. The Tsar therefore decided to inform Count Lamsdorf and the others who ought to know of its existence.⁴⁹ Count Lamsdorf "could not believe his eyes or ears". He instantly saw the danger for France and the necessity of nullifying the treaty. He explained to the Tsar the significance of what he had done. He made it clear how contrary the treaty was to the spirit of the Dual Alliance, and how unlikely it was that France could be forced, *volens nolens*, into such a triple combination. He re-enforced his own views by those of the Russian ambassador at Paris. The Tsar was finally convinced and instructed Lamsdorf to take steps to annul the treaty. Not trusting any further secret diplomacy between the sovereigns, Lamsdorf decided to entrust the Russian ambassador at Berlin, Count Osten-Sacken, with the disagreeable but necessary task of informing the Kaiser that the Treaty of Björkö was incompatible with Russia's obligations to France and therefore could not be executed.⁵⁰

Great was the Kaiser's vexation when he received this communication. But he did not believe the treaty was yet lost—for he hoped that he had insured himself against failure by getting Witte's support for a triple combination between Germany, Russia, and France. Therefore, he refused to regard Osten-Sacken's communication as final, and despatched to the Tsar in quick succession the strongly worded telegrams of October 12 and 15, 1905. With arguments and appeals intended to hold the Tsar fast to his promise, he urged that the treaty did not collide with the Dual Alliance, and anyway,

Your ally has notoriously left you in the lurch during the whole war, whereas Germany helped you in every way as far as it could without infringing the laws of neutrality. That puts Russia morally also under obligations to us; *do ut des*. Meanwhile the indiscretions of Delcassé have shown the world that though France is your ally she nevertheless made an agreement with England and was on the verge of surprising Germany, with British help, in the middle of peace, while I was doing my best to you and your country, her ally. . . . Our Moroccan business is regulated to entire satisfaction, so that the air is free for better under-

⁴⁹ "Till now the Grand Duke Nicholas, the War Minister, the chief of General Staff, and Lamsdorff are informed about the treaty. Have nothing against your telling Witte about it". Nicky to Willy, September 24, 1905. *WNC.*, pp. 127-128.

⁵⁰ Nekludov, p. 141; cf. Bompard, pp. 433, 442-446.

standing between us. Our treaty is a very good base to build upon. We joined hands and signed before God, who heard our vows. I therefore think that the treaty can well come into existence. . . . What is signed is signed, and God is our testator.⁵¹

M. Witte had left St. Petersburg for America on July 19 two hours before the arrival of the Kaiser's suggestion for the Björkö meeting. He left Russia famed as a financier and a builder of the Trans-Siberian railway. He returned from Portsmouth with the added reputation of being a great diplomat, and no one was more conscious of his diplomatic success than M. Witte himself. He had long desired to see closer relations between the three great Continental Powers. In his mind Germany represented power, France wealth. By allying herself with both, Russia would benefit by the strength of the one and the financial resources of the other. When, therefore, he received a telegram from the Kaiser inviting him to stop at Rominten on his way back to Russia, he thought the opportunity had come for furthering these closer relations.⁵² The quasi-royal fashion in which the Kaiser received him at Rominten on September 26 gratified Witte further. He was soon informed by his host of the fact that a treaty had been signed at Björkö, providing for a defensive alliance, to which France was to be invited to become a member. But he was not shown the text of the treaty and did not grasp its real intent. Supposing that the Kaiser intended a defensive alliance, into which Germany, Russia, and France should enter voluntarily and as equals, he congratulated the Kaiser on his plan, but pointed out that since its success depended on securing the adhesion of France, France must no longer be exasperated in the Moroccan negotiations. The Kaiser agreed and telegraphed on the spot to Prince von Bülow to withdraw the demand that the frontier between Algiers and Morocco should be one of the questions which must be discussed at the conference of Algeciras. In passing through Paris, on his return from Portsmouth, M. Witte had learned that the refusal of the French to submit this question for discussion by the Powers had caused great irritation and brought a deadlock in the Moroccan negotiations. It was thus, as a result of the Rominten interview, that two days later it was possible at Paris to sign the

⁵¹ *WNC.*, pp. 130-132.

⁵² The Kaiser's pretext for inviting him to an interview was to decorate him on account of the coming into effect of the treaty of commerce which Witte had negotiated with von Bülow the preceding year. The Kaiser had previously asked (September 17) and secured (September 24) the Tsar's consent to tell Witte of the Björkö Treaty. *WNC.*, pp. 126-127.

Franco-German accord of September 28 by which all the questions to be discussed at the conference of Algéiras were finally settled.⁵³

When, however, M. Witte arrived in Russia from Rominten, was shown the text of the Björkö Treaty, and confronted with the arguments of Count Lamsdorf against it, he also saw the necessity for its annulment. In the midst of the revolutionary fermentation which resulted in the Tsar's famous constitutional manifesto of October 30, Count Witte⁵⁴ wrote a letter to Berlin in which he argued against the validity of the Björkö Treaty on the ground that it lacked the signature of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs; he also pointed out that a sovereign is too insufficiently informed on foreign affairs to act without the advice of his responsible minister. Prince von Bülow replied that he was not aware that such ministerial responsibility existed in Russia and repeated his master's words, "What is signed is signed".⁵⁵

Not to be thus checked, Count Witte, acting in concert with Count Lamsdorf, adopted a more effective procedure. A letter was drawn up for Nicholas II. to send to the Kaiser, explaining to him why it was impossible for Russia to give effect to the treaty; it suggested in place of the treaty a declaration of friendly assurances.⁵⁶ But this letter, instead of being sent by the personal military attaché of one of the emperors, was forwarded in the regular diplomatic way to the Russian embassy in Berlin. It was accompanied by a letter of instructions from Count Lamsdorf to Count Osten-Sacken, directing him to repeat to the German government the declaration in the Tsar's personal letter to the Kaiser.⁵⁷ The unmistakable clearness of the language in these communications had its effect in Berlin, and the Tsar was thus liberated from the engagements which he had so inconsiderately entered into at Björkö.⁵⁸

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⁵³ Tardieu, *Conférence d'Algésiras*, pp. 484-486; Bompard, pp. 434-440; cf. also *WNC.*, p. 131, in which the Kaiser says, "Our Moroccan business is regulated to entire satisfaction".

⁵⁴ He had been created count as a reward for his services in the peace negotiations at Portsmouth.

⁵⁵ Bompard, pp. 440-444.

⁵⁶ Cf. Willy to Nicky, November 26, 1905. *WNC.*, p. 142: "Thanks for letter. Shall reply after hearing Chancellor." Cf. Bompard, pp. 444-445.

⁵⁷ Bompard, pp. 445-446, who quotes an important conversation of December 1, 1905, with Count Witte.

⁵⁸ From the middle of December, 1905, the Willy-Nicky correspondence cooled into relatively infrequent and unimportant messages of politeness. Germany again took up the Morocco affair and confronted France at Algéiras with a new series of difficulties, until it finally became clear that Germany had lost the support of the delegates of all the powers except the Sultan of Morocco and "his brilliant second", Austria.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

CURRENT LAWFUL MONEY OF NEW ENGLAND

THE term "Current Lawful Money of New England" is frequently found in laws, bonds, inventories, and accounts, written either in full or in such abbreviated forms as "Lawful Money" and "L. M.", and its meaning is clearly not the same in all cases. Before attempting to find out what it meant in New England we shall need to review briefly the currency situation in the colonies.

With the exception of Massachusetts, the colonies had no coins of their own and were dependent for specie or hard money on foreign gold and silver. As trade expanded and the number of these coins increased, the colonists were obliged to decide, in terms of English money, the rate at which such coins should circulate. At first the crown authorized the colonial governors to fix the rate by local proclamation, but as silver was always scarce, partly because of the comparatively small amount in circulation and partly because colonial merchants found it more profitable to pay their British debt balances in that medium, some of the colonies abused the privilege by attempting to regulate the value of foreign coins in such a way as to draw hard money from other colonies into their own. This they did by offering to accept pieces of eight, Spanish dollars, and other coins at rates higher than those established by their neighbors.

Complaints inevitably arose. In 1702 Governor Blakiston of Maryland sent to England a protest against the Pennsylvania money act of 1700, which so raised the value of a dollar that a coin of standard weight—seventeen and a half pennyweight—would pass for nearly eight shillings, a valuation which probably had been current in the colony for some time. In view of this money rivalry and its injury to colonial trade, the authorities in England decided to withdraw the privilege of determining rates by local proclamation, and to create a single standard by fiat of the crown.

The matter was brought before the Board of Trade in 1703, and many persons familiar with colonial affairs were called in for information and advice. When it was found that Massachusetts by her act of 1697—an act that had been confirmed by the crown and could not be altered, as was not the case with the Pennsylvania act

of 1700—had fixed the value of the Spanish dollar at six shillings,¹ the Board agreed to recommend that this rate be extended to all the colonies. Consequently, by the proclamation of 1704, the Spanish dollar (and other coins in proportion) was made current in the colonies at six shillings by tale (or six shillings and eightpence an ounce by weight, though this fact is not stated in the proclamation), a valuation which represented a depreciation of thirty-three and a third per cent. from that of the same coin in England, where the sterling value was four shillings and sixpence to the dollar and five shillings and twopence to the ounce. Hence arose “proclamation money”, which was foreign silver and foreign silver only. The failure of the colonists in the next few years to obey the proclamation led to the passage by Parliament of the coinage act of 1708, which fixed the same rate by statute.

But as the colonies continued to suffer from a scarcity of hard money and in certain cases endeavored to better their condition by making advantageous offers for the silver that they wanted, there came into existence the various forms of “colonial currency”, which was not money at all, but only a method of reckoning values, a statement of the amount in shillings at which a Spanish dollar would be accepted in a given colony. These amounts ran from eight shillings in New York and North Carolina to seven shillings and sixpence in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, and to six shillings, or the proclamation rate, in New England and Virginia. These amounts varied at different times and were always liable to alteration, but before 1750 they had become fairly stable, and the nearer they approached the proclamation rate, which was the legal standard, the higher their repute.

Thus the colonies in the eighteenth century had to reckon with three valuations of foreign coins in all their business transactions: *sterling*, with silver at five shillings or more accurately five shillings and twopence an ounce² and four shillings and sixpence to the dol-

¹ This rate was based on the actual value of the pine-tree shilling, which was ninepence sterling. In thus depreciating the value of her coinage, Massachusetts evidently desired to prevent the coins from leaving the colony. The rating of a full-weight Spanish dollar at six pine-tree shillings, or four and sixpence sterling, was adopted by Massachusetts as early as 1672 and by Connecticut a few years later.

² Five shillings and twopence was the British government standard for an ounce of silver, and was nearly twopence better than the Spanish standard. The price of silver was always fluctuating in the London market, partly because of scarcity, as when the government cornered the supply, and partly because of the demands of the manufacturers of plate. At times the price rose as high as nearly six shillings. The price in the colonies rose to more than sixty shillings in paper before 1750.

lar; *proclamation money*, in which an ounce of silver was valued at six shillings and eightpence or more accurately six shillings tenpence and a half and a dollar at six shillings; and *currency* or reckoning money, which rated an ounce of silver from seven to eight shillings and a dollar from six to eight shillings. When making payments in England by means of bills of exchange, it was always necessary to add to the sterling rate the difference of exchange, which varied from year to year and from month to month, running from twenty-five to sixty per cent. in Virginia and from thirty-three and a third to eighty per cent. and more in New York. By the act of 1750 in Massachusetts, the exchange was fixed at $133\frac{1}{3}$ local currency to 100 sterling, which was the proclamation rate. Virginia's normal rate of 125 to 100 was better than proclamation, while that of South Carolina, which was sometimes more than 700 to 100, was the worst in the colonies.

The scarcity of coin for purposes of government and trade and for meeting certain unusual expenditures, generally of a military nature, led to the issue of paper money or bills of credit. Depreciation followed sooner or later, as the issues grew larger and funding conditions and periods of redemption became less satisfactory, until before the middle of the century in New England the bills were at eleven to one in Massachusetts, twenty to one in New Hampshire, twenty-three to one in Rhode Island, and nine to one in Connecticut. The situation became so serious that in 1750 Massachusetts, taking advantage of the receipt of a large amount of silver and copper coin from England, appropriated by Parliament to recompense the colony for the share which it had taken in the Louisburg expedition, returned to a specie basis and forbade the circulation in the colony of the bills of her neighbors, which had hitherto passed promiscuously and without discount throughout New England.

Now "lawful money" had to be one or other of these varieties, either sterling, proclamation, currency, or paper. Sterling it could not be, for no statute had made sterling a lawful medium for all America, but proclamation it clearly was, for that had been made the legal tender of the colonies by the act of 1708. At the same time both currency and paper were based upon law, the law of the colonies, and it is quite possible that when the term "lawful money" is used in New England, the reference is to either currency or paper. Light upon the matter is thrown by a case, that of *Dering versus Packer*, which was carried on appeal to England in 1760 and, like the famous *McSparran* case in Rhode Island which turned on the meaning of the word "orthodox", depended for decision on what was meant by the phrase "current lawful money of New England".

In 1734 Thomas Packer of Portsmouth, sheriff of New Hampshire, became indebted to his brother-in-law Henry Dering, a merchant of Boston, in the sum of £2460, "current lawful money of New England or good public bills of credit of Massachusetts", as stated in the bond drawn up on January 30, 1735. Some payments were made, but in 1750, when Dering died, Packer still owed £2123. Thomas Dering, Henry's son, was made executor of the estate and when Packer tendered in payment "a parcel of bills", containing £2000 of New Hampshire, old tenor, and £200 of Connecticut, old tenor, he refused to receive them, unless allowance were made for depreciation. Packer declined to pay in any other medium and Dering sued him in the New Hampshire inferior court of common pleas. The jury found for Dering to the full value of the bond—principal, interest, and double penalty—amounting to £4920 or £3690 sterling. Packer moved to be heard by the court sitting in equity and won his case. Dering carried his suit to the superior court and again got a favorable verdict, but when Packer again obtained a review in chancery the former equity judgment was sustained. Dering then appealed to England.

The point at issue was this. Dering claimed that the debt should be paid either in Massachusetts bills of credit, which after 1750 were as good as specie, and so worth more than those of any of the other New England colonies, or in silver, that is, Massachusetts pine-tree shillings, which were still in circulation, or foreign silver at proclamation rates. Packer, on the other hand, claimed that the debt could be paid in what was commonly understood to be lawful money in 1735, bills of credit of any of the New England colonies, which were at that time interchangeable without discount. Old tenor bills of New Hampshire and Connecticut were not legal tender in private transactions and could not be made so, since that would be contrary to a law of England, the act of 1708, but they were lawful money when passed by agreement or when specially provided for in the contract. Packer did not deny that these bills had greatly depreciated, but he rested his case upon a strict interpretation of the letter of the bond. Should Dering win on appeal, he would obtain the full value of the bond with penalty; but should he lose he would have to accept depreciated paper, which according to his own calculation would amount to £790 instead of £3690 sterling, or about one-fifth of the value of the debt.³

The decision of the Privy Council is both interesting and important. It reversed the equity judgment of the superior court of

³ The briefs in the case are in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 36218, ff. 44-48. Transcripts are in the Library of Congress.

New Hampshire and ordered Packer to pay the debt in silver, at the rate of thirty-seven shillings, old tenor, to an ounce, including principal, interest to the time of payment, and costs.⁴ It thus declared that the only "lawful money" in New England was silver. When the decision became known in New England it aroused considerable dissent. Jared Ingersoll, in commenting on the case,⁵ said, "Perhaps they were mistaken in that matter, not being acquainted with the currency and understanding of the people in New England and the defendant not well prepared to shew that matter".

What Ingersoll meant was that "lawful money" in New England, according to the customary use of the term, was paper, but whether paper at par, paper as it was valued when the debt was incurred, or paper as valued when the bond was given, he does not say. On this problem Dr. Ezra Stiles in his *Itineraries* throws light which may be deemed for the moment conclusive. He gives several illustrations of the corresponding values of sterling, proclamation, and lawful money, and makes it clear that the last named in New England was anything, whether silver or paper, which passed at the proclamation rate, that is, six shillings to the dollar. The old tenor bills of Connecticut and Rhode Island bore on their face the phrase "of Value equal to Money", that is, specie,⁶ and these bills are probably what Ingersoll had in mind. We may conclude, therefore, that "current lawful money of New England" might be either Massachusetts shillings, foreign silver at proclamation rates, or bills of credit at their face value, but that the latter was the commonly accepted meaning of the term among the New England colonists.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, vol. IV., § 407.

⁵ "Notes of Decision of Case, Dering vs. Packer", is among the Ingersoll Papers in the possession of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, and is printed with other selections from these papers, edited by Professor Dexter, in volume IX. of the publications of that society, pp. 239-242. Ingersoll's comment is on page 240.

⁶ When the term "money" or "real money" was used it always meant silver or gold, though very little gold was actually in circulation in New England. The chief hard money there was silver and copper.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Norman Institutions. By CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, Gurney Professor of History and Political Science in Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXIV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. xv, 377, plates 7. \$2.75.)

Les Études de M. Haskins sur les Institutions Normandes de Guillaume le Conquérant au XIII^e Siècle. Par JEAN LESQUIER. [Extrait du *Bulletin* de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, t. XXXII.] (Caen: Henri Delesques. 1918. Pp. 61-241.)

PROFESSOR HASKINS'S long-expected book is very welcome. Of the six chapters all but one, Normandy under Robert Curthose and William Rufus, have appeared in earlier form in this *Review* or in the *English Historical Review*. Most of the appendixes, which fill more than one-third of the book, are new, and the chapters have been thoroughly revised and made more complete. As is well known, Professor Haskins deals with the institutional history of Normandy from William the Conqueror through the reforms of Henry II. and with the materials for that history. The first three appendixes, two of them new, treat of materials for still earlier Norman history.

Logically the study of the material comes first. On its collection and preparation depends our ability to reconstruct the past. This portion of his task is the strongest part of Professor Haskins's work. In three essential particulars it is worthy of the highest praise: first, in completeness, the book leaves us with the conviction that every known source of material has been thoroughly explored and that, barring the discovery of some now unknown depository, nothing remains to modify the conclusions which we can reach from the scanty materials left us; secondly, in the carefulness and accuracy with which the texts have been prepared, manifest not merely in many convincing rectifications of already published documents but also in the editing of numerous unpublished texts which can be tested for accuracy from seven photographic plates; and thirdly, in the wide variety of illustrative matter drawn upon for comment. It is with regret that one concludes from the appendixes that the idea of Norman *Regesta* from William I. to the accession of Henry II. has been given up. From the diplomatic point of view, Professor Haskins's editing is so superior in technique and accuracy to anything heretofore done in English, so fully on a par with the best work of French scholars, that this decision must be deplored.

On the side of historical result, there are three problems which it was hoped this investigation would go far to solve: the relation of the distinctive Anglo-Norman judicial institutions to those of the later Frankish empire; the relation of the reforms of Henry II. to those of his grandfather, Henry I.; and the priority in time of England or Normandy in the judicial changes. Some light has been thrown on the first two of these questions, tending to show more clearly the connection which has generally been supposed to exist, but it is only the third that has been really solved. Professor Haskins's proof that the new judicial institutions and the new procedure go back in Normandy into the time of Henry's father is as near a demonstration as is possible in history, and, unless some unknown evidence is discovered, the priority of Normandy must be conceded. While this is the largest historical result that has been reached, there are a great many smaller matters of which our knowledge has been increased, or made more definite than before: early feudal arrangements in Normandy; the power of the Norman duke; the Norman side of the institutions transferred to England; the character of the government of Robert Curthose; details of the operation of assizes, jury, and exchequer; and numerous rectifications in fact and chronology, as well as in texts. If the sum total is felt by anyone to be disappointing, it is clear that the scantiness of our material is responsible.

Slips of any kind are rare. Valin on page 266 of his *Duc de Normandie* ascribes his document no. XI. not to Henry alone (p. 221) but to Geoffrey or Henry. The effect of Henry's legislation in 1159 seems carried a bit too far (p. 220), and the meaning "legislative enactment" for "assize" not quite strongly enough emphasized (p. 212), for that usage was general in Europe, and the genealogical descent of that line of meaning (p. 211) can be carried back to the judicial "assessors" of the later empire. The difficulty of distinguishing between witness-proof and recognition is not too strongly insisted upon; "verdict" was not used, I think, for the declaration in witness-proof, and verdict and declaration stood in quite different relations to the judgment made by the court; but it is just as necessary to distinguish between witness-proof and the use of witnesses to inform the jury or themselves to make a part of the jury, these last being steps in the new procedure towards the modern use of evidence. The transition from the old to the new procedure has never yet been thoroughly studied, and the confusion which seems to reign in the facts is not a little discouraging.

M. Lesquier's little book is not a translation of Mr. Haskins's, though occasional passages are translated, nor is it a critical commentary upon it, the compiler nowhere, so far as I have discovered, expressing his own opinion, but it is a quite full abstract of those portions of the book which especially concern Norman history. The manuscript was evidently prepared originally from the papers as they appeared in the *American and English Historical Reviews*, but it has had the advantage of the revisions made in the book, of which full use appears to have been made, the chap-

ter on Normandy under Robert Curthose and William Rufus being included, though not all the appendixes germane to the subject are abstracted. So far as tested the abstract seems to have been faithfully constructed both as regards text and notes, which are very fully given with all essential references. While published no doubt particularly for the benefit of those who are interested in the history of the Norman duchy, such a condensation, independent in phrasing, with varying emphasis and slightly different point of view, may be found useful by others.

G. B. ADAMS.

Studies in English Franciscan History. By A. G. LITTLE, M.A.
(New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company.
1917. Pp. ix, 248. \$3.00.)

It is nearly twenty-seven years since Mr. Little wrote *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, a book which remains, perhaps, the most valuable of all the publications issued by the Oxford Historical Society. The patient labor, seasoned scholarship, and rare historical insight that have characterized Mr. Little's subsequent works on the history of the early English Franciscans, notably his critical edition of Eccleston's *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*—these qualities are still more conspicuous in the present studies, which comprise the Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in 1916. In these six lectures Mr. Little deals with the Franciscan Observance of the Vow of Poverty; the Failure of Mendicancy; the Relation of the Friars to the Monks and Parish Priests; Popular Preaching; the Influence of the Franciscans in the Education of the Clergy; and the Franciscan School at Oxford.

On all these subjects Mr. Little throws much new light. In the lecture on the education of the clergy, we learn a great deal about Friar John of Wales, who has scarcely received his due meed of recognition in modern times. This remarkable Welshman, who died about 1285, was honored by the title of "Arbor Vitae", and his "Manuals" for the instruction of priests, teachers, and preachers long enjoyed a wide-spread popularity. The lecture on the methods and matter of the early Franciscan preachers, with its wealth of enlivening anecdotes, is also full of interest even for those who are not especially students of Franciscan history. Not the least valuable feature of this lecture is the prominence given to certain different collections of material for preachers compiled by English Franciscans, such as the *Fasciculus Morum*, which has not yet been edited.

Mr. Little takes occasion to correct the erroneous statement of Green that the friars usually settled in "low, swampy and undrained spots in the large towns". Although many of their sites were decidedly undesirable, yet so far from being opposed to hygiene, Mr. Little shows that the efforts of the friars to improve the general sanitary conditions and to obtain a good water supply for their neighbors as well as for themselves, were of great advantage to the crowded towns.

Doubtless the immense popularity attained by the Franciscans was their greatest danger in respect to their observance of poverty, and their decline, toward the close of the thirteenth century, was mainly due, in Mr. Little's opinion, to their building of large churches and convents and to their employment in considerable numbers in important offices, unsuitable to their calling. But, if a study of the history of the Franciscans leaves a feeling of disappointment, "this is partly due", Mr. Little declares, "not only to the beauty and nobility of their ideal, but also to the greatness of their achievements at certain times".

Some words of Mr. Little on the subject of medieval study are also worthy of remark:

Most of us who are students of the Middle Ages [he says] confine ourselves perhaps too much to chronicles and records; we do not read enough of the books which the educated men of the Middle Ages read, nor of the books which they wrote. A study of this kind may be useful in helping us to see something of the ways in which the medieval mind worked, and something of the materials on which it worked.

This, surely, is well and wisely said, and it is precisely because Mr. Little is so thoroughly familiar with the books which were written and read in the Middle Ages, as well as with the chronicles and records of the period, that his *Studies in English Franciscan History* forms so important a contribution to the history of religious life and thought in medieval England. The book is provided with a very good index and with a useful appendix.

PASCHAL ROBINSON.

Finance and Trade under Edward III. By Members of the History School; edited by GEORGE UNWIN. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XXXII.] (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1918. Pp. xxx, 360. 15 sh.)

A COLLECTION of essays on medieval English economic life is something of a rarity and deserves a welcome in accordance with its worth and interest. Professor Unwin has shown himself to be a brilliant and scholarly interpreter of economic history in previous works and articles and in bringing out the present volume he adds to his laurels. In dealing with fourteenth-century conditions the authors of the articles in this volume throw much valuable light on a period of English history which is just beginning to be properly understood and interpreted by historians. The social and economic aspects of the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. have been receiving much attention from English, French, and American scholars of late years, and the studies contained in this volume form a welcome addition to the secondary material already available in this field.

In his preface Professor Unwin tells us that the present volume of

essays is really an installment of a larger projected work, on a dozen or more different aspects of fourteenth-century history, by graduates of the history school of Manchester University and that, apart from his own contributions, the essays here presented are based on theses prepared for the history schools of 1911 and 1912. All but one of the contributors were members of the honor classes conducted by Professors Tout and Unwin, and their work has therefore been carefully supervised and edited.

The introduction by Professor Unwin covers fifteen pages and is an able analysis of Edward III.'s economic attitude. It is based largely on a criticism of Dr. Cunningham's earlier statements in his *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* attributing to Edward III. definite economic policies aiming "at the development of the national resources and increase of the national power". Professor Unwin attempts to show "that there is little ground for attributing any definite economic policy to Edward III. except the one implied in the judgment of Stubbs, 'Like Richard I. he valued England primarily as a source of supplies'", and that, "If a distinctive policy is to be associated with the reign it must be attributed to the action of Parliament". The introduction as a whole is a valuable commentary on royal opportunism and a needed antidote to notions of broad statesmanship and patriotism in connection with a king whom Professor Tout has characterized as lacking in "definite policy and clear ideals" and Bishop Stubbs calls "unscrupulous, selfish, extravagant, and ostentatious".

The opening essay, entitled "Social Evolution in Mediaeval London", was delivered by Professor Unwin as the Warburton Lecture of 1911 and evidently retains its original form. It is really a popular article on London social and economic life in the thirteenth century and later, without foot-notes or bibliography. Anyone at all interested in English social history will enjoy reading it but its connection with finance and trade under Edward III. is somewhat remote and its omission from the present volume would not have been a serious one. Much the same might be said of the second essay by the editor, "London Tradesmen and their Creditors", which, though fortified by foot-notes, is entirely devoted to late thirteenth-century finance. Both these essays are well worthy of publication as literary historical studies of popular type, such as Green, Froude, and Jessopp delighted in, but their inclusion in a collection of special studies on the reign of Edward III. is questionable.

The third essay is by Miss Margaret Curtis and deals with "The London Lay Subsidy of 1332" under three headings, the tax and its assessment, the size, wealth, and occupations of the population, and the wealth and trades of the wards. There are also two brief appendixes and three notes with original material in the shape of the account of the collectors of the subsidy, which covers thirty pages of names with assessments. This essay is interesting and scholarly though possibly over factual and descriptive. Miss Curtis refers frequently to the valuable

articles on taxation by Professor Willard of Colorado though unable to make use of his note on the taxes upon movables of the reign of Edward III. which appeared recently in the *English Historical Review*.

The next contribution is an essay on "The Societies of the Bardi and the Peruzzi and their dealings with Edward III., 1327-1345", by Mr. Ephraim Russell. It throws valuable light on the foreign financial relations of all three Edwards, who borrowed nearly half a million pounds from the Italian bankers between 1290 and 1345. Only a small part of these loans was ever repaid by Edward III. and the Bardi and Peruzzi failed disastrously in 1345, as the Riccardi and Frescobaldi had failed under his predecessors. The appendix to this essay gives lists of the Bardi and Peruzzi societies in England.

In "The Taxation of Wool, 1327-1348", Mr. F. R. Barnes makes an important special contribution to English economic history. He writes a clear and forcible essay with more breadth of view and more generalizations than some of the other contributors to the volume. The importance of control by the Commons of indirect as well as of direct forms of taxation and the check administered to the royal power are well brought out and emphasized, while much light is thrown on the financial history of the first twenty years of Edward III.'s reign. Somewhat closely connected with this essay is Professor Unwin's own scholarly contribution on "The Estate of Merchants, 1336-1365", which fills the next seventy-five pages. It is organized by periods and presents a most valuable survey of the character and activities of the merchant estate under Edward III. Space forbids any detailed analysis of this essay which is a distinct contribution to the social and economic history of the fourteenth century and a credit to Professor Unwin.

The last two essays in the volume are special studies of English economic and foreign policy. The first, by Mr. Frank Sargeant, deals with the "Wine Trade with Gascony" in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the second, by Miss Dorothy Greaves, with "Calais under Edward III." Both of these essays add something to our knowledge of medieval England and show the importance of her Continental affiliations and policies. A list of Calais officials is appended to Miss Greaves's essay.

There is a good general index covering all the essays, and the typography and general make-up of the volume are worthy of the Manchester University Press, while the proof-reading appears to have been carefully done.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New.

By ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. xxviii, 529; xv, 387. \$7.50.)

AN AMERICAN book in the field cultivated by Prescott, Ticknor, and Lea is likely to be measured by the high standard which those writers

set, and allowance will not always be made for the difficulty of the subject. The rise of the Spanish Empire is a difficult subject; it calls for a clear narrative of a vast mass of complicated facts extending over a long period, and analysis and description of a body of diverse institutions, and a statement of the social and economic basis on which the empire was built. There is no doubt, as Professor Merriman says, that one must seek the origins of the Spanish Empire in the early history of the Peninsula, but, when he contrasts it with the rise of the British Empire, one may well question his affirmation that "it is possible to make an intelligent study of the British Empire without going back of the sixteenth century" (I. 3); for the spirit that determined the character of the British Empire, the spirit of liberty, had its origin surely prior to the sixteenth century, and no study of the British Empire can be intelligent that does not consider the origin and development of this spirit, the very soul of the empire.

The story to be told in the first volume of this work is the story of the various streams of provincial and national life that were brought together, and in their union formed the beginning of the Spanish Empire; it recounts the Christian advance at the expense of the Moors, the rise of Castile, the beginning of the conquest of the Canary Islands, the institutions of medieval Castile, the development of Aragon and Catalonia, their conquests in the Mediterranean, and the institutions of these eastern kingdoms. It was reasonable to expect, since the Spanish Empire "has its origins in the earliest periods of antiquity" (I. 3), that somewhere in the early chapters there would be offered an exposition of what Moorish civilization achieved and left as the basis of the Christian society that followed. One is disappointed in not finding this expectation met; for dynastic changes and lines of Saracenic rulers, however fully set forth, do not adequately reveal this basis. In some instances many of the uncharacterized names given might have been advantageously suppressed in favor of more enlightening general statements. In this part, where there was need of a lucid narrative to present the successive events in the life of a province or of a kingdom, the work has the correct uniformity of a well-composed chronicle; many sections have evidently been written with the open *Crónica* by the side of the author's manuscript, and features of the chronicle's style have unconsciously been transferred to the written page. Thus the narrative that should display the historical events in the relation of their real significance is less successful than the author's analysis of institutions; in fact, the parts of the first volume that deal with the early institutions of the Christians in the Peninsula are excellent. Chapters IV., V., and XI. constitute a noteworthy contribution to the literature in English on early Spain. Yet as the work now stands we have a first volume of 529 pages that may be considered as an introduction to the 350 pages of text, in the second volume.

From the dull chronicle that constitutes a considerable part of the first volume, one turns with satisfaction to the vigorous pages of the

second volume. Here the writer frees himself from his struggle with medieval centuries, and shakes off what apparently to him is the incubus of chronology. In these 350 pages he presents a profoundly interesting disquisition on the reign of the Catholic kings, treating it as a cross-section of the history of Spain. In a book covering a period of a thousand years, the writer is bound to be especially interested in some part of his extensive subject, and especially fitted by nature or his attainments to treat that part successfully, or more successfully than the rest of it. But the other parts have to be written, because the plan of the book demands it. In opening the second volume of this work, the reader feels at once that he has before him the subject on account of which the book was written. Some of the subdivisions of this subject are the union of Aragon and Castile, the overthrow of the rebels of Catalonia, the conquest of Granada, absolutism and the struggle for unity of faith and race, the internal reorganization in all its phases, the final conquest and organization of the Canaries, the discovery of America and the preliminary steps in the organization of the colonial system, the proposed expansion through marriage alliances, Ferdinand's struggle against fate, and the enlarging shadow of the Hapsburg peril. The treatment which these topics in their historical setting receive is strong, scholarly, and enlightening; through it all one sees the growing figure of Ferdinand, and one is led almost unconsciously to accept the author's conclusion that it is an heroic figure. This presentation is a timely and well-administered antidote to the sentimental exaltation of the Isabella of tradition.

The style, particularly of the first volume, sometimes becomes difficult by reason of the author's reluctance to repeat his substantive, and the consequent lack of immediate clearness through the injudicious use of pronouns and the frequent employment of "the former" and "the latter", when some other form of expression might have been used with greater advantage. It is, moreover, to be regretted that the occasion of writing this book was not seized to inaugurate a reasonable practice in the writing of Spanish names in English texts. This is not the case of a single sinner; but some of the sinners by their prestige have caused their shortcomings to be tolerated and even to be consciously imitated. After Prescott one may perhaps hesitate to write Fernando, still if "Ferdinand" and "Henry" and "John" are found acceptable by our author, it is not quite clear why he should discriminate against Peter, and let him stand as "Pedro". An attempt to translate Spanish names into their alleged English equivalents inevitably produces an ugly confusion in the text, since many names will be found that do not admit of such translation. And this confusion necessarily appears exaggerated when a book is written, as this one is, very largely from the viewpoint of persons. A determination to write the names of Spanish persons as the Spaniards wrote them would lead to a decided improvement in our pages.

Protestantism in Germany. By KERR D. MACMILLAN, President of Wells College. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1917. Pp. viii, 282. \$1.50.)

THIS volume is in spirit and in effect a "war book". Although the author expressly disclaims any intention to give an adequate explanation of "the phenomena of present-day German life", still his work is guided throughout by an obvious purpose to make it at least a contribution to such an explanation. There are two main theses developed in the historical survey which forms the principal part of the book: first, that Luther's personal conception of a new church order was essentially and fundamentally congregational, and second, that this primitive ideal was crowded out by forces over which Luther and later men of similar tendencies had no control.

To establish his first point the author employs the inevitable method of citing illustrations from Luther's own utterances. It is a method superficially convincing, but, especially in the case of Luther, pretty certain to be misleading. Of all leaders of men he was the least consistent in his words and in his actions. Dr. Macmillan is quite alive to this and explains it sufficiently by remarking that all of Luther's writings are "occasional". He gathers much evidence to show that the reformer's real inclination would have been toward the right of every Christian community to govern itself, and we may safely go as far as this: that if he had been living in an ideal world, in which every Christian man corresponded to his ideal description of him, this would have been a safe working principle. But it is evident that, even as early as 1520, he had come to see that the world must be taken as it was, and even though the Christian man, enslaved in a Babylonian Captivity, was free by his essential Christian quality, still the chief agency to deliver him was, so far as Germany was concerned, the Order of the Princes. That is the meaning of the great Lutheran trilogy of 1520. Thus far we can readily go, but when Dr. Macmillan pushes his thesis beyond this point he seems to weaken it the more, the further he goes.

The treatment of the second point is more convincing. Chapters III. to VI. follow in chronological order the various stages by which the control of the German states over both the inward and the outward life of the church was fastened upon the country. Naturally the central feature of this description is found in the policy of Prussia under Hohenzollern leadership. The curious blending of religious indifferentism, as in the case of Frederick II., or of religious bigotry as personified in Frederick William III., with a determined enforcement of state control is well brought out. The two concluding chapters are devoted to a study of the effects of this state control upon the church and the society it aimed to serve. The twin evils of officialism and patronage, partly offset by the purifying influences of both Pietism and Rationalism, are described in chapter VII., and the final chapter is devoted to a survey of the effort of the state to present to the people the idea of a "Ger-

man God" as "the logical outcome of a century of German theological thought".

There are throughout the volume evidences of careless editing, as, for example, "Brandburg", "Leipsig", "Orlamund", a reference to the Council of Homberg without previous mention by name, frequent omission of the conjunction "that". The absence of a bibliography is regrettable.

The Expansion of Europe, 1415-1789: a History of the Foundations of the Modern World. By WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT, B.Litt. (Oxon.), M.A., Professor of History in Yale University. In two volumes. [American Historical Series, under the editorship of Charles H. Haskins.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1918. Pp. xiii, 512; xiii, 463. \$6.50.)

A THREEFOLD idea is involved in the preparation of this work. Its purpose is to describe: first, the rise of the European state-system and of European civilization out of the conditions characteristic of the later Middle Ages; secondly, the more or less coincident spread of European colonization; and thirdly, the reaction of the latter process on "affairs and ideas" in Europe itself. These three phases of development, viewed in their essential interrelationship, are made to furnish the "foundations of the modern world".

After sketching the situation in Europe during the later Middle Ages, Professor Abbott discusses the beginnings of "intellectual expansion" in the "Renaissance", of "territorial expansion" in the "age of discovery", and of "modern politics" in the "rise of national kingdoms". This he follows by chapters devoted to the conventional type of political history, broadened out so as to include lands and peoples ordinarily omitted from due consideration, and interspersed with accounts of the activities of Europeans oversea, and—in the case of the Russians—overland. At intervals of half a century, also, he examines the various aspects of social, economic, and intellectual progress observable during the period immediately preceding.

Within the dates given, the work constitutes what is probably the best general history of European civilization available in English. It reveals an abundance of reading and research, a symmetry in composition remarkable for the deftness with which the several features are interwoven, and a talent for effective and pleasing expression. Many of the maps and illustrations, also, are novel and interesting.

For the courage with which the author has ventured to declare what the subject-matter of modern European history ought to be, and for the cogency and vigor with which, in preface, introduction, and text, he sustains his opinion, he merits hearty commendation. While putting forth an ambitious effort in constructive scholarship, he has thrown down a challenge to routine methods of presentation. And yet, with

all due recognition of their merits, it is to be regretted that Professor Abbott had the volumes issued as text-books. In form, content, and style they appeal more to the general reader of educated tastes than to the college student. They will be difficult to fit into the existing curriculum. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the average college teacher of history is sufficiently well versed in the subject, as here conceived and treated, to be able to use the books to advantage in the classroom. Their utility for reference, however, is unquestionable.

Apart from the pedagogical phase of the matter, several characteristics of the work detract from its worth. The main title is misleading, for it does not suggest the "self-enlargement" of Europe in civilization, which is the principal theme, but the deeds of Europeans in the world beyond. Even the subtitle might be criticized for the implications it raises as to the chronological determination of both the "modern world" and its "foundations". Given the almost encyclopaedic nature of the work, one is tempted to ask why many things belonging in all propriety to the "expansion" of Europe, alike in concept and in statement of fact, were omitted.

Even granting the appropriateness of the term "expansion" as applied to the "self-enlargement" of Europe in civilization, it is hardly comprehensive enough when made to include European colonization, unless a concrete account is supplied of the interaction of that civilization and its oversea environment. Conversely, the reaction of colonization on Europe itself would seem to call for an equally full description of the interaction of exotic influences and their European environment. Instead of handling the subject in this way, Professor Abbott resorts to generalizations that are often rhetorical rather than convincing or even intelligible. Specific evidence for his assertions in this field he rarely presents. He follows much the same procedure, also, when trying to show the existence of a vital relationship between colonial activities and contemporaneous happenings in Europe itself, although the association may be one merely of coincidence in point of time.

To a like category of vagueness may be assigned the occasional uncertainty in the reader's mind as to the particular century of which the author is writing. The "end of the Middle Ages" and the "beginnings of modern Europe" are made to range anywhere from the thirteenth century to the early seventeenth. So, too, the choice of a specific date or epoch as a starting-point, when much of the subject-matter that follows deals with conditions long precedent to it, is disconcerting. Nor does it seem desirable in the interest of clearness to insert the names of obscure individuals with little or no explanation of their presence. Errors, finally, are rather numerous, especially in connection with the account of Spanish America. Few are so conspicuous as that of associating the "cinquecento" with the fifteenth century (I. 49), but they are frequent enough to warrant their removal from a future edition.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

A History of the British Army. By the Hon. J. W. FORTESCUE. Volume VIII., 1811-1812. *Maps and Plans illustrating Fortescue's History of the British Army, Volume VIII.* (London: Macmillan and Company. 1917. Pp. xxiii, 687; iv, 23 maps. 30 sh.)

THE high standard of excellence of the preceding volumes of this valuable and comprehensive work is well sustained in this one, which with the exception of two chapters, one of sixty-six pages on the foreign policy of Great Britain under the direction of Wellesley and Castlereagh, and another, of little more than half that length, relating the principal military events of the first six months of the war with the United States, deals entirely with the operations of the British forces in Portugal and Spain in 1811 and 1812. It thus covers much the same ground as the fourth and fifth volumes of Mr. Oman's fine history of the Peninsular War in somewhat less than half the space allotted to the same period by that author. Only sufficient attention is given to the other campaigns which were being simultaneously conducted elsewhere than in Spain to elucidate the situation when necessary. Mr. Oman has acknowledged his obligations to Mr. Fortescue repeatedly for his assistance, and the latter now reciprocates in like manner, although sometimes differing with him in a thoroughly frank and friendly way.

Mr. Fortescue's style is marked by sobriety and restraint but does not lack force and felicity of expression. He has sedulously avoided the "pitfall of panegyric". Praise and blame are distributed with an impartial hand. There are few "purple patches", yet his descriptions of the remarkable combat of Sabugal, the assault of Badajoz, and the attack at Salamanca are very vivid. His narrative is uniformly concise and lucid.

Following so soon in the footsteps of so competent and careful an investigator as Mr. Oman, he could scarcely hope to throw much fresh light on these events, but he has discovered important additional materials in a hitherto unused manuscript journal of Col. James Stanhope, who made good use of unusual opportunities for observation while attached to the staff, and has made a careful personal examination of unpublished official documents in the French Archives de Guerre. Like his predecessor, he has not neglected to visit the scene of the principal operations and thus has gained a more intimate knowledge of the country than is otherwise practicable. The influence of the lay of the land is duly appreciated, and the effect of foul weather upon military operations is forcibly presented, particularly in the case of the unfortunate besiegers of Tarifa.

Yet such a check would never have daunted French soldiers but for the appalling state of their camps and works . . . [he writes, p. 334]. The trenches were waist deep in water; the platforms of the guns were washed away; the guns themselves were sinking into the soil; the ammunition both for cannon and muskets was ruined, and the muskets them-

selves were unserviceable. The men were barefooted and their clothing in rags, they could get no sleep in their flooded quarters, they had been obliged to travel eight miles to discover fuel, which after all proved useless when found owing to the rain; all supplies were now cut off by swollen torrents and for four days they had received only quarter-rations of bread.

His chapter on the war with the United States shows less grasp of the subject and is defaced by some rather glaring errors.

The companion volume contains eighteen battle-plans and small maps and five larger maps of rare excellence, which illustrate the text in a highly satisfactory manner. Among these are plans of the combats of Barrosa, Sabugal, and Arroyo Molinos, two each of Fuentes d'Onoro, Albuera, and Salamanca, showing successive phases of these battles, and plans of the siege operations at Tarifa, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, and Burgos. Other maps illustrate Masséna's retreat, the operations on the Portuguese frontier from April to August, 1811, the operations on the Agueda in August and September, 1811, the operations around Salamanca in July and in November, 1812, and the operations in Spain from January to November, showing the northern and southern spheres of action separately, the dividing line being naturally the river Tagus. The routes of march and daily movements of the opposing forces are indicated with great care. Some unfortunate errors are evident, however, in the relative position of troops in the plan of Wellington's attack at Salamanca.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK.

The Chartist Movement. By the late MARK HOVELL, M.A., 2nd Lieutenant, the Sherwood Foresters, and Lecturer in Military History in the University; edited and completed, with a Memoir, by Professor T. F. TOUT. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XXXI.] (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1918. Pp. xxxvii, 327. 7 sh. 6 d.)

It is a great pity that such a splendid book as this should be not only the first but also the last written by its author. The young Englishman who gives in this volume such bright promise of a scholarly career died on the battle-front in 1916.

Recent years have given us several books of merit on the Chartist movement. Three doctoral dissertations in the Columbia University Studies in History, together with M. Dolléan's large volume, *Le Chartisme*, had, indeed, in the mind of this reviewer, seemed to cover all but definitively the major phases of the history of Chartism. The discovery of a new book at this time, characterized by both freshness of vision and mastery of analysis, came as a surprise.

Lieutenant Hovell has unquestionably written the best account extant

of Chartism in its earlier development. He has painted in the background of Chartism in masterly fashion, and several chapters of his book are remarkable not only for their general literary excellence, but also for a wealth of fact and material hitherto unpublished. Particularly noteworthy is the chapter on "Anti-Capitalistic Economics", with its analysis of the little-known book of William Ogilvie, *An Essay on the Rights of Property*, and also that of Charles Hall's *Effects of Civilization on the People in European States*. So predominant did Malthus and Ricardo become in the first third of the nineteenth century that the world, even the world of the scholar, has forgotten in large measure the wide undercurrent of protest in the very heyday of *laissez-faire's* glory.

The revival of the Birmingham Political Union and the history of the People's Parliament of 1848 are described at greater length and with more careful documentation than in any other history of the Chartist movement. Indeed, in so far as this book traces the history of Chartism to 1842 it may be said to be complete.

Unfortunately Lieutenant Hovell's military career prevented the completion of his book. For the latter part only a rough draft remained, which Professor Tout, together with several other friends of the author, prepared for publication. As was inevitable, this portion of the manuscript has suffered. For the relation of the Chartist movement to the Revolution of 1848, the conflict with the Anti-Corn Law League, and the economic vagaries of O'Connell, we must turn for fuller treatment to Slosson and Dolléan. Had he lived Lieutenant Hovell would doubtless have made this part of his history as full and as well proportioned as the earlier sections. As it is we cannot but feel grateful to his friends for putting into what shape they could the latter part of his manuscript.

Somewhere, sometime, the story of Richard Oastler's latter career will be unearthed from oblivion by some historian. The appreciation here shown to the Factory King led the reviewer to hope that he would find that done in this book. In the recesses of the British Museum lie guarded an incomplete record of Oastler's last little publication, *The Home, the Altar and the Cottage*. Up to the present no historian has apparently endeavored to link Oastler's late career as an agitator to any great extent with that of Chartism. That work remains yet to be done.

But with this history we find no fault. Needless to say it emphasizes, throughout, the economic and social crisis the distressing phases of which determined so largely the direction of the Chartist movement. In the midst of the world's turmoil it is refreshing to turn to a book so sympathetic and so comprehensive in its treatment of the social upheaval of mid-nineteenth-century England.

WALTER P. HALL.

Li Hung Chang. By J. O. P. BLAND. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century.] (London: Constable and Company; New York: Henry Holt and Company. Pp. vii, 327. \$2.00.)

IN this book Mr. Bland has written the latest but certainly not the last word on the life of the statesman whom he appraises "a maker of the nineteenth century in China to a greater degree than any of his contemporaries". From a pen which has such a record as has Mr. Bland's, dealing with a figure which had for so long a time and so conspicuously held the political stage as Li, much may rightfully be expected. The present volume disappoints. It has the flavor of a "made-to-order": it lacks the originality and the brilliant style of *China under the Empress Dowager*, it has not the free-hand strokes of *Recent Events and Present Policies*, and it is without the intimate and poignant interest of the *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking*.

At the outset Mr. Bland gives an account of materials and at the conclusion a bibliographical note. The sources upon which he has relied are indicated in the summarizing sentence, "Our present study . . . must, therefore, be based more upon the recorded opinions of independent and competent European observers than upon the evidence of Chinese official records or Li's own posthumous papers" (p. 35). After paying his respects to the fraudulent "*Memoirs of Li Hung-chang*",¹ and pointing out that "few if any of the sentiments therein ascribed to Li Hung Chang were ever actually recorded by him", Mr. Bland nevertheless finds it convenient again and again to quote at length from this fabrication, whose nearest approach to authenticity he finds in the possibility that the American manufacturer had the assistance of the minds of "Young China".

Among chapters on the period, the early and home life, the official life, the diplomatic life, the career as naval and military administrator, and as statesman and politician, chapters IV. and V., on Li as Diplomat, form the *pièce de résistance* of the book.

The arrangement, topical rather than chronological, necessitates some amount of repetition, but this neither warrants nor excuses the excess thereof. It was a necessary part of the biographer's task to give the reader clearly to understand that Li Hung Chang, while serving his sovereign and his country, was also serving himself, but once the fact had been pointed out, it might have been left to the evidence to do the emphasizing. Mr. Bland has never been at a loss for words in expressing his opinion of the Chinese official system and its personnel; he is still in his best literary form when characterizing "the blear-eyed ineptitude of fossilized Mandarins". In comparison, and by reason of his positive qualities and achievements, Li is made to stand forth as a really great Chinese.

¹ Not without confusion, for on one page he speaks of its "carefully anonymous editor" and on the next page uses the "editor's" name. Mr. W. F. Manix's name appears on the title-page of the first edition of the "*Memoirs*".

Of the book as a whole, it may be said that expressions of opinion overtop the narrative. Nevertheless, the book has its very useful chapters, it sheds light on a variety of hitherto obscure points, and from the author's long familiarity with China's conditions and study of her problems there come occasional flashes of incisive judgment and illuminating exposition.

He [Li] had all the Oriental's contempt for those who demonstrate with force and are reluctant or afraid to use it [p. 216]. Viewed as a whole, Li's record as a statesman and domestic politician is distinguished from that of his most celebrated colleagues . . . by his steady perception of the fact that change was inevitable and that the path of wisdom lay in making timely preparations to meet it; also, in that he realized that the materials available for making such preparations were few and inadequate [p. 275]. With all his acuteness, he never appears to have realized that the weakness of the state was not a matter of mechanics, but of morals; that no military or financial reorganization could ever be effectively carried out without the inculcation of a keen sense of duty and public spirit in the official hierarchy [p. 293]. But, when all is said and done, he was the best and bravest steersman in the Empire, and for thirty years kept the ship in commission under the Dragon flag [p. 312].

STANLEY K. HORNBECK.

The Guardians of the Gate: Historical Lectures on the Serbs. By R. G. D. LAFFAN, C.F., Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1918. Pp. 299. 5 sh.)

BEFORE the outbreak of the Great War there was some excuse for ignorance upon the part of intelligent Americans about things Serbian because there existed few books in English upon the subject. During the past two years there have appeared the admirable works of Taylor, Savić, and Temperley, and to these must now be added this excellent book of Laffan. Written by an Englishman who was officially attached to the Serbian army, it evidences a deep sympathy and affection for the Serbian people and a sincere belief in the justice of their aspiration for the unity and independence of the South Slavs. But it everywhere shows a scholarly desire to discover the views of Serbia's enemies and a fine restraint from condemning anything except on what amounts to practically positive proof. It is not a polemic, not even a plea for the Serbian cause. It was written to give enlightenment to English-speaking peoples about a race of whom they had hitherto heard only from unfriendly sources, from German and Magyar writers. Mr. Laffan not only gives enlightenment but he carries conviction, and the impartial reader closes the book persuaded by the array of facts and reasons that justice is with the Serbs. Intelligent perusal of the book is helped by the three maps which are inserted, and the reader who is interested in continuing the study of the Serbs will be assisted by the discriminating bibliography which accompanies the book.

The author's chief aim is to explain the present status of the Serbs as "Guardians of the Gate", *i. e.*, the gate to the East. To understand this he devotes the first quarter of the book to a brief but illuminating history of the Serbs down to the treaty of Berlin. In this history he explains not only the Serbs' political development but also their peculiar economic institutions such as the *Zadruga*; the great importance of their ballads and of their church in maintaining their national spirit during the Turkish night; and how to a peculiar degree the Serbs, unlike the Greeks and Bulgarians, achieved their own independence. In the second quarter of the volume the author describes the gradual evolution of Serbia from a condition of vassalage to Austria-Hungary under Milan to a state of independence under Peter down to 1914. In this part of his book Mr. Laffan shows an intimate and accurate knowledge of the diplomacy leading to the formation of the Balkan League, the Turkish war, and the fratricidal war between the Balkan allies.

The third quarter of the book explains the reasons for the Austro-German determination to remove the sole obstacle to the *Drang nach Osten*, the Guardian of the Gate. There exists no more inspiring story in all history than the account of the magnificent fight of the little state against overwhelming odds, in which she three times drove the armies of Austria-Hungary headlong over the border and succumbed only to a union of forces, of betrayal by Bulgaria, desertion by Greece, neglect by the Allies, and determination to bring about a decision by Germany. The final chapter describes the sad condition of the Serbs at the present time and their hopes for the future based wholly upon the event of an Allied victory. The pact of Corfu between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which will be the basis of the constitution of Yugoslavia, is given in full, and also a fair and restrained statement of the conflict of interests between South Slavs and Italians. The book is commended to the attention of intelligent laymen. It is not intended for scholars.

STEPHEN P. DUGGAN.

The Roots of the War: a Non-Technical History of Europe, 1870-1914 A. D. By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS, Ph.D., in collaboration with WILLIAM ANDERSON, Ph.D., and MASON W. TYLER, Ph.D., of the University of Minnesota. (New York: Century Company. 1918. Pp. viii, 557. \$1.50.)

As the title suggests, this book is an attempt to simplify for the average intelligent citizen the complexity of factors which led up to the great catastrophe, and to the reviewer the attempt seems to have met with notable success. The book is an excellent example of the work of men who refuse to accept the old Oxonian dictum that "while it is easy to write something true and something interesting, it is impossible to write anything both true and interesting". The authors have discarded the orthodox phraseology of historical text-books, and, although they make no effort to attain what is termed "brilliance" of style, the narrative

travels with an ease which will be appreciated by undergraduate and lay-reader. In this respect it is reminiscent of Gibbons's *New Map of Europe*, although the scope of the work is far more comprehensive. The titles of the various chapters suggest the successful break which the authors have made with the dead pedagogic style of history-writing: the Great War which bred a Greater; the Old Pilot and the New Captain of Germany; Sowing the Wind—the Serbian Note; Reaping the Whirlwind—the Scrap of Paper.

With very few exceptions the authors have avoided the pitfalls which beset the path of the man who sets out to make his narrative interesting reading. At times a carping critic might feel that the style was rather journalistic; the phrase "the mighty Queen Victoria" (who by the way is not listed in the index) suggests a questionable picture of the late monarch. The narrative is sometimes diffuse and a good deal of space is given to matter which one might expect to find in a letter to the *Times* rather than in a history, as for example the eight-page attack on Norman Angell. There are certain statements which might more wisely have been made in the form of surmises. But in general the narrative gains from not being over-condensed, and the authors have displayed a careful exercise of their critical faculties. In no case, so far as the reviewer can determine, have they allowed themselves to be led into inaccuracies or exaggerations for the sake of dramatic effect. They have simply given the dramatic character of their narrative a fair chance to appear.

The history begins with the Franco-Prussian War and a description of the new Germany and her neighbors. Thereafter it follows closely the thread of international affairs. With the exception of chapters on France and Italy, there is little attention paid to the domestic affairs of the various states except as internal conditions affected the relations of one nation with the other. By thus limiting the scope of their work the authors have secured a continuity which accounts in part for the interest of their narrative. The first half of the book is devoted chiefly to the Near East and the development of Germany; thereafter it proceeds upon orthodox lines—the rise of an international opposition, the growth of Pan-Germanism, the crises in Morocco and the Balkans, Russian policy, and the final catastrophe. Germany's actions in the Moroccan crises are interpreted as caused by a desire to gain prestige primarily, and the Kaiser's Tangiers speech is believed to have been arranged by von Bülow, a thesis which seems probable although it is contrary to the opinion of Witte as quoted by E. J. Dillon. The treaty of Bucharest, the authors believe, spelled "not lasting peace but new collisions". Particularly noteworthy are the characterization of the Kaiser and his surroundings and the chapter on Austria-Hungary, which summarizes with clear insight the essential problems of the intricate and baffling Hapsburg complex.

The proof-reading has not been perfect, and errors in proper names are likely to confuse the student. The title of Gayda's *L'Italia d'Oltre*

Confine was set up by someone obviously ignorant of Italian (p. 295, note); H. W. Steed appears as "Skeed" (p. 296, note); and E. D. Morel appears as "More" (p. 545).

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

War Time Control of Industry: the Experience of England. By HOWARD L. GRAY, Professor of History in Bryn Mawr College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. xix, 307. \$1.75.)

THIS volume embodies a useful piece of work, carefully and conscientiously performed. It places in concise and well-classified form, and substantially in the order of their actual development, the chief legislative and executive measures adopted by the British government to cope with the exceptional economic problems forced upon the country by the Great War. This naturally involves statements of the attitudes and responses of the industrial classes in the face of new and constantly changing conditions which vitally affect at once their economic interests and their personal and industrial freedom.

To the industrial class, whether as employers or employed, in the central countries of Europe, the application of rigorous executive control, incidental to the war, brought no essential changes in policy or experience. What changes there were, and they have been very onerous, it is true, were changes in degree, not in kind. In Britain, however, above all countries, the changes which were effected to the end of 1917 have been of the most radical character, and only a general consciousness of the absolute necessity of the situation has forced the British people to realize that in order to save their freedom for the future they must sacrifice much of it for the present. Professor Gray's book is practically a record of the essential facts in that industrial revolution in Great Britain.

Naturally, one radical interference with economic freedom involves many secondary and complementary interferences, in the effort to maintain the industrial equilibrium. The war itself was, of course, the first and most radical of the rupturing influences. The chief objects of the British government since the outbreak of the war, have been to reconstruct and rearrange the demoralized industrial, trade, and financial systems of the country so as to meet, on the one hand, the indispensable requirements of the people, and, on the other, to concentrate the industrial activities of the nation on the production of vast and varied supplies for the conduct of the war. The practical operation and outcome of this dominating condition and the efforts to meet it, Professor Gray has sought to present in a concise and intelligible summary of facts with the minimum of comment. He has wisely confined his attention to the more urgent phases of government control, in a country situated as Britain is, during a war which affects so seriously her supply of food and raw materials. The phases of industrial control presented in the

volume are classified as follows: (a) Transportation, under the two natural divisions of railways and shipping; (b) The production of munitions and the troublesome labor problems which are naturally involved in such industries; (c) The coal industry, so vital to all phases of the British national industries and equally vital to the needs of her Continental allies; (d) The supply, in adequate quantities and at reasonable prices, of certain essential foreign products, such as wool, hides and leather, and food supplies, particularly sugar, meat, and bread. As connected with the food problem, the anxiety to insure as adequate a supply as possible of food products led to increasing efforts, not only to procure and conserve the available supplies from abroad, but to stimulate agricultural production at home.

In compiling the volume, the author has not only availed himself of the whole field of official publications and the responsible utterances of ministers, capitalists, and labor leaders, but has drawn from the standard organs of economic record and of public opinion.

ADAM SHORTT.

Two War Years in Constantinople: Sketches of German and Young Turkish Ethics and Politics. By Dr. HARRY STUERMER, late Correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* in Constantinople (1915-1916). Translated from the German by E. Allen and the Author. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1917. Pp. xiv, 292. \$1.50.)

DR. STUERMER is one of the small group of Germans who, unable to agree with the policies or condone the practices of their government, have set forth their condemnation in books which have been much appreciated by the enemies of Germany. While the author of *L'Accuse* wrote and published soon after the beginning of the war, and Prince Lichnowsky's views, though they transpired recently, were formed at the outset, Dr. Stuermer experienced a process of conversion two years later. He served in the first Hindenburg campaigns, was invalided out of the army, and became a newspaper correspondent in Constantinople. From long African experience favorably disposed toward English and French colonial methods, he became estranged from the Turks by their treatment of the Armenians, in which feeling he was strongly influenced by his Bohemian wife. This led him on to complete repudiation of the German cause in the present war; since, as he states, the official German policy was cowardly in not requiring the Turks to stop the massacres, conscienceless in showing no sympathy whatever for the Armenians, and stupid in failing to see that when the Armenians had been destroyed, Turkish nationalism would wish to expel German influence also. He resigned his position, and obtained permission to reside in Switzerland for his health. Once there, without, as he affirms, any external pressure or inducement whatever, he unburdened his soul in the composition of this book.

The work appears to be a thoroughly honest and sincere attempt by an intelligent and fairly well-educated man to relate the exact truth in regard to events of which he had first-hand or authoritative knowledge. Writers have seldom been in so favorable a position for furnishing uninfluenced material as was Dr. Stuermer, secure in neutral Switzerland, conscious that all ties were broken, and filled with strong emotion. The circumstances indeed caused him to introduce an unusual amount of explanation of his own mental processes, and feeling may now and then have disturbed his judgment.

Much information is given as regards the purposes and actions of the Young Turks. The verbal portraits of Enver, Talaat, and Jemal are carefully done, as well as those of certain disreputable German agents. Strong emphasis is laid upon the abandonment of Pan-Islamism in favor of Pan-Turanism, and the growing hatred of Germans and Turks. Dr. Stuermer falls in with the Entente programme as prepared before the collapse of Russia, which would "consolidate" the Turks finally into inner Anatolia.

Some errors occur, as the implication (p. 154) that the Capitulations were forced upon the Turks by Europeans, whereas they were granted freely by the Turks in their days of disdainful greatness. Not all ideas have been thought through: the Armenian deportations are traced "solely and only" to the Turkish "feeling of inferiority to that non-Turkish element" (p. 52), neglecting the influence of Turkish nationalism, which, however, is discerned as directed against Arabs. The translation is usually good and even spirited, but here and there it becomes obscure and even unintelligible. The Teutonized usage of "Rajah" for *rayah* ("the herd", a name applied by Turks to subject Christians) gives a wrong impression. There is a fairly full table of contents, but no index.

Judaean Addresses, Selected. Volume II. (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, for the "Judaicans". 1917. Pp. 192.)

THE "Judaicans" is an association formed for the purpose of promoting the intellectual and spiritual interests of Jews. In 1899 it published a volume of selected papers read before the society. The present volume contains thirty-two addresses by members or invited speakers, delivered between 1900 and 1917. Only a certain number of them are historical in character and subject. Some speculate as to the future, *e. g.*, as to a "return of their land to the Jews". In respect to that project it is natural to consider not only the space and resources of Palestine and the probable ratio of Jewish immigration under very favorable circumstances, but also how far the rights of others in that land should be recognized, how a sense of democratic equality will cope with the embarrassing fact of an actual Moslem majority in a state

designated as Jewish, how successfully the craving for a theocratic régime can be subdued, and what principles and ideals are likely to characterize the developing political leadership. One turns with interest to Mr. Samuel G. Hellmann's judgment on Disraeli:

He was a Jew more than he was an Englishman, and he was Disraeli more than he was a Jew. . . . he was never actuated by the highest impulses of unselfish ideals. . . . [yet] in his dual capacity as the shrewd politician of infinite resource and as the statesman daring to dream of vast empire he seems to me strikingly to combine both the practical and the ideal tendencies of the Jewish race.

Of course, neither the type nor the admiration of it is by any means limited to Israel; and it may not be wise or generous to speculate on the possible career of a Disraeli in the Holy City of three religions.

Is there a Jewish race? Sometimes the loose usage of the term is accepted without demur in these papers, sometimes the existence of any definite racial distinction is questioned, sometimes the anti-Semitic thrust is parried by a declaration that the Jew is not a Semite at all, but belongs to the same group of the white race as the Hittites, Armenians, and Persians, and yet "is to-day, on the whole, a remarkably pure race" (p. 112). Language is indeed in itself no reliable criterion of race. This must also be remembered, if it should turn out that the Hittites in Asia Minor spoke an Aryan language, which, however, has not yet been proven. An Iranian infiltration is as possible in Boghazkeui as in Mitani. In applying other criteria ethnologists must keep in closer touch with history than they are wont to do. Much of the Chaldaean stock obviously survived among the Haik of Armenia; and in examining modern skulls it must not be forgotten how many strains of diverse ethnic elements have mingled in Iran. The Judaeen was probably a somewhat purer Semite than the Israelite; but even he has, by the unequivocal testimony of his own literature, been to a great extent contaminated or improved by foreign blood both in ancient and in modern times in Palestine and elsewhere. He may be said to be, on the whole, remarkably well mixed; but it is at least open to question whether the character of the blend is not more due to social environment than to the persistence of traits of racial or sub-racial derivation. The attempt to explain all that is peculiar to the Jew, from his extraordinary economic capacity to his religion, by his nomadic life in the desert, is, Dr. Schulmann shows, altogether a mistake. He might have added that we know precious little about the nomadic life of Israel, and that Teuton, Celt, and Slav lived more recently in the nomadic state.

The accounts of the Jew in England by Dr. De Sola Pool, in France by Mr. Stroock, in Germany by Mr. Hühner, and in Holland, Italy, and Switzerland by Mr. Kuhn, set forth very clearly his loyalty as a citizen in these countries. Against the background of age-long oppression and persecution by Christian rulers and mobs, this recital of distinguished services to the several Christian states is tremendously effective. It

matters little whether "it is Luzzatti's work which is now in evidence in Italy's severance from her old allies", or d'Annunzio's, or that of forces vastly more powerful than any man's influence; whether Asser more than any other single individual, by effectively organizing the Hague Conferences, produced "the sacred respect thus far accorded to Dutch neutrality by all the belligerents during the present war"; or whether the world at large is more pleased to remember that Maximilian Harden is a Jew than to be told that "the Jews of Germany are Germans with all the virtues and all the failings of that nation". The point of loyalty is well established. Mr. Max J. Kohler's study of "The Jew in his Relation to the Law of the Land" is of historic importance and should be expanded into a much-needed volume on that subject. Those interested in Schnitzler's *Professor Bernhard* will enjoy Mr. Naumburg's description and appreciation of this drama. Dr. Henry Moskowitz, in a fine spirit and with deep insight, presents the problem of the Jew in New York. The volume closes with Professor Hollander's just protest in "The Novel Jew" against the nasty caricatures of his people in recent fiction. A unanimous resolution to the effect that a new *Nathan der Weise* be produced may not bring forth either a Mendelssohn or a Lessing. But it would not be strange if the world crisis should mature some consummate literary effort to portray Jewish life at its best, in its pathos and its grandeur, its natural simplicity and its subtle refinement, engaged with its own problem and that of the world, and becoming conscious of a function in the life of humanity more significant than either the traditionalist's devotion to the Mosaic law or the Zionist's dream of national power.

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Cambridge History of American Literature. Edited by WILLIAM P. TRENT, JOHN ERSKINE, STUART P. SHERMAN, and CARL VAN DOREN. Volume I. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; Cambridge, England: University Press. 1917. Pp. xvii, 584. \$3.50.)

THIS work is an attempt to meet the obvious need of an extended history of American literature, embodying the ripest scholarship and the results of recent investigation. The three volumes, of some 600 pages each, will be written by "a numerous body of scholars from every section of the United States and from Canada", and will cover the entire field from the beginning down to 1900. Volume I. includes "Colonial and Revolutionary Literature", and "National Literature" through Emerson.

The first volume is somewhat disappointing. Its lack of unity in method and style is greater than need be, even in a work done by many

hands, provided the editors exercise due rigor. This they have not done. The first chapter, for example, is a peculiarly unhappy beginning for such a book because of its dilettante slightness; the chapter on early verse is tame, the more so by contrast with Professor Tyler's brilliant treatment of the same subject; while the discussion of the austere Bryant, although it contains many good things, is affected and too exuberant in style. The volume would be more readable and produce a far more unified effect, if the editors had demanded from all contributors a reasonable approximation to a standard style, simple, strong, and fresh, such as may be found in the admirable chapters on Franklin, early essayists, and Cooper. In method, too, it was unnecessary to allow so great diversity as appears in the chapters on fiction and the chapter on Irving; the former are models of critical writing, embodying the results of original research, and containing keen judgments excellently expressed; the latter is merely a pleasant, popular sketch, showing no special knowledge of Irving's sources and literary relationships, too constantly eulogistic, and making over-much of the service rendered to the author by a certain publishing house. The chapter on the early drama is too largely a list of names and titles. Mr. Paul Elmer More is not at his best in the chapter on Emerson, which seems perfunctory and is faulty in method, being quite inadequate in its consideration of Emerson's influence and of his style and verse. In brief, the volume is a collection of essays, very unequal in merit, rather than a coherent history of the first two and a half centuries of American literature.

Readers of the *Review* have special concern with the statement in the preface that the *History* "will be a survey of the life of the American people as expressed in their writings rather than a history of *belles-lettres* alone". In accordance with this purpose considerable space is given to authors whose significance is chiefly or wholly historical; the larger setting in American life, and the intellectual relations between the Old World and the New, are well sketched in parts of the book, notably the chapters on philosophers and divines, colonial newspapers and magazines, later travellers and observers, and Transcendentalism. But the plan has not been carried out consistently. The chapters on early travellers and explorers, Puritan divines, and the beginnings of verse, make comparatively little of the social and political background. The Mathers in particular are treated with scant sympathy and with a brevity disproportioned to their historical significance; the colonial literature on witchcraft is practically ignored; and the diary of Samuel Sewall, so rich in illustrative detail about the life of his times, is mentioned and quoted, very briefly, but once.

The historical value of the first half of the volume is much lessened, furthermore, by a radical fault of construction. The material is grouped under various heads, and the survey of each group is carried a certain distance. Unfortunately the distance is in several instances so great—more than a century and a half—that the reader passes into a totally

new set of conditions before the end, as in the first chapter, which begins with adventurers and explorers, in 1583, and concludes with a pleasure trip from Maryland to New Hampshire in 1744. It is also unfortunate, for the sense of historical continuity, that the reader is again and again turned back to the very beginning. Thus, after reading of Edwards, Franklin, and *The Federalist*, he is dragged back to 1610 in the next chapter, on colonial verse. In a work on so ample a scale the literary product of each half-century, or of some period having a reasonable degree of unity, should have been treated by itself, and the reader thus helped to a unified and coherent view of the development of American literature and life.

In spite of grave faults the volume is a valuable piece of work, chiefly because of the accuracy of its scholarship and the soundness of its literary judgments, in the main, together with its encyclopaedic character. Its value is much increased for the student by the bibliography, which fills 204 pages of the 584, and is on the whole carefully and judiciously made. The index would be more useful if it included subjects as well as authors and titles.

WALTER C. BRONSON.

Historic Mackinac: the Historical, Picturesque, and Legendary Features of the Mackinac Country. By EDWIN O. WOOD. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. xv, 697; xiii, 773. \$12.50.)

THIS is a sumptuously printed work about a rarely attractive subject. No less fortunate in its history than in its natural attractions, the "fairly island" of Mackinac radiates a charm which is as difficult to define as it is easy to appreciate. To its spell our author long since succumbed, and the present work, pre-eminently a labor of love, represents his attempt to put in print for the benefit of others something of the feeling of affection for Mackinac with which his local residence and studies have imbued him. Physically considered, the book is delightful. The press-work is excellent, the binding is good, and the illustrations are numerous and attractive. The first volume is devoted to a general historical narrative of Old Mackinac through the three centuries of French, British, and American occupation. The second is composed of selected articles dealing with the legends and history of early Mackinac, drawn from such sources as the *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections*, and the writings of Schoolcraft, Harriet Martineau, Margaret Fuller, T. L. McKenney, Bayard Taylor, Mrs. Kinzie, and Mrs. Jameson.

In view of the character of volume II. there is no occasion for subjecting it to critical consideration. Such consideration of volume I. must fairly begin with the author's own conception of his work. Premising with a statement of the circumstances which aroused his interest in Mackinac, he frankly disclaims for his volumes "rank with the achieve-

ments of historians. They represent merely the attempt of a layman to bring together from this collection [his own private library] some leading features which seemed to be of especial interest". Nor is this attempt at self-appreciation unduly modest. The volume is largely a compilation, in which quotations are of frequent occurrence and frequently of great length. Thus, the narrative of Pontiac's massacre (pp. 157-209) is taken mainly from Parkman and Henry; the chapter on "the English and the Indians" (134-157) is compiled (largely quoted) from Henry, Nevins's edition of *Ponteach*, and Hough's *Diary of the Siege of Detroit*. Taking for granted the plan of composition adopted by the author, his work has been not unskillfully done. He has delved widely among the printed materials available for his theme, and has constructed, on the whole, a readable and interesting narrative. Its gravest defect, perhaps, from the scholarly point of view, proceeds as an inevitable consequence from the author's limitations as a "layman" in the historical field. There is no attempt made, consciously or unconsciously, to evaluate the great store of materials which has been drawn upon in the construction of the narrative. Thus, in the account of Pontiac, Cooley's *Michigan* is offered as an authority, and, worse still, the *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs* by the American Indian Historical Publishing Company of Aurora, Ill. From the latter work is presented a full-page portrait of Pontiac, although in this case the statement is appended that according to C. M. Burton there is no authentic portrait of the chieftain. Another illustration of the absence of critical evaluation is the crediting twice (pp. 171 and 175) of the ancient romance attributing the failure of Pontiac's plot against Fort Detroit to secret information given to Major Gladwin by his Indian mistress.

From the scholarly point of view it is a matter for regret that the publication of such an ambitious work should evidence so little constructive scholarship. The extensive manuscript collections pertinent to the subject seem to have gone wholly unworked. Much use has been made of the original materials in print, but even here there is little evidence of mastery of the subjects discussed, the author being commonly content with adducing excerpts and quotations from the writings of others, without subjecting them to that course of study and criticism which enables him to reach and state conclusions of his own.

In what has been said it is farthest from our wish to depreciate such essays at local historical writing as the one of Mr. Wood. A professional historian might have done the task better, perhaps, but the fact remains that it has been left to Mr. Wood to essay it at all. His work will fulfill a useful function in aiding the popular spread of historical interest in the region with which it deals. It will not be of very material assistance to the scholarly student of this field of American history.

The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776.

By ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXXVIII.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1918. Pp. 647. \$4.00.)

IN his elaborate study of the colonial merchants and the American Revolution, Professor Schlesinger has made the most important original contribution to colonial history that we have had in a long time. His work is noteworthy not only for the light which it everywhere throws on the events of the pre-Revolutionary period, but also for its value as a model of creative research. He has taken up a subject which has for years been in lamentable need of an investigator; his treatment is of that scientific and thoroughgoing sort which is worth more than reams of speculation and popularization within the limits of knowledge already acquired; his range is wide—not one colony but all the colonies considered as a whole and comparatively; and his material is more than official records and the correspondence of statesmen, it consists in largest part of newspapers—a little-worked mine of the right kind of information—letter-books, diaries, pamphlets, and the hundred and one sources of minor details, which disclose the thoughts and activities of the average man and when pieced together suggest new and unexpected interpretations.

Professor Schlesinger has approached a very large and important task with energy, courage, and enthusiasm, and has handled the data which he has collected not only with insight and understanding but also with remarkable firmness, fairness, and dispassionate judgment. There is not a trace of patriotic piety in his pages. He does not hesitate to call a "patriot" an agitator and a radical or a scoundrel; if need be, to speak of him as one whose brains were often in his biceps, and to characterize his methods as frequently lawless and sometimes abominably unjust. Likewise, he is not deterred from saying that the Loyalists were high-minded, reasonable, and honorable gentlemen, as frequently was the case, nor from praising their attitude of conservatism and conciliation. He is true to his duty as an historian when he refuses to worship at the shrine of patriotism or to twist and warp the truth, however unpalatable that truth may be. It is an unhappy fact that more errors in the writing of American history have been committed in the name of patriotism than were ever dreamed of in Horatio's philosophy.

The story that Professor Schlesinger tells us is not the whole story of the years before the Revolution, but it is a very important part of that story and one that has hitherto been strangely ignored. It concerns the activities of the merchants who were engaged in trade and commerce, whose welfare was bound up with that of the mother-country, and whose prosperity was dependent on the continuance of business relations with their fellow-merchants in England. It concerns those whose desire was to obtain a redress of trade grievances by

legitimate and peaceful means, and not by political agitation or armed revolt. They were the moderates, a large and influential body, who labored long and successfully for peace, and by using non-intercourse as a weapon were able to swing majorities in Parliament and to stave off radical measures until the very eve of the Revolution. The tea question lured them to combine with the patriotic party which they had hitherto opposed, an alliance in which they were outwitted and outmatched by the superior political skill of the radical leaders, who in the First Continental Congress committed the country, without any mandate therefor, to an alignment of parties and a definition of policy. This was the result, often demonstrated in history, of the superior offensive and eventual victory of a small group of determined radicals, well organized and astutely led, over a larger but less articulated moderate element, upholding a cause that was probably favored by a majority of the colonial population.

What we now need is an equally thorough, honest, and impartial study of the radical movement itself, of Sam Adams and his fellow-agitators, and of the methods whereby the "patriots" committed the country to war. We also need some reinforcement and enlargement even of Professor Schlesinger's own account, along the line of trade grievances, of the working of the trade laws after 1763, and especially of the co-operative activities of the merchants in England and Scotland. Professor Schlesinger's handling of the tea question is one of the best of the many good things in his book, but we must know more about the money situation and about business conditions before final conclusions can be reached. As it is, however, what Professor Schlesinger has written will stand as a landmark in our progress toward a better understanding of the causes of the Revolution.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813: a Study in American Diplomacy. By ISAAC JOSLIN COX, Associate Professor of History, University of Cincinnati. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1912.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1918. Pp. xii, 699. \$3.00.)

WEST FLORIDA was the district on the Gulf of Mexico extending from the Mississippi to the Perdido River, and was like the pin upon which are thrown the rings in the game of shuffleboard. It was a meeting-ground where overlapped the Spanish claim to Florida, the French claim to Louisiana, and the British claim inherited by Georgia to territory south of the Ohio River. The earlier part of the book discusses briefly but satisfactorily these overlapping claims, which made the east, or Mobile district, to Edward A. Freeman the most complicated historical puzzle in the world. And Mr. Freeman had made a specialty of the Balkan region! The centre of Dr. Cox's story is the Baton Rouge part of the district.

Godoy, though forced to agree upon the boundary line of thirty-one degrees, succeeded in postponing the delivery of possession of the ceded territory until 1798, when Ellicott surveyed the southern line eastward from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. This left the Americans at Fort Adams on the Mississippi and Fort Stoddert on the Mobile River facing the Spaniards below the line; but these American outposts represented a growing nationality from above, while West Florida was merely a narrow strip of land hardly fifty miles wide, with few people, and of little value except for control of the Mississippi and the great Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes of Indians. The clause in the treaty of 1803, conveying Louisiana "with the same extent as it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it; and such as it should be after the treaty subsequently entered into between Spain and other states", was a Pandora box, the United States claiming to the Perdido as the original eastern boundary of Louisiana, and Spain insisting that this was at Lake Pontchartrain, inasmuch as subsequent treaties had narrowed Louisiana by carving out of it in 1763 the province of West Florida. This view was held by Napoleon and Talleyrand. The American State Department claimed otherwise, and subsequently the decision of Chief Justice Marshall in *Foster v. Neilson* (2 Pet. 253), held that the judiciary in passing on private rights will follow the contention made by the political department in public matters. However, from fear of Napoleon, the United States never ventured to take possession. This produced a very unsatisfactory condition of the frontier, bringing out on the one hand the ingenuity of American diplomacy under Madison, Adams, and Monroe, not wholly creditable to the Americans, and on the other hand the persistence of the American frontiersmen, who really solved the problem. Such men as Toulmin, Kemper, Kennedy, and Caller on the American side, and Lanzoş, Folch, and his enemy Morales, and Innerarity on the Spanish, not to insist upon the geographer Collot and semi-Indian Milfort on the French, the treacherous Wilkinson on every side, and the Mobileña Society modelled on the contemporary political Masonic lodges of Spain, are interesting studies in character; for, as Governor Claiborne at New Orleans said, "a more heterogeneous mass of good and evil was never before met in the same extent of territory".

The study becomes kaleidoscopic when we add elements due to Burr's conspiracy, Jefferson's Embargo, and the revolutions of Spanish America resulting from Napoleon's elevation of Joseph Bonaparte to the throne of Spain, and the revolt of the Spanish people. What have been looked at as local events were part of this world-movement. At Baton Rouge the Spanish commandant De Lassus had to recognize local self-government asked for by the residents. When he grew helpless, they overpowered him and his garrison and proclaimed the free and independent state of West Florida. They negotiated for admission into the Union, but were none too friendly with Mississippi Territory above

or Orleans Territory below them. The correspondence of Holmes and Claiborne, governors of these two territories, gives many details heretofore only partially known. The United States at last quietly overthrew the pseudo-state and in 1812 annexed the district to the new state of Louisiana. Meanwhile the Mobile end of the district had already been taken over by Wilkinson, "without the effusion of a drop of blood", as he expressed it, and was incorporated into Mississippi Territory. When an agreement for purchase of Florida was reached the ingenuity of Adams gave it the form that "His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States all the territories which belonged to him situated eastward of the Mississippi", without defining them; and thus the Cortes was able to save its face and ratify the treaty of 1819.

The story is a long one and it may be doubted whether it hangs upon one thread sufficiently to be the subject of one book. This one could be improved by condensation and by putting some of the material into an appendix, but it is well told and constitutes rather the *Iliad* of the restless pioneer than the achievement of the timid statesmen. Nevertheless in this first American advance at the expense of crumbling Spain there comes with Jefferson in 1808 the declaration that the American object "was to exclude all European influence from the hemisphere", and two years later Madison's, that the United States could not permit disturbances to remain unchecked in her immediate neighborhood—doctrines to bear fruit after many years. This advance was to continue until it ingrained in Latin-Americans the distrust which was to be so great an obstacle to Pan-American declarations.

The material of this work was derived from government archives at Washington, Seville, and elsewhere, as well as from local records at Mobile. There is, however, little reference to early court files of Washington County or of the Baton Rouge country, for historians have not yet come to realize how fully law in practice mirrors civil life. Typographically, the book, although thick, is well put up, with several rough but illustrative maps. These as well as the text contain a few instances of misspelling, such as Dauphin Island for Dauphine, and Fort St. Stephens for Fort St. Stephen.

PETER J. HAMILTON.

My Reminiscences. By RAPHAEL PUMPELLY. In two volumes. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1918. Pp. xiii, 438; xi, 439-844. \$7.50.)

THE interesting experiences of an adventurous American through nearly eighty years of active life, from childhood in the Susquehanna Valley at Owego, N. Y., to his archaeological explorations in Turkestan at the age of sixty-seven, and his last journey across the deserts of Arizona eleven years later; glimpses into the life of an energetic, unconventional spirit, eager for strange exploits, and fearless of bodily harm; a disconnected narrative of reckless daring and shifting pur-

pose; the romance of a scientific man inheriting a brilliant mental endowment, substituting the school of world-wide experience for the routine of systematic education, and profiting by the fortunate chance of remarkable opportunities aided by sagacious instinct and a lenient fate; such are some of the impressions gained from the *Reminiscences* of Raphael Pumpelly.

At an early age he began a dual life of science and adventure, when at eight Hugh Miller's *Old Red Sandstone* started him hunting fossils, and at ten *The Pirate's Own Book* started him on a campaign of juvenile outlawry, which shortly brought him to a full sense of the stern realities of life, and incidentally to boarding school. In this connection there are allusions to the settlement of the Susquehanna Valley and the lumber-trade in that region, to school life at White Plains, N. Y., and in New Haven, Conn., from 1848 to 1854. Instead of going to Yale he persuaded his mother to take him to Europe at the age of fourteen, to finish his education. Two years spent in Germany, France, and Italy were devoted to picking up languages and learning the ways of social life as it existed there at that time.

The most remarkable and characteristic episode of his adventurous career was his casual trip to Corsica at the age of sixteen. Leaving his mother in Florence, he went out for a day's excursion; took a train for the sea-coast, then a steamboat to Corsica; decided to make a short visit to an interior town, then to explore a mountain; lived with shepherds, wandered about the island enjoying the wild life and gathering information about the people, their vendettas, and their romance. At the end of four months he returned to Italy, to find that his mother had given him up for lost, and had been greatly inconvenienced by the absence of the family letter of credit.

Chance turned his attention to the study of mining at Freiberg in Saxony, and life there from 1857 to 1859 furnished varied and entertaining reminiscences. Two years in the mining regions of Arizona were full of peril from Apache Indians, and were the most dangerous period of his life. Then follow two years of governmental service in Japan where travelling was much more novel than in these days. A visit to China was prolonged to eighteen months, and included expeditions to several mining districts. In October, 1864, he started on a winter journey through Mongolia and Siberia to Russia, the account of which is full of interest. At the end of six months he was in western Europe.

After returning to America his work from 1867 was in the Lake Superior iron and copper regions, where he was a pioneer explorer. Later he directed geological surveys in Michigan, Missouri, and along the route of the Northern Transcontinental Railroad. He was connected with the United States Geological Survey and the Tenth Census. In 1903 and 1904 he made expeditions into Turkestan to explore the remains of ancient cities along the margin of the great desert, a period

which he considers the most interesting part of his life. Then follow years of sojourn in Europe, and in 1915 a trip across the deserts of Arizona. Observations on peoples and customs, descriptions of countries visited, and anecdotes incident to his journeys maintain one's interest in the somewhat disconnected narrative of Professor Pumpelly's eventful life.

JOSEPH P. IDDINGS.

Reconstruction in Louisiana after 1868. By ELLA LONN, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in Grinnell College. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1918. Pp. vi, 538. \$3.00.)

To undertake to write a fair and connected narrative of events so recent and so obscured by partizan bitterness as those of the Reconstruction era in Louisiana, requires courage and a patient coolness of judgment that one rarely finds. Miss Lonn's *Reconstruction in Louisiana*, covering the period from 1868 to the election of Hayes and the establishment of Nicholls's authority, is as good as one could expect, in regard to completeness of detail, general accuracy, and fairness. There are, however, certain shortcomings to which attention must be directed.

In the mere matter of printing, there are some errors: on page 37, "leaving movers", for leading (Louisiana wished they had been leaving); page 29, "Bernard", for St. Bernard; page 132, "four hundred thousand", for four thousand; page 157, note 1, "Houme"; page 299, note 1, "Jahhawker"; page 493, "F. F. Nicholls", for F. T.; page 514, "Darrell", for Durrell.

In a work of such detail, however, these errors are negligible; indeed, Miss Lonn has done a remarkable piece of work in regard to the general accuracy of her statements, all of which are supported by the best authority available. Sometimes, it is true, she makes a slip that is not pleasant: thus (p. 161) she describes D. B. Penn, candidate for lieutenant-governor with McEnery, as "colored, Warmoth party", though on page 270 and elsewhere in connection with the uprising of September 14 in New Orleans she correctly recognizes him as a Confederate soldier connected with some of the most prominent families of the state and enjoying the confidence of his people.

The most serious defects of this painstaking work, however, are rather in matters of style and general handling of the material. In the space at my disposal I can do no more than indicate, in the most general way, that the narrative is, at times, conspicuously lacking in that sort of orderly continuity which makes for clearness and for interest. At times, also, the writer composes sentences which, like this on page 68, seem to state the exact reverse of what is meant: "he laid the blame for the excesses on lobbyists, nor did he scruple to withhold names". Most frequently there is a failure to present the complex details in such a way as to make the situation clear; for example, in summarizing the

conditions existing at the beginning of 1869 (p. 9 *et seq.*), insufficient attention is paid to the highly important matter of the relation of Louisiana politics to the "national game" being played by the Congressional leaders. It will not, in my judgment, be possible to understand what went on in Louisiana without a frank, if concise, statement of national conditions. Similarly, in the handling of such a matter as the Colfax massacre, though Miss Lonn is perfectly unprejudiced, her narrative is not presented with that sort of clearness and vigor that should be perfectly consistent with accuracy and fairness. She is too timid about expressing opinions; it is not enough to present the facts, to quote freely the conflicting partizan opinions of the time (as on pp. 260-267); the function of the historian should be to digest and interpret where it is needful.

The volume will be welcome to the student, and should find a place in every library dealing with American history. But its value to the student would be very much greater if the index were more complete and better classified.

PIERCE BUTLER.

The Autobiography of a Pennsylvanian. By SAMUEL WHITAKER PENNYPACKER, Governor of Pennsylvania, 1903-1907. (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company. 1918. Pp. 564. \$3.00.)

PROBABLY no state in the Union has ever had a governor with a mind so original as that of Samuel W. Pennypacker of Pennsylvania. With purposes which on the whole were fine, ideas on the most various subjects which were suggestive, turns of phrase which were unexpected and frequently bizarre, he was a man above others to be thanked for having bequeathed us an account of his life. Without question no book is quite like this one. The outlook at times is not from any great eminence. The tower on which the writer stood was not of the highest, but from where he did stand he saw with penetrating eye and has now given others his impressions with courage and fidelity.

As an industrious antiquary and annalist on Pennsylvania topics, well known, wherever he was known at all, for his loyalty to the history and the traditions of the state, the president for many years of the good and useful Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Governor Pennypacker as a matter of course has brought into his autobiography much that bears upon this branch of learning. He gained impressions and cherished recollections of a large number of men, many of no repute outside of their own community, though not a few were of national stature. The writer of American history for the period will find it profitable, therefore, to refer to the work; the writer of local history must find it indispensable to do so.

The criticism of men still living and of events and policies still lying within the range of daily conflict is rather perilous. That the author is deceased and is in a way protected by the *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*,

does not completely close the door to rejoinder. The chapters included in this volume earlier appeared in several of the newspapers of the state which obtained the rights to their use. Their publication led not unnaturally to charges of doubtful taste. This will be the price of immediate publication of such literary matter. A well-known Philadelphian, a contemporary of Governor Pennypacker, whose death only a short while preceded his, kept a journal but stipulated that it should not be published for a century. It would be difficult to imagine the pother which must have arisen if the diaries of John Quincy Adams and Gideon Welles had come to the light of day while those persons of whom the authors spoke were still alive. One was published twenty-six years, the other thirty-three years, after the death of the diarists, and even then both drew upon themselves the inevitable penalty of being thought ill-humored, uncharitable, and egotistical old gentlemen. What labor the daily insertion of descriptions and judgments in a diary entails upon a man living in the midst of arduous engagements (and no other need essay the task, for he will have little to tell) few who have not done so much can know. The writing of an autobiography is similarly laborious. What gives it worth is the fact that it is done in the heat of feeling and that it is an honest and truthful reflection of experience. It were idle for any with pretense to wisdom to complain of the inclusion, in a writing of this kind, of the very things which if they were wanting would deprive it of its reason for existence.

The historian may not accept the judgment but he may pause to note what Governor Pennypacker thought of Senator Quay:

Quay had earnestly tried to do a service for Pennsylvania. Little esteem did he win by the effort. The difference between his reputation and that of Clay over the country and abroad consists in the fact that Kentucky stood firmly behind Clay with all of his faults and that Pennsylvania, so far as expression went, failed so to stand behind Quay with all his merits (p. 281, *cf.* p. 351).

The Governor was frankly not a democrat:

Often an imp of a demagogue leads a herd of swine into the sea and there they are drowned. The real truth of the matter is that the masses of the people are ill trained and uninformed. . . . It may be conceded that, given sufficient time, the popular judgment is apt to settle upon the correct principles, yet in the meantime Joan of Arc has been burned to death, Poland has been parted in fragments, the Boers have been robbed of their mines, and the Capitol at Washington has been laid in ashes (p. 279).

None can peruse this volume without finding in it matter for thought and discussion. Now and then he will be invigorated by what he will meet with as he turns the pages; at other times amused by the writer's conscious or, as we must think, often unconscious humor. The Pennypacker name will have long life in the history of the governor's office in Pennsylvania, and this book will be a material aid to the attainment of that end.

ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER.

The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson, 1913-1917. By EDGAR E. ROBINSON and VICTOR J. WEST, Assistant Professors of American History and of Political Science in Leland Stanford Junior University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. 428. \$1.75.)

Le Président Wilson et l'Évolution de la Politique Étrangère des États-Unis. Par Sir THOMAS BARCLAY. Préface de M. PAUL PAINLEVÉ, Membre de l'Institut, Ancien Président du Conseil des Ministres. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1918. Pp. vii, 289. 3 fr. 50.)

THE two books under review, though in many ways quite different, are alike in that both consist mainly of documents or extracts from other books. As a study and as a document-book that of Robinson and West is the better of the two. But neither book furnishes the reader a thoroughly adequate and satisfactory account of the foreign policy of President Wilson.

Part III. of Robinson and West, making up over half of the book, consists of ninety utterances of President Wilson, or his Secretary of State, upon the foreign policy of the United States from March, 1913, to August 27, 1917. Twenty are given in full, seventy are represented by extracts. Nearly every important public utterance of President Wilson on foreign affairs is included. Part II. is a chronological table giving in considerable detail the more important events in American foreign relations for the period. Cross-references to the documents in part III. are included. The editorial work in both of these parts has been admirably done in every particular. The publication of the book is fully justified by the high value of these two parts.

In the study of President Wilson's foreign policy in part I. Robinson and West have been much less successful than in their editorial work. In the opinion of the reviewer their highly laudatory estimate of the policy is fully warranted. But a much stronger case in support of that estimate might have been presented. The authors do little more than string together paraphrases and briefer quotations from the documents furnished in part III. While in one sense President Wilson's utterances are undoubtedly the best justification of his policy, the reviewer is of the opinion that the authors should have given their study a much broader scope. Sharper emphasis upon the transformations through which the policy has gone, fuller explanation of the events and circumstances leading to those changes, more attention to the criticisms brought against the policy, and to manifestations of public opinion, would have added much to the value of the study.

Sir Thomas Barclay has scattered through his little volume copious extracts from well-known books on American affairs by Bryce, Roosevelt, Boutmy, Coolidge, and a few others. Washington's Farewell Address is inserted in one of the chapters, while the Constitution of the

United States and nine of the most important state papers of President Wilson are printed as appendixes. The author's own contribution consists of seven short chapters of comment upon the rôle of the President and of the party system in the United States, and the personality and the foreign policy of President Wilson. M. Paul Painlevé has contributed a brief but striking preface. The volume is obviously a war book, quickly prepared to meet an urgent demand. It represents the impressions of a well-informed publicist who knows much about the public affairs of many countries, but more of Europe than of America. While there is much in the book to which exception might be taken in respect to correct comprehension of American history of earlier date, the view which it presents of the course taken by the United States in regard to the war is in general correct and appreciative. As that is the part by which its readers are most likely to be impressed, it will undoubtedly serve a useful public purpose.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime: America Overseas. By CHARLES BURKE ELLIOTT, Ph.D., LL.D. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. [1916.] Pp. [xx], 541. \$4.50.)

The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government: a Study in Tropical Democracy. By the same. (*Ibid.* [1917.] Pp. [xxii], 541. \$4.50.)

THESE two volumes, although issued separately, really form a single continuous unit, and might better have been published as volumes I. and II. of the same work. They are capital books for a general library or for a special collection on the Philippines and the Far East. Taken in connection with the two posthumous volumes of James A. LeRoy, namely, *The Americans in the Philippines* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), unfortunately unfinished at the death of the author, they permit of a very fair estimate of the work of the United States in the Philippine Islands. Judge Elliott (at present associate justice of the supreme court of Minnesota) was himself a distinguished official in the Philippine Islands, first as associate justice of the supreme court, and later as a member of the Philippine Commission with the portfolio of commerce and police. He was, therefore, in close touch with the government that had been set up in the Philippines by the United States, and should be expected to speak with authority on all questions connected with that government, especially the Commission government. He is also a keen, though unpretentious and modest, student of men and affairs, and his opinions are worthy of attention.

Both volumes show unusually wide reading, and in addition to standard and well-known authorities, both of them contain in the foot-notes many excellent bibliographical references not usually cited. In addi-

tion, the second volume contains a good working bibliography (by no means complete) of books and articles on colonization and colonial problems and the Philippines, the latter section including "Books and Important Pamphlets" and "Documents and other Government Publications". Both volumes are written in a spirit of sympathy and of fairness toward American and Filipino, and with no apology to either when the author cannot agree with or countenance any action or policy. He makes no attempt to hide his disagreement with certain acts and policies of the Forbes administration, of which he was himself a part, nor does he hesitate to condemn any tendency in the present administration, with which he is not in harmony, and while considerate toward the Filipino, he does not always deal in honeyed phrases. He is severe, but not unjust, toward the so-called anti-imperialistic movement, and he insists on the legality of the United States occupation of the Philippines, the lack of any chicanery or any double-dealing with Aguinaldo and the Filipino insurgents, the fair-mindedness of Admiral Dewey, and the honest and sincere efforts of the majority of Americans connected with the Philippines. On the other hand, he has not been slow to praise any qualities and capacities manifest in the Filipinos, or the progress attained by them, although the difference of nationality will doubtless cause Filipinos to disagree with some of his conclusions. On the whole, the work bears the stamp of optimism, tempered somewhat by fear lest the government of the United States has permitted too rapid an advance to the Filipinos in self-government, especially since the inception of the Harrison administration and the passage of the so-called Jones Bill.

Both volumes are marred greatly by numerous errors in proof-reading, which are seen especially in geographical and other proper names and foreign words and phrases. A few citations will be sufficient to show this, but it is hoped that if a second edition of this work is published, care will be taken to correct all errors of proof-reading. In volume I. the French quotation is badly confused (pp. 52-53); "Maravales" occurs instead of Mariveles (p. 71); "Zertschrift" for Zeitschrift (p. 86); "Caspar" for Gaspar (p. 105); "Homonlion" for Homonhon (p. 143); "Badojis" for Badajoz (p. 145); "picus" for pieuse (p. 149, note 18); "Grigolva" for Grijalva (note 19); "pacification" for pacificación and "conquesto" for conquista (p. 151); Arthur Helps appears as "Arthur Heaps" (p. 180, note 25), and the author of *The Mastery of the Pacific* masquerades as "Coleridge" (p. 373). The second volume also contains many errors of like nature, but not so many as the first.

The first volume contains eighteen chapters, divided as follows: Introductory, The Theory and Practice of Colonization; part I., The Land and the People, chapters II.-IV.; part II., The Historical Background, chapters V.-VII.; part III., The Spanish Colonial System, chapters VIII.-XI.; part IV., American Occupation and Change of Sovereignty,

chapters XII.-XVIII. The necessity for the introductory chapter might be questioned, although it is of convenience to the general reader. Only the latter part of it deals specifically with the United States and the Philippines. In part I. is given a general description of the Philippines and of the native peoples; in part II., the discovery and conquest, two and a half centuries of stagnation, and the awakening and revolt of the Filipinos; in part III., the Spanish governmental organization, legislation, codes and courts, taxation and revenue, and personal status and trade restrictions; and in part IV., to which the preceding parts are but a preface, the capture of Manila by United States forces, the peace protocol and the treaty of Paris, the policy of expansion and the anti-imperialists, the diplomacy of the consulates (being the early relations with the Filipino insurgents), the period of military occupation, the Filipino rebellion and the days of the empire, and the end of the military régime. The descriptive part abounds in well-written passages, and the book throughout is written in a very readable style, with a few lapses, however, from the dignity that a book of this character should maintain. There are many generalizations which show keen insight, such for instance as (p. 41) that the United States "skilfully adopted as her own the cry which the Filipinos had raised of 'the Philippines for the Filipinos', and has been able in a measure to direct a movement which could not be suppressed". The parts dealing with the peoples of the Philippines leave much to be desired, and the same is true of the chapters on historical backgrounds, though part III. will be read with interest, and the wish that it were longer. In the fourth part, however, there is much sound matter, and this part of the book will be read to advantage, especially the chapter dealing with the peace protocol and the treaty of Paris.

The second volume consists of nineteen chapters which treat of the following: the new civil government; the aftermath of war; disentangling Church and State—the friar lands; congressional legislation for the Philippines; the provinces and municipalities; the commission government and its administration; finance, taxation, and trade; defense and public safety—the army and navy; sanitation and health; the Philippine schools; the labor problem; the policy of material development; transportation and communication; Philippine agriculture; policies and personnel; the independence movement and the reorganized government. There are also useful appendixes as follows: treaty of peace between the United States and Spain of December 10, 1898; instructions of the President to the Schurman commission; instructions to the Taft commission; three proclamations of Aguinaldo; the constitution of the Philippine republic; a list of leading officials of the Philippine government; the Philippine government law of 1916; and a statement of the cost of the army in the Philippines. This volume is a contribution to our knowledge of the Philippines and is worth careful reading, as it contains information along a great many lines on which there is constant

inquiry. Anyone who has been in the Philippines will agree with one of Judge Elliott's conclusions which will be found in his preface to this second volume:

We have changed the face of the country, and given law, order, justice, and equal rights and opportunities to the people, but they are no more Americans to-day than they were two decades ago. . . . A few individuals have been partially Americanized, but it is very doubtful whether we have materially changed the fundamental character of the Filipino people.

But we are tempted to ask why we should try to make Americans out of the Filipinos, and to suggest that American effort has been expended primarily in directions to aid the Filipino to find himself and to learn the great lesson of social control, in order that he may develop along the lines best suited to him.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Biografía del General José Félix Ribas, Primer Teniente de Bolívar en 1813 y 1814: Época de la Guerra á Muerte. Por JUAN VICENTE GONZÁLEZ. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (Madrid: Editorial-América. [1917.] Pp. 302. 5 pesetas.)

El Libertador Bolívar y el Deán Funes en la Política Argentina: Revisión de la Historia Argentina. Por J. FRANCISCO V. SILVA. [Ibid.] (Ibid. [1917.] Pp. 421. 8.50 pesetas.)

LIKE their immediate predecessors, these additions to the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* are works written by historians living long after the persons whose careers they describe. Only in the sense that they deal with events centring about Bolívar and his times do they conform to the original purpose of the series edited by Rufino Blanco-Fombona, which was to reproduce contemporary memoirs. Neither of them is supplied with introduction or comment.

The biography of José Félix Ribas in its present form is a reprint of the edition brought out in Paris in 1913, except that it omits a brief notice of the author and a long prefatory essay by Sr. Blanco-Fombona on Bolívar's proclamation of "war to the death". It appeared originally in a periodical published by González himself at Caracas in 1865. The author was one of the most active polemical writers of his time. Student, satirist, historian, educator, and journalist, eloquent, impetuous, ardent, romantic, and impassioned, one to whom politics was the chief joy in life—he represented well the versatility and the controversial spirit that characterize Spanish-American writers of his own age and of many that were to follow him. The deeds of Ribas certainly furnished his Venezuelan biographer with material that suited his temperament, and the result is an excellent piece of Spanish prose, vigorous and graphic in diction, even if a bit rhetorical and discursive in style.

Ribas was an uncle by marriage of Bolívar, and served as his chief

lieutenant during the campaigns of 1813 and 1814—the period of the “war to the death”—with which the work is mainly concerned. From April 25, 1810, when he was elected a member of the provisional government of Venezuela, his career is described in increasing detail till his tragic death, on January 31, 1815, at the hands of the royalists after the defeat at Maturín. Throughout, the text is enriched with documents and excerpts that impart a contemporary flavor to a narrative itself full of the spirit of the revolution. The appendixes also are of considerable interest. They contain a census of the population of Venezuela in 1809 and 1810, in contrast to that of 1816, prepared by a royalist of the time with the object of showing how frightful had been the work of slaughter done by the rebels; a genealogy of the Ribas family; and a pen-picture of Bolívar at Casacoima in 1817, on the occasion of his famous prophecy about the subsequent course of the struggle for emancipation.

The book on Bolívar and Funes is here printed for the first time. To some extent, indeed, it is a fruit of the publication of the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* itself, for the references to individual volumes in that series are quite frequent. The author, a Cordoban, avails himself of an opportunity to express his disapproval of the headship long exercised by Buenos Aires over Argentina, which he regards as detrimental to the country at large, because of its tendency to “foreignize” the individual provinces. In view of the fact that Gregorio Funes, the celebrated historian, theologian, and pulpit-orator, of whose early career and of whose relations with the Liberator and other eminent men of the age he treats, was rector of the University of Córdoba and dean of the cathedral, he utilizes a description of his life and times as a means of demonstrating the rightfulness of the claim of his native city to consideration as the “true historical capital” of the nation.

In the same connection Sr. Silva undertakes to counteract the hatred for Spain, the dislike for other Spanish-American countries, and the disparagement of Bolívar which official text-books are alleged to have propagated in Argentine schools. This task of “revising Argentine history” he accomplishes in an essay that occupies much less than half the volume. Its tone is violent and the nature of its assertions suggestive of a polemic. The theme, nevertheless, is handled with considerable skill, and its composition shows wide acquaintance with the literature. On his part, the reader will find the essay alike interesting and provocative, because of its challenge to many a preconception about the history of the southern countries of South America.

The bulk of the volume is made up of documents given in appendixes. A few of them, drawn from the national archives and library at Madrid, concern the revolutionary proceedings in the viceroyalty of La Plata between 1810 and 1815, and refer also to the genealogy and professional career of Funes. The majority are taken from the *Memorias* of O’Leary. They consist of letters from Funes to Bolívar, Sucre, O’Leary,

and others between 1824 and 1827. At the close is a communication of recent date from the director of the municipal library of Guayaquil, discussing the famous interview at that city between Bolívar and San Martín.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

MINOR NOTICES

The Real Business of Living. By James H. Tufts, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Chicago. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1918, pp. vii, 476, \$1.50.) The author of this book has turned aside from the severer discipline of philosophy to discuss in two handbooks the practical problems of every-day. His first volume, on *Our Democracy, its Origins and Tasks*, antedated the subject of this sketch by a year. It was an historical study for young people of the principles and institutions that naturally belong with democracy. His second book is of the same popular nature. In the author's words it

attempts to show the origins of our institutions and standards, of our business and political ideals. It makes large use of the objective expression of these in law and government, but it also aims to point out the tasks in responsibility, public spirit, fair dealing, city planning, and further development of liberty, co-operation, and democracy which make the real business of living a genuine enterprise of high appeal.

In four parts the author discusses the beginnings of co-operation, order, and liberty, a reprint from the earlier volume; the problems of co-operation and right in business; the problems of life in city and country; and liberty, union, and democracy in the New World. Most of the historical matter is in part I. It deals with social development, especially the reactions of liberty and order. The book has a good index, but few foot-notes and no bibliography.

As a popular treatment of political science and social ethics from the dawn of history up to and beyond present conditions, the book has its place in a time when there is exceptional need of intelligent public opinion. Though it is not a book for scholars, it is of value as an interpretation of the world of the past and the present to American citizens who need to know social and moral values against an historical background.

HENRY K. ROWE.

Ricerche sulla Storia e sul Diritto Pubblico di Roma. Serie Terza. *I Fasti dei Tribuni della Plebe e lo Svolgersi della Tribunicia Podestà sino all' Età dei Gracchi.* By Ettore Pais. (Rome, P. Magliione and C. Strini, 1918, pp. xxii, 434. 15 lire.) This book is the third of a series of four volumes planned to supplement the author's *Storia Critica di Roma*. It serves a double purpose. The tribunician lists in it,

supplemented by the author's analysis of the *fasti consulares* in its predecessor, furnish us with a chronological basis for the reconstruction of republican history. The second part of the volume gives us the story of the popular movement. The essentially new feature in the method of treating the subject lies in the fact that, both in the lists and in the historical sketch of the tribunate, the material is arranged, as in the Drumann-Groebe *Geschichte Roms*, not chronologically, but from a study of the families which fill the tribunate. This plan of presenting his subject enables the author to take advantage of the well-known fact that the members of a clan were inclined to follow the political traditions of their family, and it brings out the fact that the continued vitality of Rome was due in large measure to the steady infusion of new blood into the governing classes. In his historical sketch Professor Pais also studies the social classes represented by the tribunes, and points out the sections of Italy from which the tribunician families came, and the political tendencies of these families. In the political part of his sketch he discusses the development of the tribunate, its relation to the curule offices, the Gracchan legislation, and the taking over of the tribunician power by Augustus. The volume ends with a chronological list of the tribunes who are known.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Third series, volume XI. (London, the Society, 1917, pp. vii, 278.) Whether because the war sets historical folk to thinking, more actively than ever before, as to what is really worth while in history, or for whatever reason, this volume of the Royal Historical Society seems to be devoted, in a rather unusual degree, to subjects of large importance. The presidential address of Professor Firth has for its theme the history of the diplomatic and military relations between Great Britain and Austria, which he treats, though in broad outline, with his customary mastery. Dr. J. Holland Rose gives an excellent account of the Mission of M. Thiers to the Neutral Powers in 1870, Mr. William Foster of the India Board, 1784-1858, its origin, constitution, proceedings, methods, and local habitations. Next is printed a careful and intelligent investigation, by Miss Isobel D. Thornley, of the Treason Legislation of Henry VIII., 1531-1534, *i. e.*, of the causes, circumstances, drafts, amendments, and whole legislative history of the act of 1534, being the Alexander Prize Essay for 1916. Rev. Dr. Henry Gee illustrates the history of sectarian disaffection under the Restoration by a history of the Derwentdale Plot of 1663. An American paper, by Mr. H. P. Biggar, on Charles V. and the Discovery of Canada, places the voyages of Cartier and Roberval in their proper setting, as related to the diplomatic history of the time. Mr. A. F. Sieveking has a less substantial paper on the history of Dueling and Militarism; Rev. Claude Jenkins, librarian of the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, gives an entertaining survey of the manuscript treasures of that collection.

An Outline Sketch of English Constitutional History. By George Burton Adams, Litt.D. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918, pp. 208, \$1.75.) The abundant literature of English constitutional history is highly specialized, and works of adequate scholarship which cover the whole field are exceedingly few. A volume of such scope written by an historian of the standing of Professor Adams is, therefore, a most welcome contribution. Eleven brief chapters in the author's concise and felicitous essay style deal with as many periods and movements. The aim is specific and practical, namely to trace in outline the steps by which the central government of England has grown from the absolutism of Norman days into its present democratic form. Simplicity of plan and clearness of development are aided by the omission of what is foreign to this purpose. Thus the Tudor period is handled chiefly from the standpoint of the rise of Parliament to importance, and the Star Chamber is mentioned only by way of allusion.

The treatment of feudal institutions and their influence is first to be consulted in whatever Professor Adams writes. In conformity with his well-known views the lesser *curia regis* is defined as a permanent institution in charge of the business of the Norman state, an authority to which all executive and administrative officials were responsible. Liebermann's statement concerning the nature of the great council is traversed by the assertion that a denial of its feudal character because of its superficial resemblance to the Anglo-Saxon assembly denies the feudal character of every institution of the kind in Europe and the Latin Orient. The author's earlier conclusions enable him to hold that the Great Charter is rescued from the limbo of small things to which some would consign it by its insistence, in conformity with the feudal principle of contract, upon the king's subjection to the law.

The essentially novel feature of the work is found in the observations upon the field at large of this veteran student of English constitutional history. The Lancastrian constitution is justly interpreted as the result not of the strength of Parliament but of the weakness of kings. The first two Stuarts misapplied the precedents upon which some of their more important claims rested, but Parliament also strained precedents. Parliament was actually the supreme power from the year 1660. The more important differences between the English constitution and that developing in America after this date are explained by the exclusion from the former of the Puritan experiments. Constitutional liberty probably would not have survived had George III. been successful. The cabinet system is the most important constitutional contribution England has made with the possible exception of limited monarchy and impressive lessons and examples. A change from a monarchy of the British type to a republic would be no gain for democracy. But the retention of monarchy in England has greatly facilitated the spread of democratic institutions throughout the world without the necessity of radical revolution. These few examples may well serve to illustrate the

author's willingness to go to the bottom of a question as well as the thought-provoking quality of his book.

W. A. MORRIS.

Vue Générale de l'Histoire de Belgique. Par H. Vander Linden, Professeur à l'Université de Liège. (Paris, Payot et Cie., 1918, pp. 287, 4 fr. 50.) Dedicated to Professors Pirenne and Fredericq, "victims of their opposition to Pan-Germanism", this volume would be sure of a cordial reception by students of history quite apart from the scholarly qualifications of its author. Its sketch of Belgian history from the earliest times to 1914, though brief, is fuller than the *Short History of Belgium* issued by Professor Van der Essen in 1916. The political outline is clear and intelligible, but particular attention is given, after the manner of Pirenne, to economic and social development—the importance of the monasteries in the Carolingian period, the life of the towns, the Burgundian Renaissance, the fortunes of Antwerp, the Catholic revival, modern social problems. The dozen pages devoted to the period since the revolution of 1830 might well have been expanded, at least for the years prior to 1914. As regards the present war and its antecedents, Professor Vander Linden shows the reserve of the true historian in awaiting a longer and less troubled perspective:

We should avoid imitating the historians across the Rhine when they make the great lines of the past converge upon the point of view which the mentality of the moment imposes. . . . History does not lend itself to such a finalization, which suggests only too well the Prussian type of organization.

C. H. H.

Sumptuary Law in Nürnberg: a Study in Paternal Government. By Kent Roberts Greenfield, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Delaware College. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. XXXVI., no. 2.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1918, pp. vi, 7-139, \$1.50.) On the basis of a careful study of the sumptuary legislation of one German city, Professor Greenfield presents certain interesting conclusions. The first of these, and the most emphasized, is that the Reformation had practically nothing to do with the "blue laws". Regulation of all details of private life, afterward fathered on the Puritans, was in reality just as thorough before Luther's time as after it. My own impression is that there is a distinction to be drawn between the Lutheran and Calvinist in this respect. Whereas the Middle Ages tried to regulate amusement, and Luther thoroughly approved of what he enjoyed himself, Calvin once implied that he would abolish gaiety altogether if he could, and the preamble of the famous law closing the English theatres in 1642 seemed to reduce the staple of a Christian's recreation to "seasonable meditation and prayer". The second of Mr. Greenfield's generalizations is that one of

the mainsprings of the paternalism he is studying was the maintenance of class distinctions by a highly aristocratic government; the blue laws, so to speak, were secretions of the blue blood. Thirdly, one notes many ordinances that could have no motive whatever but sheer conservatism—that, for instance, by which citizens were forbidden to part their hair. This tendency to make everyone conform to custom is older than the Middle Ages, and it is only lately that more liberality has prevailed.

Professor Greenfield adds to his main theme sketches of the Nürnberg government and of the advent of the Reformation in that city. As much of the detail of what he presents is new to me, I am unable to assume the omniscient rôle proper to a reviewer and can only thank the author for what I have learned from him.

PRESERVED SMITH.

A Historical Geography of the British Dependencies. Volume VII. *India.* Part I. *History to the End of the East India Company.* By P. E. Roberts. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1916, pp. iv, 415, 6 sh. 6 d.) This is a singularly uneven book. At times the author does not hesitate to probe traditional verdicts and with sound judgment to revise partizan conclusions. Thus he doubts the strength of the French under Dumas and Dupleix, thereby reducing some of the extravagant claims of later British victors. Clive's earlier financial practices are frankly condemned; and the age of graft which followed is well mauled. Warren Hastings receives balanced treatment and the author apparently has some reason to criticize Forrest's earlier ideas on this ugly question. The chapters on Anglo-French rivalry abound in quotation and reference to the best sort of original material. In short here is fresh, vigorous stuff for both student and teacher.

But why does Mr. Roberts give us only one chapter on the life of the English in India and that more than two hundred years ago? There is no clear picture of English domestic administration in the later stages of the Company. Indeed the history of the first half of the nineteenth century, the period of the real and rapid extension of English rule, becomes little more than a list of wars. The dead hand of the Oxford examination manual stretches out when we find that nearly a third of the entire book is given to the latter part of the eighteenth century, and that page after page is thronged with names and dates. The difference is also seen in the use of material, for in chapters on such controversial matters as the First Afghan War and the Mutiny there is scarcely a hint of a document or of first-hand information.

Yet as a whole the book is one of the best single-volume political histories of the English in India to 1858. It is compact, and remarkably free from casual errors. The maps are clear and are not burdened with too much detail, and the index is serviceable. The geography of Ind'a is to be treated fully in a separate volume, and we may assume

that another part will deal with the history since 1858. That book is much needed.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America. By Charles Mills Gayley, Litt.D., LL.D., Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of California. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1917, pp. [vii], 270, \$1.50.) This is a war book and the readers of this *Review* will cordially subscribe to its purpose of promoting Anglo-American friendship and to its main argument that the liberties of America, even to our political independence, have been for three centuries encouraged, stimulated, and approved by great Englishmen. The patriots who fought George III. were in no mere figurative sense the intellectual heirs of Sandys, Hooker, and Shakespeare. The historical facts chiefly emphasized in this volume are those made familiar by Alexander Brown, though Professor Gayley seems not to be aware of the extent to which subsequent scholars have felt it necessary to qualify and modify Brown's conclusions. To show that the leaders of the Virginia Company were enlightened statesmen, familiar with radical political speculation, to point to the Virginia House of Burgesses, to the Pierce Patent used by the Pilgrims, to prove Shakespeare's friendship with several of these men and allege his probable knowledge of their colonial schemes, was after all nothing so new to scholars of American or of Stuart history. But Professor Gayley seems not thoroughly aware that something still remained to be demonstrated before Shakespeare could be said to have inspired early American liberty. Many will feel that the untimely end of the Virginia Company throws a heavy burden of proof on those who allege the permanence of the political influence of Sandys in Virginia, while the prompt severance of relations with the Virginia Company by the Pilgrims (who, we can be quite sure, did not derive their plans for emigration from Sandys) and the well-known aversion at Plymouth and Boston throughout the seventeenth century for all plays or actors, weakens the presumption of any direct influence of Shakespeare upon early New England. Is it not perhaps as necessary to show that the first men and women to settle in America knew and admired Shakespeare as to prove that Shakespeare knew and appreciated the capitalists concerned with the first colonial ventures? Ought not some weight to be attached to the poet's retirement in 1611 and to his death in 1616, some years before the stirring events of 1619-1621? Professor Gayley's book emphasizes a useful fact, but we could wish that his volume were either less technical and involved and better fitted for popular consumption, or more accurately technical in substance and in its *apparatus criticus*.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Women and the French Tradition. By Florence Leftwich Ravenel. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1918, pp. ix, 234, \$1.50.) In the

essays here presented, most of which have appeared in the *North American Review*, Mrs. Ravenel attempts, by means of studies of a few notable French women, to estimate the contribution which French women have made to the present position and achievements of women. The preliminary essay, the *Eternal Feminine*, reprinted from the *Un-popular Review*, gives a brief and superficial survey of the position of women in America, England, and France. This is followed by sketches of Arvède Barine, George Sand, Mme. de Staël, Mme. de Sévigné, Mme. de Lafayette, and the daughters of three of these women—sketches slight in substance but sympathetic and graceful in form. The volume closes with a general estimate of the work and the aspirations of the women of France.

Materialy dlia Istorii Gangutskoi Operatsii. Volume I., parts 1 and 2. (Petrograd, 1914 [1918], pp. xxxvi, 138, 276.) On July 27 (O. S.), 1714, a small Russian naval force attacked and defeated an equally small force of the Swedish fleet. The fight took place in the Baltic Sea not far from Gange Cape (Hangö Udd), hence the Russian name of the battle, "Gangutskoi Boi". The victory decided nothing of importance, but Peter, who participated in the fight and because of it had himself promoted to the rank of vice-admiral, regarded it as Russia's first naval victory.

In honor of the event the Russian government desired to commemorate the two-hundredth anniversary in some appropriate manner. After some discussion the commission in charge of the celebration decided to collect and publish all the material bearing on the subject which is to be found in Russia and Sweden. Capt. Alexander I. Lebedev, the able director of the Russian naval archives, was made chairman of a committee to do this work, and with him were associated Lieutenants G. A. Kniazev and S. M. Shcheglov, both of whom are university men well trained in historical research. They have planned a work in six volumes: (I.) letters and orders of Peter during the years 1713 and 1714; (II.) reports and letters to Peter and to Charles XII.; (III.) journals of Apraksin, Siniavin, Shuvalov, and the Swedish admiral Vattrang; (IV.) correspondence of Apraksin, Menshikov, Golovkin, Dolgorukov, and others; (V.) names of the officers and men who took part in the fight; popular accounts of the battle, etc.; (VI.) subject and name index.

When the work was undertaken it was hoped to have it completed in 1914 or 1915, but owing to the war no more than two volumes have been published, and only volume I. has reached this country. This book is edited in a careful and scholarly manner. Its contents however have little that is of general interest.

La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric d'après sa Correspondance. Par Commandant Weil. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1917, pp. 586.) Under the inspiration of the late Dr. Reinhold Koser, the Prussian

government has been publishing Frederick the Great's political correspondence, and at the beginning of the war had already issued some thirty-five volumes reaching through the First Partition of Poland. It is a most valuable source of information, not only for our knowledge of the king's character and policy, but also for the diplomatic history of Europe from 1740 onwards. Commandant Weil has reprinted the more important letters and orders from this correspondence for the period covering the first months of the king's reign and the first Silesian War. He has added an interesting introduction and valuable explanatory notes to each letter, which reveal more clearly than before Frederick the Great's total lack of political morality. His Machiavellian dealings stand out in absolute contrast to the pious precepts which he had set forth a few months before in *L'Antimachiavel*. M. Weil's volume sharpens the light on Frederick's dark doings rather than makes known any new facts.

S. B. F.

La Révolution et les Étrangers: Cosmopolitisme et Défense Nationale. Par Albert Mathiez, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Besançon. (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1918, pp. 191, 2 fr. 50.) This little book was suggested to the author by the similarities and the contrasts between the treatment of foreigners, and especially of enemy aliens, during the French revolutionary wars and in the present struggle. The similarities naturally first attract the attention. The spy mania was as widespread in 1793 as in any of the warring countries to-day. Pitt's agents were seen everywhere. They were held responsible for the depreciation of the assignats, for the scarcity of food, and for all the other ills of the time. If fires broke out in Douai or Valenciennes, in a sail-loft at Lorient, a cartridge factory at Bayonne, or an artillery depot at Chemillé, these events were due to British spies or British gold. The Convention denounced "au nom de l'humanité outragée, à tous les peuples et même au peuple anglais, la conduite lâche, perfide et atroce du gouvernement britannique qui soudoie, l'assassinat, le poison, l'incendie et tous les crimes pour le triomphe de la tyrannie et pour l'anéantissement des droits de l'homme".

The contrasts between the two periods are equally striking. Professor Mathiez tells the story of the hesitations of the Convention in abandoning the earlier attitude of cosmopolitanism, with its naïve confidence that the message of the Revolution would be heard by all peoples. Indeed, the laws for the restraint of aliens did not reach their full development until the spring of 1794. The severest measures were directed against the English and included the sequestration of their property. This body of law was, however, far less rigorous than the measures taken in France at the opening of the present war.

The first chapters of the book describe the reception of the news of the Revolution in foreign lands, the pilgrimages of notable men to Paris,

and the movement to admit to French citizenship the benefactors of humanity, to whatever nation they might belong. The later chapters deal not only with the decline of cosmopolitanism before the exigencies of the national defense, but also present much interesting information about individual foreigners who remained in Paris after the crisis of 1793 opened, and to several of whom Professor Mathiez applies a term not unfamiliar in America—"les indésirables".

Professor Mathiez displays a scant generosity in writing of the foreigners whose enthusiasm for the Revolution was chilled by the news of the Massacres of September, the execution of Louis XVI., and the war of propaganda and annexation. He appears to believe that most of them were timid souls, frightened by the menacing attitude of their own governments. Incidentally he condones the Reign of Terror, remarking that it "ne fût pas autre chose que ce que nous désignons aujourd'hui sous le nom d'état de siège". Surely he does not believe that modern French courts are capable of the systematic injustices of the Revolutionary Tribunal or that French officials could now order "fusillades" and "noyades". It was by the Revolutionary Tribunal and the committees which furnished Fouquier-Tinville with victims, that certain foreigners were unjustly treated, although they were done to death not as foreigners but as members of factions which the Committee of Public Safety found dangerous, or simply irritating.

H. E. BOURNE.

The French Assembly of 1848 and American Constitutional Doctrines. By Eugene Newton Curtis, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Modern European History in Goucher College. (New York, Columbia University, 1918, pp. 357, \$3.00.) The author of this study has shown a highly commendable enthusiasm in search for materials, a grim determination not to omit anything which has even the remotest bearing on his subject, and a zeal for scientific method which requires that every process of investigation be exhibited in the most minute detail. The result is a bulky volume of undoubted merit. But, in the opinion of the reviewer, the book would have been of greater value if compressed into half or even a third of the space which has been used.

At Paris the author got access to the unpublished *procès-verbaux* of the constitutional commission of the National Assembly of 1848, hitherto little used, a large number of newspapers, and a good many contemporaneous collections of constitutions and pamphlets not to be found elsewhere.

The first four chapters constitute an elaborate introduction to the real subject of the study, which is found in chapters V. and VI. This introduction includes a contrast between France and the United States in 1848, an account of the recognition of the Second Republic by the United States and its reception in France, an analysis of the few books from which the educated French public of 1848 drew its ideas of the

United States, and a minute examination of the composition, organization, and party alignment of the National Assembly. Much of this, while valuable for the history of the Second Republic, has no close relation to the subject of the book. A good many pages are given up to biographical data, only a small part of which has any real significance for this study.

In chapters V. and VI. the debates in the constitutional commission and the assembly are examined minutely for the purpose of detecting every trace of the influence of American constitutional doctrines. The thoroughness of the examination is beyond all reproach. Readers will readily believe that no allusion has escaped the vigilance of the author. A much more definite impression would have been left if a good many of the less significant allusions had been omitted, if the author had followed some precise formula for determining what makes a constitutional doctrine, and if he had confined his reports of speeches to the parts of the really significant ones which discussed or showed traces of American constitutional influences. The author seems frequently to forget that his subject is of limited scope.

The last two chapters contain an almost equally minute study of the newspaper and review articles, pamphlets, and books published in France during 1848 in which American ideas were discussed, and formulate the results of the study. Professor Curtis concludes that the influence exerted by American precedent on the liberal republicans who controlled the assembly was slight. References to American example were numerous, there was a good deal of debate upon the merit of and reasons for certain features in the American Constitution, but the assembly was not greatly influenced thereby. American precedent was not thought applicable to France.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Italy's Great War and Her National Aspirations. (Milan, Alfieri and Lacroix, 1917, pp. 267.) This is a small volume with excellent illustrations and four maps, to which Mr. H. Nelson Gay contributes an introductory chapter, and of which the other chapters have been prepared respectively by Signor Mario Alberti, Gen. Carlo Corsi, Signori Armando Hodnig, Tomaso Sillani, Attilio Tamaro, and Ettore Tolomei. The successive chapters cover the history of the relations between Austria and Italy since 1814, emphasizing the course of Austrian domination in Italy and relating the Italian martyrology of the unredeemed provinces since 1866; the general reasons, ideal and political, for the entrance of Italy into the war; the special conditions, historical and political, of the provinces which are claimed by the Irredentist programme—the Trentino, eastern Friuli, Trieste, Istria, Fiume, and Dalmatia; the Italian successes on land and sea; the Italian demonstrations of economic and financial strength. There is much good information in the book, though its tone is, naturally, not devoid of partizanship. In this country it is sold by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

Cartas de China: Documentos Inéditos sobre Misiones Franciscanas del Siglo XVII. Publícalos por primera vez el P. Otto Maas, O. F. M. (Seville, Est. Tip. de J. Santigosa, 1917, pp. vii, 190.) *Cartas de China (Segunda Serie): Documentos Inéditos sobre Misiones de los Siglos XVII. y XVIII.* (Seville, Izquierdo y Compañía, 1917, pp. viii, 221.) The publication of these two collections of missionary letters from Franciscans in the Far East has been the editor's labor of love and research among the archives of convents in Guadalajara. The first volume contains twenty-seven letters from Antonio de Santa Maria written from places in North China during the middle decade of the seventeenth century to the provincial and others in Manila, and eleven letters from Augustin de San Pascual, dating from 1677 to 1688. The second volume has three series of letters from Bernardo de la Encarnación, Pedro de la Piñuela, and Jaime Tarín, all in China, covering the last quarter of the same century. To these are added fifteen appendixes giving data on the Catholic missions in the East, including the text of Innocent XII's (1696) brief establishing the first apostolic vicarates in China. Typical reports of the state of the missions of the four orders as presented to the *almirante de galeones* at Manila in the year 1688 are interesting. Most of the manuscripts in this collection are found in the archives of the Franciscan provincial of San Gregorio de Filipinas in the convent of Pastrana, which, with other conventual libraries of Spain, preserve an enormous amount of untouched material bearing on the propaganda in China. Among others the editor refers to "un gran volumen manuscrito intitulado Historia de la Provincia de San Gregorio in China, 1711", which ought to be published. The seventeenth century was one of great hardship and defeat for the brave missionaries in China, who had to endure the repressive policy of the Manchu dynasty as well as the bitter quarrel of the Jesuits with the rival orders in matters of prerogative and policy. The substance of the letters here presented may be useful to students of the stormy period of the Manchu conquest, but the fathers were not so well informed of either political conditions or military operations as to render their reports of great consequence to the historian. Their main value lies naturally in the fresh data offered for the study of Franciscan missionary operations in China. The editor adds a brief but substantial historical introduction and a few notes.

F. W. WILLIAMS.

The Development of Japan. By Kenneth Scott Latourette, Professor of History in Denison University. Published under the auspices of the Japan Society. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1918, pp. xi, 237, \$1.50.) Professor Latourette felt the need of a text-book to cover a six weeks' course in Japanese history and he has placed many people under obligation to him by seeking "to fill the gap until something better shall appear". He has succeeded remarkably well. In a volume of

224 pages he has given us the best brief history of Japan with which the reviewer is familiar. Several commendable features stand out at once. First, is the spirit of the author. He has never forgotten that he is describing the achievements of the Japanese and hence he has not made it his first duty to hold up to them constantly the yardstick of European advancement. Again, the proportions are good. Almost half the volume deals with old Japan, and the remainder with the events since the reopening of the country, for "the Japan of 1917 is so decidedly the child of the Japan of 1850 that to know the first one must be acquainted with the second". His manner of presentation is excellent. The story is told clearly and well, and with unusual discrimination in the use of words, so that a single sentence often furnishes a better summary than many paragraphs. For instance, in speaking of the constitution of the empire, "although conservative, it is so elastic that its real working may change with the political education of the people, and still retain its form", which may be commended to several recent writers on this subject. The two-page description of Buddhism is an excellent example of clear condensation. And in spite of space limitations he has been able to say a word about the religious, social, cultural, and political life of the people in each of the great periods, naturally at the expense of detailed treatment of military operations. The political history of Japan since 1891 is summarized in a brief but effective manner.

At the end of each chapter are brief lists of books for further reading, and a small bibliography, partly critical, is appended. Brief as it is, it should have included the two masterly histories of James Murdoch, which, however, because published in Japan, may not be easily available for school libraries in this country.

The book is remarkably free from textual errors. "Araga" (p. 108) should be Uraga, "1869" (p. 130) should be 1868, and "1868" (p. 152) should be 1858.

PAYSON J. TREAT.

Japan: the Rise of a Modern Power. By Robert P. Porter. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1918, pp. xi, 361, \$2.25.) The late Robert P. Porter was for many years an American journalist and public servant, notably as director of the Eleventh Census. During the later years of his life he was on the staff of the *Times* (London) and resided in England. The present volume was published after his death. In this field he had already issued *The Commerce and Industry of Japan* and *The Full Recognition of Japan*. The purpose of the present little volume was "to describe, for English-speaking people, the main facts of Japanese history".

The volume is divided into two parts. Part I. (pp. 262) is a brief survey of Japanese history from the earliest times to the capture of Tsing-tao in 1914. Ninety-eight pages treat of the period before the arrival of Commodore Perry, in 1853, and the rest deal with the subse-

quent sixty-one years. This lack of proportion, of course, defeats the purpose of the author, for, instead of giving "the main facts of Japanese history", he has emphasized the period of modern Japan. Even a casual reader should know more about the history of Japan, to 1542, than the twenty-seven and a quarter pages allotted to the period by Mr. Porter. On the other hand fifty pages are devoted to the military operations of the Russo-Japanese War.

The story, however, is pleasantly told, with the skill of the trained writer. One very interesting and helpful feature is the frequent correlation of events in Japan with contemporary happenings in the West, and Japanese and Western heroes are constantly linked in comment. Thus Nobunaga was born in the year after Queen Elizabeth, Hideyoshi is spoken of as "the Japanese Cromwell", and "the Pharaohs, Diocletian, the Byzantine emperors, and Louis XIV. never framed more effective measures for securing their power than Iyeyasu's". These allusions, and there are many of them, keep one in mind of the fact that the Japanese live on the same planet with ourselves and have undergone about the same human experiences. Another interesting feature is the reaction of the author's mind to the present war. Thus, the Kaiser "invited the Tsar to take Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan", in 1898, for that would precipitate a Russo-Japanese war which would allow Germany and Austria to crush France (pp. 145-146). Furthermore, in order to keep France from assisting Russia in the coming struggle, Germany suggested the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which would cause France to keep her fleet in European waters, and also would permanently estrange Russia from Great Britain (pp. 152-153). In the historical chapters a few dates are wrongly given, and Mr. Porter twice speaks of the "ultimatum" delivered by Commodore Perry.

Part II. (pp. 85) is a brief account of certain features of Japanese civilization and progress, with chapters on physical characteristics, resources and industrial progress, trade and internal communications, evolution of the army and navy, and literature and art. Here again we have an excellent example of brief and suggestive statement.

PAYSON J. TREAT.

A History of the Tariff Relations of the Australian Colonies. By Cephas Daniel Allin, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Political Science in the University of Minnesota. [University of Minnesota Studies in the Social Sciences, no. VII.] (Minneapolis, the University, 1918, pp. vi, 177, 75 cents.) Professor Allin presents a study of the tariff relations between the Australian colonies from 1840 to 1865. This volume supplements a monograph on the *Early Federation Movement of Australia*, and it is the expressed intent to publish a third on "intercolonial preferential trade".

The writer states in the preface that the purpose of his study was to discover what part fiscal relations "played in provincial politics and

what effect they had upon the development of the spirit of Australian nationalism". In the introduction he gives an evaluation of the results of the investigation:

To the statesman or political scientist, the tariff history of this period is of small practical or scientific value. It is a record which is concerned almost exclusively with insignificant matters of purely local interest. It has no general economic significance. It has exerted but little influence upon the course of imperial or Australian politics.

A reading of the volume reveals facts that are of considerable political and economic value. Professor Allin shows how the Secretary of State for the Colonies failed to regulate the intercolonial fiscal relations. Tariff autonomy came in 1850, and each colony fixed its own duties. Later, the discovery of gold opened the interior of the continent to trade. Another important event, but less dramatic, was the settlement of the Murray River valley, which led to the development of an inland trade over the colonial boundaries. The gold mines and the settlements enhanced the value of the hinterland to the rival business interests of Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide.

Gradually the miners, the cattle men, and the settlers made themselves heard. Leaders like E. Deas Thompson and R. R. Torrens began to preach the economic unity of the Australias. The Sydney *Herald* supported tariff assimilation. The chambers of commerce realized the futility of the tariff as a competitive weapon even before the legislators did. In 1855 New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia agreed to abandon border custom-houses and to permit unrestricted free trade across the Murray. But they did not come to a settlement about the duties on sea-borne trade. At the Melbourne conference, 1863, the colonies agreed upon a uniform tariff, with exceptions, and upon a plan for distributing the revenues collected thereunder. However, the execution of this plan failed.

Professor Allin has made good use of legislative documents, but there is a noticeable lack of reference to material bearing on the operation of economic forces, which, after all, furnish the motive power for tariff legislation.

CHARLES E. HILL.

The Principles of American Diplomacy. By John Bassett Moore, LL.D., Professor of International Law and Diplomacy in Columbia University. [Harper's Citizen's Series, edited by William F. Willoughby.] (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1918, pp. xiv, 477, \$2.00.) In view of the author's eminence, it may be permissible to allow him to speak *in persona* of the character and purpose of this book.

The present work incorporates substantially the entire text, with few alterations or amendments, of the volume published by the author in 1905 under the title *American Diplomacy: its Spirit and Achievements*. The narrative in that volume, however, embraces few incidents that oc-

curred later than 1903. The years that have elapsed have been marked by important events, some of which are destined to be highly influential in shaping the future course of the foreign policy of the United States. The present work brings the history of that policy down to date. The object of the author in the preparation of the original work, as well as in its revision, has been to set forth and explain the fundamental principles by which the diplomacy of the United States has been governed (p. vii).

This purpose is admirably accomplished. In successive chapters, including such subjects as the System of Neutrality, Freedom of the Seas, Commercial Restrictions, Non-Intervention and the Monroe Doctrine, the Doctrine of Expatriation, International Arbitration, Pan-Americanism, etc., each principle is treated in chronological order and in its proper setting or relation to the others.

The chapter on neutrality includes a good summary of the diplomatic events leading up to our entry into the Great War. There is also an excellent view of our recent policy in Mexico in the chapter on the Monroe Doctrine. These are perhaps the most interesting and important additions to the former volume, except for the chapter on Pan-Americanism, which is wholly new.

We must confess to one disappointment in reading this volume. We had hoped to discover more of the personal opinions or impressions of the author, who is not only one of the profoundest and most learned of our publicists, but who must have been in the position of a first-hand observer of some of the events which he relates. It may be possible here and there to read between the lines, as, for example, where he seems to give his sanction to the view that "the true test of a government's title to recognition is not the theoretical legitimacy of its origin, but the fact of its existence as the apparent exponent of the popular will" (p. 209). We have noted but one instance of the kind, where he "ventures to express the opinion that the problem [of dealing with the Philippine Islands] was simplified by taking all the islands" (p. 354).

At the end of each chapter there are lists of references or citations from the sources, which enable the student to make a further study of the subjects treated. The volume is provided with a valuable bibliography and a good index.

AMOS S. HERSHEY.

Miscellaneous Addresses. By Elihu Root. Collected and edited by Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1917, pp. ix, 313, \$2.50.) The forty-odd addresses in this volume, dealing with subjects as diverse as the Object of Columbia University and the Monroe Doctrine, Joseph G. Cannon and the Iroquois Indians, are naturally of very diverse value. Some of the personal sketches, notably that of John Hay (p. 91 ff.), will be of direct use to the historian. Others, like the one delivered on the centennial celebra-

tion of Mr. Root's *alma mater*, make a narrower appeal. Several might well have been omitted.

Mr. Root sketches himself for us in these pages rather interestingly. In outlook he is the average American of New England descent endowed with brains and helped on by a legal training and a successful career. By resolution he is an optimist but not altogether so by conviction. He admits that there has been progress: "Never in the world have there been so many people so free from the hard restraints of poverty . . . so many people able to perform the duties of good citizenship" (p. 138). Yet one result of prosperity is increasing class jealousy (p. 124), and meanwhile, the old wholesome individualism has passed away; "Interdependence of life has taken the place of self-dependence" (p. 149).

Mr. Root's style is that of the high-class specialist, and a bit unbending for popular uses, but he masses facts impressively, and can be refreshingly frank. He questions if the farmers have ever really benefited from the tariff on their products (p. 176). He records that "When we elected McKinley in 1896 and again in 1900, it was the business men of the United States who controlled the election" (p. 250). In 1904, in addressing the Union League Club of New York, he paid Theodore Roosevelt this oblique compliment: "But I say to you that he has been, during these years since President McKinley's death, the greatest conservative force for the protection of property and our institutions in the city of Washington" (p. 222).

It is in the field of international politics that Mr. Root's democracy appears to best advantage, and indeed the relation between the triumph of political democracy and the maintenance of international law has been nowhere stated more judiciously than in his notable address of April 26, 1917 (p. 280 ff.). Eleven years earlier he had touched prophetically upon another phase of our participation in the war. "Know", said he to the French ambassador at Philadelphia, "that we have in America a sentiment for France; and a sentiment enduring among a people is a great and substantial fact to be reckoned with" (p. 142). Another instance of the "imponderables" of which Bismarck warned his countrymen so unavailingly!

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

Doctrinal Standards of Methodism, including the Methodist Episcopal Churches. By Thomas Benjamin Neely, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. (New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1918, pp. 355, \$2.00.) Bishop Neely is here presenting in somewhat popular form the tenets of Methodist faith as it stands to-day, with some idea of their historical evolution and of their place in the history of the church. His review of the early growth of the faith of the Christian Church is most summary and is confined almost entirely to external matters, such as the names of various creeds and the dates

of their adoption, concerning itself not at all with the changing philosophies underlying these restatements of the belief of Christendom. From the time of the Reformation on, the historic facts relating to doctrine are presented with more fullness, a fullness naturally most noticeable in the case of Wesley. The evolution of distinctly Methodist doctrine largely accomplished by Wesley is expounded by means of reference to Wesley's own writings. From the historical point of view, probably the most interesting chapter is that entitled Early American Methodism and its Doctrines, in which the crystallization of Wesley's belief into the formal creed of a well-organized church is described. The underlying purpose of the book is to show that Wesley himself possessed a definite and essential set of doctrines, that these doctrines were accepted by his followers, were recognized and embodied in the articles of faith of the Methodist Church, and are to-day an essential element of Methodism. The audience addressed is the body of members of the Methodist Church in its various branches.

Jasper Mauduit, Agent in London for the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, 1762-1765. [Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vol. LXXIV.] (Boston, the Society, 1918, pp. xxxvii, 194.) The publication of the Jasper Mauduit correspondence by the Massachusetts Historical Society constitutes a useful addition to the small but increasing body of material from which an adequate account of the colonial agency will some day be written. Letters of Ashurst, Paris, Wilks, Sharpe, Kilby, Partridge, De Berdt, Franklin, Abercrombie, McCulloch, Ingersoll, Cumberland, Life, Jackson and others exist in one form or another and a considerable collection of Charles Garth papers can be found in Washington and London. Were a list made, it is likely that one or more letters of practically all the agents of the colonies, West Indian and continental, could be discovered, either here or in England, and, when brought together, such a collection would constitute a record of activities of high importance for Great Britain's relations with her colonies. The correspondence here printed is made up in largest part of letters written to Mauduit by various correspondents and is of undoubted value, though I must confess to a measure of disappointment in finding so little of importance on the fundamental issue of the period. The letters were purchased at auction in London by Mr. Charles G. Washburn, who presented them to the Massachusetts Historical Society and provided funds for their publication. They are here edited by Mr. Ford, with all the skill of his craft, while Mr. Washburn has contributed an excellent introduction. The time would seem to be ripe for an enlargement of the subject of the agency as treated by Professor Tanner some years ago.

C. M. A.

The Public Life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875. By Wilmer C. Harris, Ph.D. [Michigan Historical Publications, University Series, II.] (Lansing, Historical Commission, 1917, pp. 152, \$1.00.) This is a plain account of the public career of Zach. Chandler, the noted Republican political leader of Michigan, from his election as mayor of Detroit in 1851 to his sudden death while a senator of the United States in 1879. These years marked stirring times, during which Chandler was engaged in much party activity and in many political controversies. Dr. Harris in his brief monographic sketch is able to touch only lightly on varied subjects of much historical importance. The monograph is intended to supplement, not to supersede, the *Post and Tribune Life of Chandler*, which was written from partial and friendly motives. Dr. Harris writes without bias or partizanship and is far from being a eulogist. He merely sets forth, with very little of either commendation or disapproval, the party record of Chandler and his position on public policies. We see Chandler as an early Whig candidate for governor of Michigan in 1852; as one of the founders of the Republican party in 1854; as the successor of Lewis Cass in the Senate in 1857; as a Radical Republican in that body during Civil War and Reconstruction times, till his defeat for re-election in 1875; as Secretary of the Interior for a time under President Grant; as chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1876; and again as United States senator to fill an unexpired term.

The author finds in Chandler a "typical product of his time", a "fire-eater of the Northwest", and an "exponent of practical spoils politics", one who was a political manager of great strength, who never hesitated to build and use a party machine in order to promote his own political ambition and to keep himself in power. The kind of radical that Chandler was before the war is shown by his being ever ready to meet Southern threats of disunion with counter-threats of hanging rebels, and by his proposal to his Republican colleagues to stand up in the face of Southern insults with bold challenges to fight—"to carry the quarrel into a coffin". He knew no compromise. If the right of secession were to be conceded, or if the South had to be "let alone" to break up the Union, he wished to know it. Then Chandler would resign his seat in the Senate, arrange his business affairs, and prepare to migrate, as he proposed never to live in a country whose government "had no power to enforce its own laws". He preferred to join the Comanche Indians. His famous letter about "stiff-backed men" and a little "blood-letting" as a cement to the Union finds its due recognition in the essay.

One is disappointed to find that only a very few lines are given to Mr. Chandler's connection with the campaign and disputed election of 1876, when the cause of "a civil service reform candidate was managed by a dyed-in-the-wool spoilsman". Chandler's telegram is given, announcing Hayes's election with 185 electoral votes, but nothing is told

of what Chandler did in the winter of 1876-1877 to make that famous telegram good. It is so with many other subjects of importance; everything is brief, sometimes to the point of leaving one quite unsatisfied. However, such defects are incident to the nature of the task. The volume, on the whole, is a credit to the author and it is one of distinct value to the student of American politics. It contains a good deal of Michigan political history. Valuable material is presented from Chandler's letters, and an informing chapter on the racial and religious elements in Michigan's voting on historic issues. The volume has a good index and a full bibliography.

J. A. W.

Separation of State and Local Revenues in the United States. By Mabel Newcomer, Ph.D., Instructor in Economics, Vassar College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Columbia University, vol. LXXVI., no. 2, whole no. 180.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1917, pp. 295, \$1.75.) One of the well-marked tendencies in the history of the finances of our state governments during the last forty years has been the development of sources of state revenue other than additions to the locally assessed general property tax. Dr. Newcomer has traced the course of this development in eight of the states in which it has been most marked and has endeavored to estimate its effects. The facts which she brings out seem to justify her conclusion that, while it has yielded a substantial benefit by opening up new sources of revenue, diminishing the burden of taxation on real estate, which supplies practically the whole of the locally assessed general property tax, thereby distributing the burden of taxation more equitably, separation has accomplished little in the way of improving local tax administration, such progress as has been made in this field being due to other causes, and has failed as yet to provide a satisfactory system of state taxation. Especially has it failed to furnish an elastic element in the state revenues, with the result that three of the states which had succeeded in attaining complete separation have been again compelled to resort to the general property tax. One reason is that, with the exception of California, the system of separation represents not the result of carefully studied plans but the accumulation of more or less unrelated measures passed from time to time to meet the need for additional revenue or in response to criticisms of special features of the existing system which had succeeded in attracting public attention. On the other hand, there is no evidence that separation can justly be charged with some of the evils—wasteful and extravagant expenditure, decreased efficiency in the administration of the general property tax due to the fact that the state would no longer be interested in it—which its opponents feared.

The problem of a just and effective system of state and local taxation still remains. The development of separate sources of state revenue is a step in progress but it has not effected a solution.

The studies of the states treated in detail are apparently accurate and adequate for the purpose in view. In her statements on pages 24 and 25, however, the author exaggerates the completeness of separation in England and Germany, while in the brief chapter on the general movement in this country she understates the extent of separation, a result of taking the census figures at their face value.

H. B. G.

Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. Edited by Frank H. Severance. Volume XXII. (Buffalo, the Society, 1918, pp. ix, 437.) Probably no city in the country is more fortunate as to the manner in which its local history is being preserved than is Buffalo, where an energetic historical society, under the guidance of Mr. Frank Severance, is producing a useful and attractive series of volumes. The present number contains, among a miscellaneous collection, two articles of special merit. The first of these, the History of the University of Buffalo, 1846-1917, by Julian Park, secretary of the department of arts and sciences in the university, is a careful study of a pioneer among municipal universities in this country. Hon. Henry W. Hill contributes an Historical Sketch of Niagara Ship Canal Projects, covering the ground from 1710, when an agent of the French government reported the connecting of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario to be a most expensive project of doubtful value, to April 25, 1917, when the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce advised against a ship canal connecting the two lakes. Among the less important articles there is an interesting account of the celebration of the centenary of the beginning of the Erie Canal, containing an address on the Evolution of the New York Canal System, by Hon. George Clinton. The secretary, Mr. Severance, contributes a chapter of Indian history, Our Tuscarora Neighbors; Mrs. Frank J. Shepard presents a compilation of material on the Women's Educational and Industrial Union; and the proceedings of the society in its last three annual meetings, 1916, 1917, and 1918, are presented.

The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky prior to 1850. By Asa Earl Martin, Assistant Professor of American History in the Pennsylvania State College. [Filson Club Publication, no. 29.] (Louisville, Filson Club, 1918, pp. 165.) Related by soil and climate to its neighbors across the Ohio, bound to Virginia as the main source of its population and institutions, and drawn to the newer Southern states as its chief market, Kentucky in the first half of the nineteenth century was the ground on which the interests of sections met and clashed.

Mr. Martin barely hints at this larger significance of his subject, as on page 144, but discusses many phases of the anti-slavery movement from the strictly local point of view. His most important contribution is the treatment of the movement for gradual emancipation. Abolition, he concludes, found little favor in Kentucky, while gradual emancipa-

tion enlisted strong support, including members of both political parties and many slave-holders. The movement derived its impulse from the conviction that slavery was both a moral evil and a positive obstacle to the material progress of the state. In shaping a practical programme it proved weak. The climax came in the effort to secure in the constitution of 1849 a provision permitting the adoption of any plan which might later be decided upon. Instead, the new frame of government forbade emancipation save where the freedman could be removed from the state. The net result of the half-century of conflict was a greater freedom of discussion than was allowed elsewhere in the slave states.

The writer's research in printed materials and in the manuscript collections of the libraries of Congress, the University of Chicago, and the Wisconsin State Historical Society, has brought together the data for an illuminating discussion, but he has not handled his matter in a very happy manner. In particular his synthesis lacks all dramatic quality and is illogical and confusing. The final chapter, entitled "Conclusions" (in reality an abstract of the work), clarifies the situation in some degree.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley: an Account of Marches and Activities of the First Regiment United States Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley between the Years 1833 and 1850. By Louis Pelzer. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1917, pp. x, 282, \$2.50.) It was an excellent idea to show concretely and in detail how the peaceful development of our western territory was promoted by a portion of our army, and the interesting story reflects credit not only upon the government but upon the officers of the First Dragoons—such men as Dodge, Kearny, Sumner, and Cooke. The title of the book, however, scarcely does it justice either in time or in space, for the history begins before 1833 and extends not only to the valley of the Rio Grande but to the Pacific. First we have a brief study of the army in 1830. To the causes of desertion here pointed out the author might have added another: the unfeeling manner in which some of the officers fresh from West Point asserted their authority. Then follow in successive chapters good accounts of the erection of forts, the building of roads, marches to explore or scout, negotiations with the Indians, the protection of the Santa Fé trade, the conquest of New Mexico, and Kearny's expedition to California. In connection with these and some other topics, information is given regarding life on the frontier and the conditions prevailing there. The narrative is based mainly upon first-hand sources, and as a rule these have been used with commendable care; but the existing material has not been exhausted, and occasionally one meets with a statement that is open to criticism. For example, on page 142 we are told that the United States declared war against Mexico, May 12, 1846, whereas we merely recognized a state of war as

already existing, and did this on May 13. In a few places the narrative lacks clarity, except for those who know something the author does not tell them.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

The Illinois and Michigan Canal: a Study in Economic History. By James William Putnam, Ph.D., Professor of Economics in Butler College. [Chicago Historical Society Collection, vol. X. Illinois Centennial Publication.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1918, pp. xiii, 213, \$2.00.) The appearance of Professor Putnam's *Economic History of the Illinois and Michigan Canal* in a new dress is timely as well as important: timely because of the approaching celebration of the Illinois state centennial, important because of the influence which such an excellent piece of research is likely to have on those local historians whose zeal invariably outruns their desire and ability to give careful attention to details. As its title indicates, this little volume lays particular stress on the economic aspects of the canal. It goes even beyond that; it pictures the whole problem of canal-building which the states of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio undertook to solve during the thirties and forties.

In five chapters, comprising 154 pages, the author treats with sufficient detail the building, the operation, and the economic effects of the canal. He devotes one chapter to the project itself, a second to actual construction, a third to management, a fourth to its economic influences, and a fifth to improvement and enlargement. A sixth chapter comprises a concise summary as well as several significant conclusions. In addition to the text proper there are several appendixes, an unclassified bibliography, seven illustrations, and a satisfactory index. The foot-notes and references are numerous and well chosen, and they will undoubtedly prove to be of great value to students of Illinois history.

One serious oversight by the author must be noticed. Apparently he has overlooked the voluminous correspondence concerning the canal and the canal debt which is printed in volume VII. of the *Illinois Historical Collections*. Otherwise he would not have confused the payment of interest on the state debt with the creation of a new canal board (p. 52, no. 2). Newspaper sources, too, could have been used to a better advantage.

C. M. THOMPSON.

Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858. By Marcus L. Hansen. (Iowa City, State Historical Society, 1918, pp. xi, 270.) The history of Minnesota, from the beginning of American occupation to its organization as a territory in 1848 and, to a less extent, during the territorial period which closed in 1858, centres very largely around Fort Snelling. Any adequate account of the fort, therefore, must be a contribution to the history of the region in all its varied phases. It should be more than

that, however; it should also add to our knowledge of the history of the frontier, of that process by which one region after another has been occupied by the expanding forces of the American nation and transformed from a wilderness to settled communities. Mr. Hansen's book possesses these qualifications. It was his purpose to write of Fort Snelling as an institution, as "a type of the many remote military stations which were scattered throughout the West"; and in this he has been successful. At the same time he has recounted in an entertaining manner many of the incidents and events that make up the content of Minnesota history.

The first three chapters outline the story of the region and the post from the French explorations to the attempted sale of the reservation in 1858. The remainder of the book, ten chapters, consists of essays on various phases of the history of the fort and of developments connected with it either directly or indirectly. The careers of the more important commanding officers are sketched, the fort itself and the surrounding region are described, and the routine of garrison life is vividly portrayed. The large part which the Indians played in the early history of the region comes out in chapters dealing with the work of the Indian agent, feuds between Chippewa and Sioux, the fur-trade, missionary activities, and, finally, treaties for the cession of land. Another chapter is devoted to the visits of various distinguished people—explorers, writers, and tourists. The book concludes fittingly with an account of the beginnings of civilian settlement in the region and the relations between settlers and soldiers. This topical arrangement results in a rather static treatment of the subject—the reader does not get an adequate impression of the development of the region as a whole during the period; but it helps, on the other hand, to bring out the character of the fort as an institution.

The author has consulted a large amount of material both manuscript and printed, and has used it, in general, with discrimination. Although marred by occasional grammatical slips, such as a singular verb with a plural noun and a pronoun without an antecedent, the style is spirited; and the book should have an appeal to the lay reader. The scholar, too, if he have patience to track the foot-notes to their lair at the end of the book, will find much to assist him in further and more intensive research.

The book is attractively printed and bound, is indexed, and contains two illustrations. Its interest and usefulness might have been increased by reproductions of some of the contemporary maps of the reservation and the surrounding region and especially by the inclusion of a critical bibliography of the material consulted.

SOLON J. BUCK.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association will take place at Cleveland on Friday and Saturday, December 28 and 29. The committee on programme, which consists of Professor Samuel B. Harding, chairman, and Professors J. S. Bassett, Carl Becker, E. J. Benton, A. E. R. Boak, W. E. Dodd, and Julius Klein, has secured the presence of M. Marcel Knecht, who will discuss the subject of Alsace-Lorraine, of Professor George M. Wrong of Toronto, who will speak on the new organization of the British Empire, of Lord Charnwood, the biographer of Lincoln (who is to make an address at the Illinois Centennial Celebration this month), and of Professor Thomas Masaryk, who will speak on some subject connected with the history and aspirations of the Czecho-Slovaks. The committee is planning also to have papers, if possible, on certain phases of the Russian situation, such as those relating to the Baltic provinces and the Ukraine, and sessions on the history of the United States and of Latin America in the light of the war. The committee, it will at once be seen, contemplates a programme of exceptional character, and a meeting which will powerfully stimulate patriotic thought and endeavor—the only kind of meeting which would be justified under the present circumstances of the nation. One session will be devoted to simultaneous gatherings of those interested in ancient history, and in the teaching of history, to the conference of historical societies, and to the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, with attractive programmes in each case. The presidential address will be delivered by Mr. William R. Thayer.

The *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1917, which will consist of but one volume, was sent to the printer about the first of September. Page-proof of the two volumes of the annual report for 1916 is ready for indexing. The General Index, 1884-1914, prepared by Mr. David M. Matteson in excellent fashion, and sure to be of great use to historical students, has been distributed (*Annual Report*, 1914, vol. II.).

It again becomes necessary to call public attention to an effort to make unauthorized use of the name of the Association. Certain persons giving the address "American Historical Association, 1417 U Street, Washington, D. C.", have been sending circulars to large numbers of civilians who have been voluntarily assisting the government, on draft boards and the like, requesting them to fill out blanks with biographical data for an extensive compilation of such materials, to supply personal

photographs, and pay money. It should be needless to remark that no such undertakings have the slightest warrant from the American Historical Association, and that the method employed is regarded by it with the severest reprobation. Steps have been taken toward preventing continuance of such use of the Association's name.

Because of conditions induced by the war, the Military History Prize Committee has decided that it is inexpedient to attempt to award the prize this year. Accordingly the contest has been postponed until further notice.

NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

A meeting of the Board was held at Branford, Conn., on September 11 and 12. Reports of progress in the fields of research, educational service, international service, and materials for war history were made. Professor Greene being unable to continue longer as chairman of the Board, Professor Dana C. Munro was elected chairman in his place and Professor Joseph Schafer was elected vice-chairman.

All reports from England agree in indicating that the series of lectures by Professor McLaughlin, given in Great Britain, chiefly in British universities, during April and May, under arrangements concerted by the Board, was attended with extraordinary success and usefulness. Professor McLaughlin gave four lectures at University College, London, two before the Royal Historical Society, one at the Royal Colonial Institute, one at a gathering of some two thousand teachers, one to a large audience of workmen at Walsall, and single lectures at the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, at Trinity College, Dublin, and at the university colleges of Bangor, Bristol, Cardiff, Exeter, Newcastle, Nottingham, Reading, and Southampton. There can be no doubt that much good was accomplished by these efforts to explain to educated British audiences the historic and present-day relations of America to Great Britain and to the war, made by one so well informed in these matters, so full of right feeling, and so judicious. It is expected that a full report of the expedition, by Mr. Charles Moore, who bore an important and helpful part in it, will shortly be printed. One of the lectures is printed in the July number of *History*. The series delivered at University College will be published in a volume by Messrs. Dent.

In the prize essay contest for historical essays on the origins of American participation in the war, in which the awards in individual states have already been made, the "national contest" has now been decided, the prize among high school teachers being awarded to Mr. Elmer W. Johnson, of Roselle, N. J., and that for elementary teachers to Mr. William T. Miller, of the Agassiz Grammar School, Jamaica Plain, Mass.

A large proportion of the articles which will constitute the Board's contribution to the *History Teacher's Magazine* during the present

school year has been arranged for. The supplement for the October number will contain documents illustrating the contemporary British Empire, edited by Professor A. L. Cross. In the place of the series dealing with the four conventional fields commonly taught in secondary schools, there will be, as already announced, a number of shorter series of articles, on such topics as Historic Problems of the Near East, the British Empire, Economic Aspects of the War, Contemporary European Government, etc. The modifications effected in the policy of the *Magazine*, and accompanying its new title, *The Historical Outlook*, are described below (see under "General").

An Outline of an Emergency Course of Instruction on the War for American Schools, prepared for the Board by Messrs. C. A. Coulomb, A. J. Gerson, and A. E. McKinley, is issued from the Government Printing Office under the auspices of the Bureau of Education.

The *War Reader* for English classes in elementary schools, prepared for the Board under the direction of Professor Dana C. Munro, is shortly to be published by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons. The *French War Reader*, prepared by Mr. W. G. Leland and Mr. Charles A. Downer, and to be published later by Messrs. Scribner, is nearly ready for the press. These readers will contain selections from the best prose and poetry of the war.

The series of historical lectures in the great military camps, heretofore mentioned in these pages as maintained during the spring, has been continued during the summer with the new supplies of recruits, in several of the camps. A large expansion of the plan of giving the soldiers historical instruction as to the origins of the war is contemplated by the Military Morale Section of the War Department. Plans for instruction along similar lines are also involved in the war aims courses which are to be given in many of the universities and colleges under the auspices of the Educational Committee of the War Department.

Messrs. R. D. W. Connor, Solon J. Buck, and M. M. Quaife have been appointed a committee for the Board, to prepare a report on the work of state historical institutions in relation to the preservation of war records.

PERSONAL

Reverend Father Arthur E. Jones, S.J., archivist of St. Mary's College in Montreal, died on January 19, at the age of nearly eighty. Aside from the notable assistance he rendered in the editing of Dr. Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, the principal work by which he made known to the world a part of his remarkable learning in Canadian history was the *Fifth Annual Report of the Archives Department of Ontario*—the volume entitled *Huron*, dealing minutely with the history of the Huron Indians and the missions among them.

Herbert Levi Osgood, professor of American history in Columbia University since 1890, died on September 13, at the age of sixty-three. His chief work, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, marked by great accuracy, thoroughness of research, and clearness and precision of statement, has long been recognized as authoritative in its field. He was a devoted teacher, with an exceptional gift for training students in correct methods of research, a tireless worker, and a man of elevated character. It is gratifying to know that his manuscript on the eighteenth century (probably four volumes) was left practically ready for publication.

Charles Henry Hart died on July 29, at the age of seventy. For twenty years, 1882-1902, he was director of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. An authority of the highest standing in matters relating to historical portraiture, he had published books on Houdon, on Gilbert Stuart, on Robert Morris, and on portraits of Washington.

Paul Vidal de La Blache, the foremost of French geographers, author of the volume on the historical geography of France prefixed to Lavisse's *Histoire de France*, and of *La France de l'Est* (1917), and of other writings in the field of historical geography, died on April 5, at the age of seventy-three.

Georges Duruy, son of Victor Duruy, biographer of Cardinal Carlo Caraffa, editor of the memoirs of Barras, professor of history in the École Polytechnique, died at the end of March, aged sixty-five.

Mr. J. J. Tracy having resigned the position of archivist of Massachusetts, the secretary of the commonwealth has appointed Mr. John H. Edmonds to the care of the Massachusetts state archives.

Professors Theodore F. Collier of Brown University and Frederick L. Thompson of Amherst College have gone to France in the war service of the Young Men's Christian Association. Professor Collier's place is for the present year to be taken by Professor E. C. Griffith of William Jewell College.

Dr. John C. Hildt of Smith College has been promoted from assistant professor to professor of history; he has been commissioned a captain and is doing service with the Military Intelligence Bureau at Washington. Professors Charles M. Andrews, of Yale University, and A. L. P. Dennis, of Wisconsin, have accepted captains' commissions for work in the same bureau.

Rev. Ralph Pomeroy has been appointed professor of ecclesiastical history in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York.

Mrs. William E. Lingelbach is for the present year to act as professor of history at Bryn Mawr, in the absence of Professor Howard

L. Gray. Dr. C. W. David has become associate professor in the same institution.

The University of Pittsburg has advanced Dr. Homer J. Webster to the rank of professor of history, and has appointed Mr. Alfred P. James assistant professor of history.

Rear-Admiral William W. Kimball, U. S. N., has been placed in charge of a History Section created by the Navy Department. Professor Frederic L. Paxson of Wisconsin has been commissioned as major in the Historical Section of the General Staff of the War Department.

Mr. Charles Moore of Detroit, treasurer of the American Historical Association, has accepted temporary appointment by Dr. Putnam as acting chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, with a view to a large expansion of the library's activities in the collection of material relating to the present war and its administrative history.

Professor William T. Laprade of Trinity College, N. C., has been granted leave of absence for the coming year to act as lecturer in the Y. M. C. A. training camp at Blue Ridge, N. C.

Professors Conyers Read of the University of Chicago, and William W. Davis of Kansas State University have been given leave of absence to engage in the overseas service of the American Red Cross.

Professor Carl R. Fish has leave of absence from the University of Wisconsin to take charge of interests of the American University Union in London.

Dr. Mason W. Tyler has been made assistant professor of history in the University of Minnesota.

At the page corresponding to this in our last number an erroneous statement was made regarding the present status of Dr. Edgar E. Robinson. His position is that of associate professor of American history in Stanford University.

Dr. Cardinal L. Goodwin has been appointed professor of American history in Mills College, at Oakland, Cal.

GENERAL

The editor of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, Professor Albert E. McKinley, has an enlarged programme for its future, broadening its scope and intending to appeal more largely than hitherto to the general reader, but still consulting always the interests of teachers of history. In accordance with this expansion the journal takes on a new title, *The Historical Outlook*. Its relations to the American Historical Association and to the National Board for Historical Service remain unchanged.

A striking modification of the work of the colleges and universities in respect to history arises from the action of the War Department in laying down a special brief curriculum for students of military age. Under agreements into which almost all colleges have entered, all students above the age of eighteen, besides a certain amount of mathematics and modern languages, will pursue a "War Aims Course" of at most nine months, an important element of which is the study of the historical and economic background of the war; but courses in the contemporary history of modern Europe, England, or the United States, approved by the "regional directors" appointed by the War Department, will be accepted as equivalents. The young men are a part of the military forces of the United States, which pays the cost of the required instruction.

A group of able students and teachers have joined to establish in New York an Independent School of Social Science—free both in the sense of independence from universities and their type of administrative control by lay trustees, and in that of freedom from formal requirements and academic routine. The plans are discussed in the *Nation* of September 7, and in a circular which may be obtained from the secretary, Mrs. Victor Sorchan, 267 Madison Avenue, New York. The fundamental notion is that of untrammelled pursuit of such investigations in the political and social sciences as will most promote political and social progress, by casting light on the problems that actually confront the America of the present day. Historical investigation, in so far as it is intelligently directed toward these ends, will have a large place in the work of the new institution. The methods of instruction are expected to be marked by a freedom and originality corresponding to the emancipated conceptions underlying the whole endeavor. The actual beginning of work in this new experiment of education will occur about a year from now. The regular students are expected to be only such as have already shown capacity for advanced studies. The committee of organization consists of Professors James H. Robinson, Charles A. Beard, and Alvin Johnson, Mr. Herbert Croly, and Mrs. George Haven Putnam.

A group of Americans now in Italy, earnestly desiring, in the interest of future international relations, to promote a fuller knowledge of America in that country, are establishing in Rome an institution called the Library for American Studies in Italy. It is hoped that large subscriptions toward an endowment and many gifts of books suitable to such a purpose may be obtained. In the provisional organization first formed, the trustees are the American ambassador, Maj. James Byrne, and Comm. H. Nelson Gay. Books may be sent to the last-named gentleman, at the Palazzo Orsini, in Rome. They may best be sent singly, by ordinary post. The undertaking obviously deserves the warm support of American historical students.

The *List of American Doctoral Dissertations printed in 1916*, prepared by Miss Alida M. Stephens, has been received from the Library of Congress. To this list are prefixed lists supplementary to those contained in previous issues of this catalogue, of theses printed in 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1915. The topical arrangement of the titles of the theses makes it possible to turn at once to those dealing with history (pp. 108-113).

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at its meeting of October, 1917, embrace an interesting paper on Student Life at Yale College in the time of the first President Dwight, by Professor Franklin B. Dexter; five moderately important letters of Pedro de la Gasca, 1546-1548, found by Mr. M. H. Saville in the archives of Guatemala, and relating to the subjugation of Peru; and a paper by Professor G. H. Blakeslee entitled Will Democracy alone make the World Safe? In the report of the council, under the form of a review of his ten years' presidency, Mr. Waldo Lincoln presents the best available statement of the society's recent acquisitions and activities. With these 100 pages of proceedings, Mr. Brigham presents 140 pages of his bibliography of American newspapers, to 1820, covering the papers of New York City.

The July number of the *Journal of Negro History* is almost entirely occupied by a study of slavery in Kentucky, by Mr. Ivan E. McDougale, apparently a doctoral dissertation of Clark University. This study exists also as a separate volume (published by Carter G. Woodson, 1216 U Street, N. W., Washington) and as such is subject to later review in this journal.

Persons who have been persuaded to put faith in the arguments or assertions of H. S. Chamberlain, of L. Woltmann, or of Madison Grant respecting the "superior race" may find a corrective in Professor A. Niceforo's *I Germani: Storia di un' Idea e di una Razza*.

The historian of religious movements of modern times will find interesting material set forth with scholarly care in Professor Edward G. Browne's *Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion* (Cambridge University Press).

The Romance of Commerce, by Mr. H. Gordon Selfridge (John Lane) presents much material interesting to the students of economic history and to those interested in the history of civilization.

Col. Sir Thomas H. Holdich, author of *Political Frontiers and Boundary Making*, has gathered a number of his recent lectures into a volume which he calls *Boundaries in Europe and the Near East*.

The Seventh Continent: a History of the Discovery and Explorations of Antarctica, by Helen Smith Wright, is published by Badger.

ANCIENT HISTORY

Dr. J. Rendel Harris's *Testimonies*, part I., is devoted to showing that those passages of the Old Testament which were regarded as prophetic of the New were derived from a collection made in a lost work of Hegesippus; this work he intends to reconstruct in part II.

The Delphic Oracle: its Early History, Influence, and Fall (Oxford, Blackwell), by Rev. T. Dempsey, is a careful study of the subject from the point of view of a student of the history of religion.

Books I.-V. of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, with an English translation by Mr. Carleton L. Brownson, have been added to the *Loeb Library*.

In a doctoral dissertation for the University of Paris, *Recherches sur le Développement de la Pensée Juridique et Morale en Grèce* (Paris, Leroux, 1917, pp. xviii, 476), which its author, M. Louis Gernet, characterizes as an *étude sémantique*, careful study is made of the chief words used in Greek criminal law, of ὕβρις, ἀδικία, τιμωρία, ἀμαρτία, and the like, and of the historical and sociological development of their meanings—the whole in a manner productive of much illumination.

Volume I. of *A Short History of Rome*, planned by Guglielmo Ferrero and Corrado Barbagallo, has appeared from the press of Messrs. Putnam. This volume deals with Rome from its foundation to the death of Julius Caesar.

Dr. J. Holwerda, of Leiden, has discovered at Ubbergen, near Nijmegen, the remains of the capital town of the Batavi, burned at the time of their revolt in A. D. 70, and, near by, a large Roman fortress built for the tenth legion after the victory over Civilis (J. Holwerda, *De Stad der Bataven en de Romeinsche Vesting te Nijmegen*, Leiden, Brill, 1918).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Egypt and Mesopotamia* (Ancient Egypt, 1917, I.); *id.*, *The Geography of the Gods* (*ibid.*, 1917, III.); D. G. Lyon, *Recent Excavations at Babylon* (Harvard Theological Review, July); Edmond Power, *Ancient Nineveh* (Studies: an Irish Quarterly Review, March); L. Bodin, *Histoire et Biographie: Phanias d'Érèse* (Revue des Études Grecques, April, 1917); H. A. L. Fisher, *The Last of the Latin Historians* [Ammianus Marcellinus] (Quarterly Review, July).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Messrs. Macmillan have published a volume entitled *Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry*, by various authors, edited by Mr. H. B. Swete, which surveys the origin and early development of the Church from the historical standpoint. A similar purpose dominates *The Evolution of the Christian Ministry* by the Rev. J. R. Cohu, who, however, does not limit himself so strictly to historical investigation but enters into modern controversies (John Murray).

The Ingersoll lecture for 1918—delivered at Harvard University upon a foundation for annual lectures relating to immortality—was given by Professor Clifford H. Moore, and has now been published by the Harvard University Press as a small volume entitled *Pagan Ideas of Immortality during the Early Christian Centuries*.

Professor Elmer T. Merrill in a critical note contributed to the *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1918, argues that the First Epistle of Clement was written about 140 A. D. and that the reputed Bishop Clement probably never existed. Professor Merrill announces an article for the forthcoming October number of the same journal in which he will disprove the supposed persecution of the Roman Christians by Domitian.

Recherches de Science Religieuse (May–September, 1918) contains an article by Gustav Bardy on *L'Église d'Antioche de 260 à 272*, in which the career of Paul of Samosata is exhibited in relation to the politics of Zenobia of Palmyra.

An authoritative work by Jacques Zeiller, professor in the University of Fribourg in Switzerland, deals with early Christianity in the Balkan region and the conversion of the Goths—*Les Origines Chrétiennes dans les Provinces Danubiennes de l'Empire Romain* (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1918, pp. iv, 667), and is complementary to his earlier study of the same topic for Dalmatia (1906). The work extends through the transition from Arianism to Catholicism. The same author, in *Paganus: Étude de Terminologie Historique* (*ibid.*, 1917, pp. 112), has confirmed the traditional derivation and significance of the word, as a "countryman", as opposed to the recent suggestion of legal connotation as "civilian".

The author of *The Patrimony of the Roman Church in the Time of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge University Press), Mr. Edward Spearing, had in preparation before his death a study of the Roman Patrimony extending through six centuries. His sister, Miss Evelyn M. Spearing, has been able to prepare and publish that portion of the work which deals with the development, organization, and government of the patrimony under Gregory the Great.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

To medieval church history, A. Serafini has contributed *Innocenzo III. e la Riforma Religiosa agli Inizi del Secolo XIII.* (Rome, L'Arcadia, 1917); and August Meyer, *Der Politische Einfluss Deutschlands und Frankreichs auf den Metzzer Bischofswahlen im Mittelalter* (Metz, Müller, 1916, pp. ix, 133).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. I. Bell, *The Byzantine Servile State in Egypt* (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, April, 1917); L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne*, IV. *Le Moine de Saint-Gall* (*Revue Historique*, July); W. Miller, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (*Quarterly Review*, July).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Volume III. of *The Epistles of Erasmus*, arranged and edited by Mr. Francis M. Nichols, is announced by Messrs. Longmans; it closes with 1520.

Messrs. Macmillan announce *A Study of Calvin and Other Papers*, by the late Dr. Allan Menzies, with a memoir of the author by his daughter.

The mutual relations of the Protestant states of Europe in the decade following the treaties of Westphalia are revealed, to some extent, in *Die Gesandtschaft der Protestantischen Schweiz bei Cromwell und den Generalstaaten der Niederlande, 1652-1654* (Bern. Grünau, 1916, pp. iv, 113), by Dr. T. Ischer. To the same period belongs *Die Kandidatur Ludwigs XIV. bei der Kaiserwahl vom Jahre 1658* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1916, pp. vii, 108), by Dr. S. F. N. Gie.

Under the title *La Monarchie Française dans l'Adriatique* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, pp. xxx, 241) Count Louis de Voïnovitch narrates the history of the relations of the French kings with the republic of Ragusa from 1667 to 1789. M. Ernest Denis supplies a preface reviewing the earlier history of Ragusa.

The affairs of the Ionian Islands in the Napoleonic period furnish the subject of G. Douin's *La Méditerranée de 1803 à 1805, Pirates et Corsaires aux Iles Ioniennes* (Paris, Plon, 1917, pp. 288); and of *Nos Anciens à Corfou, Souvenirs de l'Aide-Major Lamare-Picquot, 1807-1814* (Paris, Alcan, 1918, pp. x, 256), edited by H. Pernot. The latter volume contains an appendix on the French Academy at Corfu.

Little, Brown, and Company have issued *The Progress of Continental Law in the Nineteenth Century*, by various authors.

Two volumes of *The Memoirs of the Comte de Mercy Argenteau*, translated by G. S. Hellman, have appeared from the press of Messrs. Putnam. The first volume is concerned with Napoleon and the Empire, the second, and more important, chiefly with the Belgian revolution of 1830.

La Révolution de Juillet 1830 et l'Europe (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1918), by the Vicomte de Guichen, is a contribution of the first importance, based not only upon the archives of the French Foreign Office from 1824 to 1833, but also upon investigations in the archives of London, Brussels, Berlin, Petrograd, Vienna, and Munich. The volume deals with the events both antecedent and consequent to the revolution.

Baruch Hagani is the author of an account of *Le Sionisme Politique et son Fondateur, Théodore Herzl, 1860-1904* (Paris, Payot, 1917).

Volume II. of Pietro Orsi's *Gli Ultimi Cento Anni di Storia Universale*, covering the years 1871 to 1915, has recently appeared (Rome. Società Tip.-Ed. Nazionale). The first volume of the work (1815-1870) was published in 1915.

The course of lectures given in 1915-1916 by Joseph Barthélemy in the École des Hautes Études Sociales, on *Démocratie et Politique Étrangère* (Paris, Alcan, 1917, pp. 535) has appeared in book form.

Professor H. Vander Linden and Paul Hamelius, of Liège University, have completed a volume on *Anglo-Belgian Relations, Past and Present*, which is announced among the forthcoming works of Messrs. Constable.

M. Battifol in *Les Anciennes Républiques Alsaciennes* (Flammarion) defends the thesis that the Alsatians are not Germans but Celts, and that from earliest times they have found their closest affinity with the French people.

Mr. Coleman Phillipson's study of the historical and political aspects of the Alsace-Lorraine question is published by Messrs. Fisher Unwin under the title *Alsace-Lorraine, Past, Present, and Future*.

Professor Lujo Brentano's *Elsässer Erinnerungen* (Berlin, Reiss, 1917, pp. 157) presents this veteran economist's recollections of his six years' professorate at Strassburg, 1882-1887; upon the nature of German rule in Alsace-Lorraine his observations cast much more light than he is aware.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. G. Davenport and L. F. Brown, *The Freedom of the Seas* (Unpopular Review, July-September); R. M. Jones, *The Anabaptists and Minor Sects in the Reformation* (Harvard Theological Review, July); René Doumergue, *Calvin et l'Entente* [descent of political theories] (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, October-December, 1917); R. Peyre, *Coup d'Oeil sur la Question d'Orient en France au XVII^e Siècle* (Revue des Études Historiques, April); A. Aulard, *La Révolution Américaine et la Révolution Française—les Origines: William Penn et Locke* (Révolution Française, January-February); M. I. Newbiggin, *Some Aspects of the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe* (Scottish Geographical Magazine, July); O. Karmin, *Autour des Négociations Financières Anglo-Prusso-Russes de 1813* [concl.] (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, October, 1917); E. Babelon, *Sarrebrück et la Diplomatie Prussienne en 1815* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 15); E. Rodocanachi, *La Police Secrète Autrichienne et les Français dans les Provinces Lombardo-Vénitienues de 1815 à 1819* (Revue Historique, May); A. Gérard, *Les Tentatives d'Influence Allemande en Angleterre* (Revue de Paris, May 1); E. Daudet, *Le Mariage de Dagmar, Princesse de Danemark, 1866* (Revue Hebdomadaire, June 8); E. Daudet, *La France et l'Allemagne après le Congrès de Berlin: la Mission du Baron de Courcel, 1882-1886*, I., II. (Correspondant, April 25, May 25); E. de Guichen, *Les Relations Politiques Russo-Allemandes du XIX^e au XX^e Siècle* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, May); Hubert Hall, *The Sources of Contemporary History* (Contemporary Review, June).

THE GREAT WAR

The Library of Congress has in preparation a *Check List of European War Literature* possessed by it, and a *List of Maps applicable to the World War*, compiled under the direction of Mr. P. Lee Phillips.

Hon. John W. Fortescue and Sir Julian Corbett have been appointed as the chief official military and naval historians of the war on the part of the British government, and M. Gabriel Hanotaux as the chief French official historian of the war. The government of the Dominion of Canada, besides maintaining from the beginning of the war an elaborate system for recording in Flanders, France, and England all the doings of the Canadian forces, has instituted a War Survey, the product of which will be a complete and comprehensive key to all classes of public war records, to all the departments and offices where they originate and are to be found, and to the nature and inter-relationships of all the activities in the course of which they are produced. Such a survey, aided by co-operation with the official record agents and historians of the imperial and allied governments, will, it is hoped, result in eventual concentration of an unexampled mass of original evidence respecting the war in one great national collection at Ottawa, on which official and other histories may be securely based.

The attention of historical students should be called to the existence of the Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre established by the French government in Paris, and to the fact that they can assist in making it a valuable library for future historians by sending documents, periodicals, newspapers, and clippings bearing on the history of the war to Professor Adolphe Cohn of Columbia University, who represents in the United States this valuable institution. It may be well to communicate with Professor Cohn by letter before making any shipments, so as to avoid duplication of material, but if it will lessen the labor of contributors to ship without any previous correspondence, he will be none the less grateful.

Berlin has recently had an exhibition of a library of literature of the present war, assembled by an anonymous German millionaire, and including 38,000 war books and pamphlets in various languages, 2500 newspapers, including many of those published in the German and Allied trenches, and hundreds of placards, proclamations, food tickets, and the like. An English millionaire has made a similar collection, of perhaps equal extent.

The Times Documentary History of the War (London), vol. V., pt. I., deals with the military history of the British expedition, and especially with the machinery that created the British army; vol. VI., pt. I., consists of documents dealing with Canada's entrance into the war.

In *Collected Materials for the Study of the War* (Philadelphia, McKinley Publishing Company, pp. 180, quarto), Professor A. E.

McKinley has brought together, partly from supplements of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, seven sections offering a large variety of useful data for school use: President Wilson's chief addresses, Professor Harding's Topical Outline, a syllabus for the study of preliminaries, by Mr. H. L. Hoskins, Messrs. Harding and Lingelbach's maps and geographical explanations, Professor Dutcher's Bibliography, the texts of the chief statutes of the United States relating to the state of war, and the chief executive proclamations and orders.

Volume I., no. 4 (April, 1918), of *A League of Nations*, the bi-monthly publication of the World Peace Foundation, is entitled *The Background of the War: History and Texts*, and gives in convenient form the essential documents of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, with analogous pieces. The documents are in many cases not easily found elsewhere, and they are prepared with much care.

In our last issue we made an erroneous statement respecting the publication of Professor Munroe Smith's translation of Prince Lichnowsky's Memorandum. This edition, which we must think to be the best, is brought out by the American Association for International Conciliation, which we understand is preparing to make free distribution of 100,000 copies of the pamphlet. Other versions are printed by the *New York Times* and by Doran. Professor Smith's edition presents the German text, a careful English translation, notes, and a translation of von Jagow's reply.

The book of Wilhelm Mühlton, a former director in Krupp's establishment, of which mention has previously been made, is entitled, in the English translation, just published by Messrs. Putnam, *The Vandal of Europe: an Exposé of the Inner Workings of Germany's Policy of World Domination and its Brutalizing Consequences*.

G. Pariset, *Leurs Buts de Guerre*, no. 137 of *Pages d'Histoire* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. 115) presents, with explanatory notes, a mass of documents showing German ambitions, from the triumphant dreams of 1914 to the more moderate but still extensive demands put forward early in 1917. Similar material, gathered by M. Jean Ruplinger, professor in the University of Lyons, occupies the volume *Also sprach Germania: Ainsi parlait l'Allemagne* (Paris, La Sirène, pp. xvi, 264).

A Reply to the German White Book of May 10, 1915 (Die Völkerrechtswidrige Führung des Belgischen Volkskriegs), has been issued by the Belgian Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (London, H. M. Stationery Office, pp. 375). The first part of this publication deals in a general manner with the accusations brought by Germany against the civilian population in Belgium; in the second part, the chapters devoted in the White Book to events at Aerschot, Andenne, Dinant, and Louvain, are subjected to special scrutiny. The protests of Monsignors Heylen and Rutten to Gov.-Gen. Baron von Bissing, No-

vember 6, 1915, the letter of the Belgian episcopate, November 24, 1915, proposing to the Austro-German bishops the constitution of a joint commission to inquire into the alleged acts of cruelty on the part of Belgian citizens, and various other documents, make up the third part of the volume.

P. Fauchille and J. Basdevant have edited *La Guerre de 1915, Jurisprudence Italienne en Matière de Prises Maritimes, Recueil de Décisions, suivi des Textes intéressants le Droit International Maritime publiés par l'Italie pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Rousseau, 1918, pt. I., pp. 288). Professor O. Nippold of Bern has discussed *Die Gestaltung des Völkerrechts nach dem Weltkrieg* (Zürich, Orell Füssli, 1917, pp. vi, 285).

The British Admiralty Board has issued *Merchant Tonnage and the Submarine*, a statement of the war cabinet showing, for the United Kingdom and for the world, during the period August, 1914–December, 1917, mercantile losses by enemy action and marine risk, mercantile shipping output, and enemy vessels captured and brought into service. Under official sanction of the Admiralty, L. Cope Cornford has written *The Merchant Seaman in War* (Doran, pp. 320), which gives some examples of the doings and endurance of the men of the mercantile marine during the first three years of the war. The introduction is by Admiral Lord Jellicoe.

A French psychologist, Dr. Lucien-Graux, has illustrated an important aspect of warfare by *Les Fausses Nouvelles de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Édition Fr. Illustrée, 1918, pp. 398), in the first volume of which the history of similar phenomena in previous wars is also treated.

A *Memorandum* by the Serbian socialist party upon conditions and German atrocities in occupied Serbia, presented to the Russo-Dutch-Scandinavian committee in Stockholm, with a preface by Camille Huysmans, has been issued by the Serbian Press Bureau (Washington). *A Nation at Bay* (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, pp. 229), by Ruth S. Farnam, an American, is an account of what the author saw in Serbia and of her hospital service in that country.

A *Report* on the treatment by the enemy of British prisoners of war behind the firing lines in France and Belgium, has been issued by the British Government's Committee on Treatment of British Prisoners of War.

German views and acts are described and condemned in *Les Déformations du Droit des Gens en Allemagne avant la Guerre* (Dijon, Imp. Berthier, 1918, pp. 152) by G. Combescure; in *La Barbarie Allemande* (Paris, Plon, 1918) by P. Gaultier; in *L'Assassin Innombrable, 1914–1917* (Paris, Renaissance, 1917, pp. 96) by F. Champsaur; and in *Militarism at Work in Belgium and Germany* (London, Unwin, 1917, pp. iii, 91) by K. G. Ossianilsson, translated by H. G. Wright, which is an account of the deportations.

The Sword and the Plough, by Diego Angeli, now translated into English, recounts the devastation wrought by the German army and the agricultural reconstruction accomplished by the British in reconquered regions (Constable).

M. Florent-Matter in *L'Alsace-Lorraine pendant la Guerre: les Alsaciens-Lorrains contre l'Allemagne* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. 239) brings together a great amount of detailed information concerning the Alsatians who, escaping from Germany or returning from other countries, have taken part in the warfare against Germany (ten thousand of them enlisted in the Foreign Legion in 1914), and concerning the numberless executions, severities, and brutalities that have marked German rule in the Reichsland in the last four years.

Experiences and conditions under the German occupation in north-eastern France are described by Madeleine Havard de la Montagne in *La Vie Agonisante des Pays Occupés, Lille et la Belgique, Notes d'un Témoin, Octobre 1914-Juillet 1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1917); by Abbé C. Calippe in *La Somme sous l'Occupation Allemande, 27 Août 1914-19 Mars 1917* (Paris, Téqui, 1918, pp. viii, 310); by Comte de Caix de Saint-Aymour in *Autour de Noyon, sur les Traces des Barbares* (Paris, Boivin, 1918); and by Marguerite Yerta in *Les Six Femmes et l'Invasion, Août 1914-Février 1916* (Paris, Plon, 1917).

General Malleterre in *Les Campagnes de 1915* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, pp. 306) brings together the studies which this accomplished military authority contributed, respecting this year of warfare, to the *Temps*, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and the *Nouvelle Revue*. His third volume of *Études et Impressions de Guerre* (Paris, Tallandier, 1917, pp. 360) deals with the third year of the war, ending with July, 1917. It includes discussion not only of events on the Western and Italian fronts but also of the Russian revolution, the crushing of Rumania, and the entrance of the United States into the war. Gen. F. Canonge, formerly professor in the École Supérieure de Guerre, has published a study of *La Bataille de la Marne* (Paris, Fournier, 1918, pp. 140). G. Ledos has translated the account of *L'Assaut contre Verdun, 21 Février-31 Mars 1916* (Paris, Colin, 1918, pp. xvi, 366) by the Spanish observer, E. Diaz-Retg.

General Foch (Houghton Mifflin, pp. 53), is an appreciation by Maj. Robert M. Johnston, now a member of the Historical Branch of the General Staff, U. S. A.

Emmanuel Bourcier, a French officer who was later sent to America as an instructor in our camps, in *Under the German Shells* (Scribner, pp. 217), writes of French mobilization, the German invasion, gas attacks, and the battles of the Marne, Rheims, Champagne, and Verdun. The translation is by G. N. and Mary R. Holt.

Mons and the Retreat, by "a staff officer" (Capt. G. S. Gordon), is a slight but authoritative source for the study of this episode in the Great War.

Professor Raoul Allier's *Les Allemands à St. Dié, 27 Août-10 Septembre, 1914* (Paris, Payot, 1918, pp. xvi, 297, with 15 maps, plans, and facsimiles), is not an ordinary and ephemeral account of German conquest and treatment of a single town, but a finished piece of history prepared with great intelligence and scrupulous care.

A model narrative of the history of a single city under German bombardment is M. René Mercier's *Nancy Bombardée* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. xxiii, 246).

Letters written from the trenches by men of many nations, and of great interest and moving power, are collected by Mrs. N. P. Dawson in a volume entitled *The Good Soldier: a Selection of Soldiers' Letters, 1914-1917* (Macmillan).

An American Soldier (Houghton Mifflin, pp. 173) is a collection of personal letters by Lieut. Edwin A. Abbey, 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles, who was killed at Vimy Ridge, telling of his experiences first in the ranks and then as an officer.

Among narratives of individual combatants, a very high place in respect to literary quality belongs to M. Émile Henriot's *Carnet d'un Dragon dans les Tranchées* (Paris, Hachette, 1918, pp. 249), a faithful and even brilliant record of war-life during more than a year in which the warrior had no chance to fire a shot; and to the *Lettres d'un Combattant* of Lieut. Marcel Étévé (Paris, Hachette, 1917, pp. xx, 249), extending from August, 1914, to July 20, 1916, when the writer, an accomplished scholar and composer, was killed in battle. Other French accounts of personal experience which merit attention are: Sergt.-Maj. Georges Lafond's *Covered with Mud and Glory* (Small, Maynard); Capt. Ferdinand Bilmont's *A Crusader of France* (Dutton); and Lieut. Jean Giraudoux's *Campaigns and Intervals* (Houghton Mifflin).

De Verdun à Mannheim (Paris, Vitet, 1917) by J. Simonin; *En Allemagne, Impressions d'un Évadé, de Douaumont à Mannheim et aux Camps de Représailles et de Munitions* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917) by G. Vallis, and *En Esclavage, Journal de Deux Déportées* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1918) by Henriette Célarié, are additional narratives of French prisoners who have made their way out of Germany.

The German Pirate (Doran, pp. 124), by "Ajax", gives accounts of German submarine exploits compiled from British Admiralty documents and sworn statements of survivors.

Ten Months in a German Raider (Doran, pp. 178), by Capt. John S. Cameron of the *Beluga*, is an exciting story of his imprisonment aboard the *Wolf*, which during fifteen months' cruise captured fourteen vessels and laid 500 mines.

M. Jacques Mortane's story of Georges Guynemer, who was credited with fifty-three victories over German airmen, has been translated by C. H. Levy under the title, *Guynemer, the Ace of Aces* (Moffat, Yard, pp. 267), containing a biography and transcripts from the aviator's note-book of flight. *High Adventure* (Houghton Mifflin, pp. 236) by James N. Hall; *Knights of the Air* (Appleton, pp. 243), by Lieut. Bennett A. Molter, a pilot aviator of a French escadrille; and *Go Get 'Em* (Boston, Page), by William A. Wellman, are other narratives of air fighting in France. *The Red Battle Flyer* (McBride, pp. 222), is a translation of Capt. Manfred Freiherr von Richthofen's account of aerial operations on the German side.

M. Nadaud is the author of *Guynemer, l'As des As* (Paris, Michel, 1918, pp. 128) and of *La Guerre Aérienne, Chignole* (*ibid.*, pp. 244). *En Plein Ciel: Impressions d'Aviateurs* (Paris, Plon, 1918, pp. iv, 270) is by F. Lacroix. *La Guerre Aérienne Illustrée* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1917, pp. 400) furnishes over six hundred illustrations.

Life in a Tank (Houghton Mifflin, pp. 140), by Richard Haigh, M. C., commander of the tank *Britannia* at Arras and Ypres, gives a clear picture of the training and life in this service.

A Surgeon in Arms (Appleton, pp. 309), by Capt. R. J. Marion, M. C., of the Canadian Army Medical Corps, gives, besides the author's personal experiences in the front line trenches from the beginning of the war, a particularly good account of medical work under war conditions.

Experiences in the ambulance field service are to be found in *The White Road of Mystery* (Lane, pp. 173), the note-book of an American *ambulancier*, by Philip D. Orcutt; in "No. 6" (Dutton, pp. 150), by C. de Florez; and in *Ambulancing on the French Front* (Britton, pp. 243), by Edward R. Coyle.

Fields and Battlefields (McBride, pp. 260), by "No. 31540" (a sergeant in the Medical Corps), pictures life and scenes in the dressing stations behind the lines.

L. P. Alaux has edited a French translation of the *Souvenirs d'un Sous-Officier Allemand, 1914-1915-1916* (Paris, Payot, 1918), which purports to be the work of a non-commissioned officer who for three years was entrusted with important missions on both the Eastern and Western fronts, but who finally lost faith in the German cause and escaped to Denmark, where this book was written.

With the Austrian Army in Galicia, by Octavian C. Tăslăwanu (London, Skeffington) is perhaps more valuable because of its account of the attitude of the Rumanians of Transylvania and their relations to the Austrians than it is because of any military history which it presents.

Volumes relating to Balkan aspects of the war are *Le Monténégro pendant la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Lang and Blanchon, 1918), by V. G. Popovitch; *Avec l'Armée Serbe de l'Ultimatum Autrichien à l'Invasion de la Serbie* (Paris, Michel, 1918), by H. Barby, correspondent of the *Journal of Paris*; *La Roumanie et la Guerre* (Paris, Colin, 1918, pp. 299), by S. Serbesco; and *Le Mystère Roumain et la Défection Russe* (Paris, Plon, 1918), by C. Stiénon.

In the series *Pages d'Histoire* (Paris, Berger-Levrault), tome XIII. is the *Livre Blanc Grec*, containing French translations of seventy-seven documents extending from 1913 (protocol relative to a treaty of alliance between Greece and Serbia) to June, 1917.

Le Croissant sur la Tranchée: Quelques Aspects de l'Ame Islamique pendant la Guerre (Paris, Leroux, 1917) is a small volume by L. M. Enfrey.

A good account of the Egyptian operations, to March, 1917, is to be found in *The Desert Campaigns* (London, Constable, pp. 178), by W. T. Massey, official correspondent of London newspapers with the Egyptian expeditionary forces.

Some observations on the Far Eastern aspects of the war are to be found in A. Bellessort's *Un Français en Extrême-Orient au Début de la Guerre* (Paris, Perrin, 1918), and in B. Benzabro's *La Guerre vue par un Japonais* (Vannes, Lafolye, 1917).

The *Taking of Samoa*, an achievement of the New Zealand territorials and volunteers, is recounted by L. P. Leary, an actor in the exploit he narrates.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Duhem, *La Question Serbe et les Origines de la Guerre* (*Revue de Paris*, June 15); A. Gauvain, *Les Révélations Lichnowsky-Muehlton et l'Encerclement de l'Allemagne* (*ibid.*, June 1); Georges Goyau, *L'Unité Belge et l'Allemagne* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, June 1); L. J. Maxse, *Some Studies in Secret Diplomacy: a Vindication of the Policy of the Allies* (*National Review*, July); Fernand Engerand, *Le Drame de Charleroi: le Prélude Diplomatique, la Tragique Erreur* (*Correspondant*, February 25, March 10, 25); R. Jubert, *Verdun, Mars-Mai 1916* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, June 15, July 1); Joseph Reinach, *L'Offensive de la Somme, Juillet-Décembre 1916*, I., II. (*Revue Historique*, May, July); H. Bidou, *Les Batailles de la Somme*, II., III. [1916, 1918] (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1, 15); X., *La Bataille de France de 1918; entre Somme et Oise* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15); L. R. Freeman, *As a Signalman saw It* [destruction of the *Emden*] (*Atlantic Monthly*, September); H. Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, IV., V. (*World's Work*, August, September); M. T. Z. Tyau, *Diplomatic Relations between China and the Powers since and concerning the European War* (*Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, December); J. Flach, *La Partici-*

pation Militaire du Japon et ses Intérêts Vitaux (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, May).

(See also pp. 173, 174.)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

General review: C. Bémont, *Histoire de Grande Bretagne* (Revue Historique, May).

History for April contains discourses on the effect of the war on the teaching of history, by Mr. J. W. Headlam, Professor Paul Mantoux, and others, which are worth consideration by American teachers in spite of all the differences between British and American educational systems. There is also a useful note on disputed questions respecting Warren Hastings, by Mr. J. W. Neill. The July number contains one of Professor McLaughlin's admirable London lectures, on America's Entry into the War: an Historical Statement. There are also papers on the Naval Campaign of 1587, by Mr. Geoffrey Callender, on the work of the Royal Commission on the Public Records, by Mr. Hubert Hall, and on the Effects of the Black Death on Rural Organization in England, by Miss E. E. Power.

J. Wickham Legg's *Studies in Church History; Essays, Liturgical and Historical* (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917, pp. 187) consists of seven historical studies of Anglican liturgy.

English Pageantry: an Historical Outline, by Robert Withington, of which the first volume has been published by the Harvard University Press, deals mainly with "royal entries", court masks having been adequately treated by various scholars, and lord mayor's shows and modern survivals being left to the second volume. The treatise is thorough and interesting.

Number 186 of the *Columbia Studies* is a volume by Miss Harriett Bradley on *The Enclosures in England: an Economic Reconstruction*.

The Navy Records Society expects to publish this autumn its volume for 1917, *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett* (1570-1647), master-builder of the navy and naval commissioner.

The English Home from Charles I. to George IV., by Mr. J. Alfred Gotch, completes that author's study of the evolution of the English house, begun in *Early Renaissance Architecture* (B. T. Batsford).

Volume XV., numbers 1 and 2, of the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* (London, Headley), contains, among other things, two eighteenth-century diaries and an account of the travels in America of William Baldwin in 1709.

The *Calendar of the Madras Records, 1740-1744*, by H. Dodwell, curator of the Madras Record Office (Madras Government Press) provides in its summaries of nearly 1800 documents rich material for the

student of Indian history, the East India trade, and the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy in India which broke into open conflict during these years.

A *Life of Lord Clive*, by Sir George Forrest, is announced for early publication by Messrs. Cassell.

Nos. 1 and 2 in volume VII. of the University of Illinois *Studies in the Social Sciences* constitute a good history of *Legislative Regulation of Railway Finance in England*, by Ching Chun Wang, director of the Kin-Han railway in China (pp. 196), formerly a student in the University of Illinois.

Some Recollections, by Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, covers half a century of naval service beginning with the naval operations in the White Sea during the Crimean War, and including much subsequent naval history relating especially to the Indian Ocean and the South Seas.

Important to the history of science are several recent biographies, prominent among which is Sir William A. Tilden's *Sir William Ramsay, K.C.B., F.R.S.: Memorials of his Life and Work* (Macmillan). Of perhaps greater interest is Mr. Leonard Huxley's *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker*, based on material collected and arranged by Lady Hooker (John Murray), and presenting a life which contributed much to the rich scientific achievements of the nineteenth century.

The Rhodes lectures on imperial federation delivered in the University of London, 1917, by A. P. Newton, have appeared under the title, *The Old Empire and the New* (London and Toronto, Dent, pp. 140).

Recent German and French views of England, its empire and imperial problems, are to be found respectively in Hettner's *Englands Weltherrschaft und ihre Krisis* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1917), and Édouard Guyot's *L'Angleterre* (Paris, Delagrave, 1917).

The Great Crusade (Doran, pp. 307) is the title given to a volume of extracts from speeches delivered during the war by Lloyd George and arranged by F. L. Stevenson.

J. B. Rye and Horace G. Groser are the joint editors of a volume of extracts from Kitchener's writings and speeches, entitled *Kitchener in his own Words* (Stokes, pp. 588).

The task of writing the life of Lord Courtney has been placed in the competent hands of Mr. G. P. Gooch.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for July has an interesting article by Professor C. H. Firth, on Macaulay's Treatment of Scottish History, one by Lord Guthrie, on the Solemn League and Covenant and its army, apropos of Professor Terry's recent volumes, and a paper by Mr. William Stewart, on John Lennox and the *Greenock Newsclout*, a curious episode of the fight against taxes on knowledge. As a testimonial of regard to Dr. James MacLehose, editor of the *Review*, its

friends have by subscription caused the preparation and issue of a full and very well executed index to volumes I.-XII. (Glasgow, James Mac-Lehose and Sons, 1918, pp. 133).

The late Rev. John Hunter, for twenty-one years a minister in the presbytery of Dunkeld, left behind him an historical manuscript on *The Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld, 1660-1689* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, two vols., pp. 507, 599) which presents in minute detail a very useful contribution to the ecclesiastical history of Scotland under the Restoration.

An historical survey in a field of increasing importance is Mr. John J. Webb's *Municipal Government in Ireland, Medieval and Modern* (Fisher Unwin). The study begins with the chartered borough of the Norman rule and comes down to 1898.

George H. Knott's *Trial of Roger Casement* (Philadelphia, Cromarty Law Book Company, 1917, pp. xi, 304) is a presentation of the documents which constitute the evidence in the case, together with a brief introduction.

Documentary publications: *Vetus Liber Archidiaconi Eliensis*, ed. C. L. Feltoe and E. H. Minns (Cambridge Antiquarian Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Alice S. Green, *The Irish and the Armada* (Studies: an Irish Quarterly Review, March); C. E. Fayle, *The Navigation Acts* (Edinburgh Review, July); C. D. Allin, *Federal Aspects of Preferential Trade in the British Empire* (American Political Science Review, August); A. Ireland, *The True Story of the Jameson Raid as related to me by John Hays Hammond*, I., II. (North American Review, August, September); H. R. G. Inglis, *Early Maps of Scotland and their Authors* (Scottish Geographical Magazine, June).

FRANCE

Lectures delivered by M. Louis Madelin in the years 1912-1914 and ranging over a large part of French history are now published by Messrs. Plon-Nourrit under the title, *L'Expansion Française: de la Syrie au Rhin* (1918, pp. xxxiii, 331).

More than thirty years ago Mr. Arthur Tilley published an "Introductory Essay" on the French Renaissance, which has now developed into a comprehensive survey (pp. 662) of the spirit of the Renaissance, and its influence in all directions of human activity. The volume, *The Dawn of the French Renaissance*, comes from the Cambridge University Press.

An important source for the Reformation period lately published in the series *Archives de l'Histoire Religieuse de la France* is the *Registre des Procès-Verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, tome I., 1505-1523, edited by Abbé A. Clerval (Paris, J. Gabalda, 1917, pp. xlv, 424).

M. Ph. Barrey's *Le Havre Maritime du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Hachette, 1917, pp. viii, 277) consists of three studies: one on the Normans in Morocco in the sixteenth century; one on "Havre Transatlantique", 1571-1610 (relations with Africa and South America); and a third, the most important to American readers, on Havre and navigation to the West Indies, the slave-trade, and the colonial question of 1789-1791.

An account of *Jean Perrault, Président de la Cour des Comptes sous Louis XIV.* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1917) has appeared from the pen of A. Perrault-Dabot.

La Colonie Germanique de Bordeaux: Étude Historique, Juridique, Statistique, Économique (Bordeaux, Feret, 1918, pp. xii, 263), by Alfred Leroux, deals in this first volume with the period prior to 1870. The word *Germanique* is used in its broadest sense and so includes the Dutch as an important element in the group, especially after the Edict of Nantes, from which time this Germanic colony practically dates.

The Société de l'Histoire de France has lately published the first volume (pp. xciv, 262) of a new edition of the *Mémoires Authentiques du Maréchal de Richelieu, 1725-1757*.

Paul Martin has studied *Les Idées de Turgot sur la Décentralisation Administrative* (Paris, Jouve, 1917, pp. 226).

Note may be made of the following recent publications relating to the French Revolution: Canon A. Durand's *Histoire Religieuse du Département du Gard pendant la Révolution Française* (vol. I., 1788-1792, Nîmes, Imp. Générale, 1918, pp. 476); Baron Marc de Villiers's *Reine Audu: les Légendes des Journées d'Octobre 1789* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1918); Joseph Robin's *Le Roi de la Vendée, François-Athanase Charette, Lieutenant-Général de l'Armée Royale, 1763-1796* (Paris, Perrin, 1917, pp. xxix, 266); and A. Beaunier's *Figures d'Autrefois* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917, pp. 311).

Students of military history will find much of interest in *Studies in Napoleonic Strategy* by Captain R. A. H. (Allen and Unwin), written while its author was in active service in the present war.

The July number of the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* presents a valuable body of new material for the history of the siege of Saragossa, from a letter-book of Marshal Lannes, duke of Montebello.

Some contributions to the history of the Third Republic will be found in *Vom Kaiserreich zur Republik, eine Französische Kulturgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, Hyperionverlag, 1917), by Max von Boehn; in *Les Deux Guerres, 1870-1871, 1914-1916, Images et Souvenirs* (Paris, Plon, 1917) by H. Cochin; and in *Les Carnets d'un Officier, 1909-1914* (Paris, Plon, 1918) by Jean Gonnet.

M. Joseph Reinach has enlarged his eulogistic *Vie Politique de Gambetta*, first published in 1883, by the printing, in a new edition (Paris, Alcan, 1918, pp. xviii, 318), of certain speeches, writings, and notes, such as notes concerning a proposed meeting of Gambetta and Bismarck in 1878 and concerning the Schnaebelé affair, and by the use of the correspondence between Gambetta and his friend Mme. Léon.

Fighting France (Appleton, pp. 230), by Lieut. Stéphane Lauzanne, editor-in-chief of the *Matin* and member of the French Mission to the United States, is a singularly clear interpretation of the spirit, mind, and wonderful vitality of his country.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Mathorez, *Les Arméniens en France du XII^e au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, May); C. de la Roncière, *Un Grand Ministre de la Marine, Colbert* (Revue Hebdomadaire, June 1, 8); A. Chuquet, *La Jeunesse de Camille Desmoulins* (Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, January); G. Rouanet, *Robespierre à la Constituante en Août 1789* (Annales Révolutionnaires, May); Doney-Lachambaudie, *Mémoire Justificatif de Barras, Fragments, I. L'Assassinat de Petitval, Séance Secrète du Directoire, 28 Avril 1796* (Revue Historique, May); A. Aulard, *La Société des Nations et la Révolution Française* (Révolution Française, March); P. de la Gorce, *Du 22 Prairial au 9 Thermidor: un Chapitre de l'Histoire de la Révolution* (Correspondant, June 10); E. Lenient, *Les Responsabilités Stratégiques et Morales de Napoléon: Marengo* (Annales Révolutionnaires, May); A. Blum, *La Caricature Politique en France sous le Consulat et l'Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); P. Robiquet, *Fouché pendant les Cent-Jours* (Révolution Française, March-April); L. de Lanzac de Laborie, *Les Jésuites en France, sous la Restauration et la Monarchie de Juillet* (Correspondant, May 10); O. Festy, *Sismondi et la Condition des Ouvriers Français de son Temps, I.* (Revue d'Économie Politique, January); G. Lote, *Zola Historien du Second Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Joseph Orsier has published two studies in the medieval history of Savoy entitled *Pierre II. de Savoie, dit le Petit Charlemagne, 1202-1268*, and *Le Droit de Succession à la Couronne de Savoie du XII^e au XIV^e Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1918).

The first volume of *Il Valore dei Sardi in Guerra* (Milan, Risorgimento, 1917, pp. 330), by M. Riccio is devoted to wars prior to the present Great War.

Figures Italiennes d'Aujourd'hui (Paris, Van Oest, 1918, pp. 267), by J. Destrée, contains sketches of Sonnino, Giolitti, Luzzatti, Barzilai, Battisti, Bisolati, Salvemini, D'Annunzio, Corradini, and Ferrero.

Michael Mayr has published a revised edition of his *Der Italienische*

Irredentismus: sein Entstehen und seine Entwicklung vornehmlich in Tirol (Innsbruck, Tyrolia, 1917). The opposing views are set forth by Whitney Warren in *Les Justes Revendications de l'Italie; la Question de Trente et de Trieste* (Paris, Renaissance, 1917).

The brief but creditable history of the Spanish School of History and Archaeology at Rome, set in operation in 1910 and suspended in 1914, is related by Padre Serrano in the *Revista Quincenal* for January 25, 1918. Padre Serrano has himself, after prolonged study of the nunciature in Spain, sent to the press the *Correspondencia Diplomática entre España y la Santa Sede durante el Pontificado de San Pio V.* (1566-1572), in four volumes.

The Real Academia de la Historia has lately published (Madrid, 1918, pp. 472, folio) vol. XXIV. of the *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, carrying these important records down from 1450 to 1479.

Professor E. Ibarra y Rodríguez of Madrid with the aid of several of his students has published a collection of sixty documents relating to economic affairs in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella as the first part of *Documentos de Asunto Económico correspondientes al Reinado de los Reyes Catolicos, 1475-1516* (Madrid, 1917).

Antonio Agustin, *Arquebisbe de Tarragona: Diàlechs de les Armes y Llinatges de la Noblesa d'Espanya* (Barcelona, S. Babra), brings to modern readers the work of the sixteenth-century humanist and student of history, Antonio Agustin, in excellent form, with a valuable introduction from the hand of the translator, Señor J. Pin y Soler. Just when the ancient Spanish treatise was written is not certain; the present translation was made from a manuscript of 1603.

G. de Artiñano has written an *Historia del Comercio con las Indias durante el Dominio de los Austrias* (Barcelona, 1917, pp. 359).

The Spanish Minister of Public Instruction has made a grant for the publication of the *Anales de la Universidad de Valladolid*, written in the eighteenth century by Father Vicente Velázquez de Figueroa, and now to be edited and amplified by the librarian, Don Mariano Alcocer.

J. Goulven has written an account of *La Place de Mazagan sous la Domination Portugaise, 1502-1769* (Paris, Larose, 1917).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Rudolph Huebner's substantial work on German law has been translated into English by Professor F. S. Philbrick and published by Messrs. Little, Brown, and Company, under the title *A History of Germanic Private Law*. The volume contains introductions by Sir Paul Vinogradoff and William E. Walz.

Otto Scheel has issued a life of *Martin Luther* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1916, pp. xii, 309).

Frieda Braune's *Edmund Burke in Deutschland: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Historisch-Politischen Denkens* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1917, pp. x, 227); Volper's *Friedrich Schlegel als Politischer Denker und Deutscher Patriot* (Berlin, Behn, 1917); and Blesch's *Studien über Johannes Wit, genannt von Döring, und seine Denkwürdigkeiten, nebst einem Exkurs über die Liberalen Strömungen von 1815-1819* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1917) are useful contributions to the history of the development of political thought in Germany.

Julien Rovère has made a careful and interesting study of *Les Survivances Françaises dans l'Allemagne Napoléonienne depuis 1815* (Paris, Alcan, 1918).

F. M. Kircheisen has published a new edition of the *Erinnerungen aus dem Aeussern Leben* (Munich, Müller, 1917, pp. vii, 370) of Ernst Moritz Arndt. Karl Linnebach is the compiler of *Karl und Maria von Clausewitz: ein Lebensbild in Briefen und Tagebuchblättern* (Berlin, Warneck, 1916, pp. v, 500). *A Leben und Wirken des Freiherrn Rochus von Liliencron, mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte der Allgemeinen Deutschen Biographie* (Berlin, Reimer, 1917, pp. 316) has been written by A. Bettelheim; Liliencron was the editor of the "*A. D. B.*" The first volume of *Carl Th. Michaelis, Persönliche und Amtliche Erinnerungen* (Leipzig, Dürr, 1917, pp. xi, 290), collected and edited by M. C. P. Schmidt, is devoted to a biographical account.

Professor J. von Pflugk-Harttung presents the German views on the problems of sea power in *Der Kampf um der Freiheit des Meeres: Trafalgar, Skagerrak* (Berlin, Eisenschmidt, 1917, pp. xx, 254).

German views of the attitude of the world toward peace will be found in *Die Friedensidee: ihr Ursprung, Anfänglicher Sinn und Allmählicher Wandel* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1917) by Hans Prutz.

The Abbé E. Wetterlé's book, mentioned in our last issue, has been translated from French into English with the title *Behind the Scenes in the Reichstag* (New York, George H. Doran), and will have much value for students as an authoritative record of things seen and learned by an intelligent deputy from Alsace-Lorraine during sixteen years of service in the Reichstag.

A popular historical survey of *Subject Peoples under the Teutons*, by Mr. Julian Park, appears as a bulletin of the University of Buffalo.

A picture of Germany in war-time, based not upon the personal impressions of an observer but upon a wide range of statistics concerning matters of economic importance, apparently compiled with much care, is presented by Mr. Cyril Brown, in *Germany as it is To-day* (Doran).

Mr. M. A. Morrison's *Sidelights on Germany: Studies of German Life and Character during the Great War* is chiefly drawn from the German newspapers of the last four years.

Das Rottweiler Steuerbuch von 1441 (Tübingen, Laupp, 1917) by Mack; and *Die Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Prämonstratenserinnen-Klosters Oelinghausen* (Münster, Coppenrath, 1916, pp. viii, 152), by Dr. Franz Fischer, are recent additions to German local history.

A volume of *Studien zur Geschichte des Oesterreichischen Salzwesens* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1917, pp. xi, 231) has been published by Professor Heinrich, Ritter von Srbik, in the *Forschungen zur Inneren Geschichte Oesterreichs*.

Die Wiener Juden, Kommerz, Kultur, Politik, 1700-1900 (Vienna, Löwit, 1917, pp. x, 521) by Sigmund Mayer, and *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden in Steiermark* (Vienna, Braumüller, 1914, pp. x, 200) by Dr. Arthur Rosenberg, published in the *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutsch-Oesterreich*, are noteworthy contributions to the history of the Jews in Austria.

Dr. Anton Gnirs has published two volumes relating to the Görz district: *Das Görzer Statutbuch: eine Deutsche Ausgabe der Friauler Constitutiones des Patriarchen Marquard als Görzer Stadtrecht seit dem 15. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, Hölder, 1917); and *Oesterreichs Kampf für sein Südländ am Isonzo, 1615-1617, als ein Chronik des 2. Friauler Krieges nach zeitgenössischen Quellen* (Vienna, Seidel, 1916, pp. 171).

Recent numbers of the *Schweizer Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft* (Zürich, Leemann, 1917) are *Französische Politik in Solothurn zur Zeit des Schanzenbaues, 1667-1727* (pp. 317) by Dr. H. Dörflinger; *Der Kampf ums Eschenthal und den Verrat von Domodossola im Zusammenhang mit der Erwerbung des Tessins* (pp. 330) by Dr. Karl Tanner; *Die Diplomatie des Auslandes in der Schweiz während der Zeit des Sonderbundes* (pp. 88) by Dr. Else Gutknecht; *Die Aeusserordentliche Standesversammlung und der Strafgericht vom Jahre 1794 in Chur* (pp. 272) by Dr. S. Pinösch; and *Die Letzte Allianz der Alten Eidgenossenschaft mit Frankreich vom 28. Mai 1777* (pp. 390) by Dr. Helen Wild.

Henri Fazy is the author of a thorough account of *Genève de 1788 à 1792: la Fin d'un Régime* (Geneva, Kundig, 1917, pp. vii, 560).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. W. Thompson, *Church and State in Mediaeval Germany*, III. (*American Journal of Theology*, July); A. E. Harvey, *Martin Luther in the Estimate of Modern Historians* (*ibid.*); C. H. Huberich and Richard King, *The Development of German Prize Law* (*Columbia Law Review*, June); Th. C. Buyse, *Le Régime Prussien en Pays Conquis: le Slesvig Danois, de 1864 à 1916*, III. (*Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse*, August, 1917); D. J. Hill, *Impressions of the Kaiser*, III., IV. (*Harper's Monthly*, July, August); V. S. Clark, *The German Press and German Opinion* (*Atlantic Monthly*, July); F. P. Giordani, *La Rivoluzione del '48 in Austria e gli Slavi* (*Rivista d'Italia*, December); W. Oechsli, *Die Namen des alten Bundes und seiner Gegentheile* (*Jahrbuch für Schweizerische Geschichte*, XLII., 1917).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Linschoten Society has published, as its fifteenth volume, part II. of Gerrit de Veer's *Reizen van Willem Barents, Jacob van Heemskerck, Jan Cornelis Rijp en Anderen naar het Noorden, 1594-1597*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber, containing the introduction and appendixes, maps, and other illustrations, and a bibliography of the northern voyages of the years named (the Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, pp. xii, 126, 183-341).

Indexes to German legislation for the occupied territories of Belgium (series VI.-IX., 1916, nos. 161-294), have been compiled by P. R. Blok, and printed in German, French, and Flemish (the Hague, M. Nijhoff, pp. 70).

The experiences of a Belgian woman are narrated anonymously in *Dans la Geôle Bruxelloise: Deux Années sous le Joug Allemand* (Paris, Van Oest, 1918).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Genouy, *La Politique Française en Hollande avant la Saint-Barthélemy* (Bulletin Historique des Églises Wallonnes, serie 3, livr. 7); H. Pirenne, *Les Origines de l'État Belge* (Revue Belge, January); L. van Puyvelde, *De Vlaamsche Beweging en de Oorlog* (Gids, LXXXII. 1).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: L. Bréhier, *Histoire Byzantine: Publications des Années 1914-1915* (Revue Historique, July).

Dr. Maurice F. Egan, for ten years American minister to Denmark, has written a volume to be called *Ten Years on the German Frontier*, and to be published by the George H. Doran Company.

Much excellent material, some of it historical, is appearing in the monthly review *Le Monde Slave* (Paris, Rue Cassette, subscription, 30 francs), edited by Professor E. Denis and Robert de Caix. The first issue appeared in 1917.

A valuable and lucid study of a neglected subject will be found in Dr. W. H. Frere's *Some Links in the Chain of Russian Church History* (London, Faith Press).

The recollections of Dr. Martin Mandt have been edited by Veronika Lüke under the title *Ein Deutscher Arzt am Hofe Kaiser Nikolaus I. von Russland* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1917, pp. xv, 544).

Russia, 1914-17: Memories and Recollections of War and Revolution, by Gen. Basil Gourko, soon to be published by the house of Murray, should be a most important historical work, in view of the author's former position as chief of the Russian Imperial General Staff.

M. Philarète Chasles's *La Révolution Russe et la Guerre Européenne* contains valuable testimony from an experienced French writer of high

intelligence who was a spectâtor of events in Russia from November, 1916, to May, 1917.

The Eclipse of Russia (Doran, pp. 423), is the story of Russian autocracy and its preparation for anarchy, of the relations between the Tsar and the Kaiser, and of Rasputin and the Russian court, written by Dr. E. J. Dillon, a graduate of two Russian universities, a former professor in the University of Kharkov, once editor of a Russian newspaper, and an intimate of Count Witte. Other books of importance for the history of the Russian Revolution are Mr. Robert Wilson's *Russia's Agony* (Longmans), by one who for fourteen years represented in Russia the *London Times*, and Mr. A. J. Sack's *The Birth of the Russian Democracy* (New York, Russian Information Bureau, pp. 527), by a pronounced Russian socialist. Though the last-named book traces developments from the time of Alexander I., nearly half of it is given to the revolution of March, 1917, and to the events that succeeded it, up to the time of the Bolshevik *coup d'état*. Additional volumes on the last two years of revolutionary conditions in Russia are J. W. Bienstock's *Raspoutine, la Fin d'un Régime* (Paris, Michel, 1918), and the anonymous *Les "Dangers Mortels" de la Révolution Russe* (Paris, Payot, 1917).

My Empress (New York, John Lane Company), by Marfa Mouchanov, first maid-in-waiting to the Tsarina from the time of the latter's marriage until her exile to Siberia, is of much more value than the ordinary backstairs memoir, and has a certain importance for the history of the Romanov family during its last twenty-three years of rule.

Donald Thompson in Russia (Century Company), by Donald C. Thompson, is a photographer's record of observations of the Russian revolution and of Bolshevik rule.

Les Ruthènes, by Professor Stanislas Smolka (Bern, Ferdinand Wyss, 1917, pp. 45, 590), is a translation of the author's German book, *Die Russische Welt*. The author is a Pole, and much inclined to exalt the Poles and the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) at the expense of the Great Russians, but the book has value.

One of the "problem areas" of southeastern Europe is briefly treated by M. Francis Lebrun, correspondent in Rumania of the *Matin*, in *Études Documentaires sur les Questions Roumaines: la Dobroudja* (Paris, Alcan), an historical, geographical, ethnological, and statistical essay.

Rumania Yesterday and Today, by Will Gordon, announced by Mr. John Lane, contains an introduction and two chapters of personal experience written by the Queen of Rumania.

Mr. Alexander Devine is the author of an informing volume on *Montenegro: its Annals and its Fall* (Fisher Unwin).

Mr. T. R. Georgevitch, in three hundred well-documented pages on *Macedonia* (Allen and Unwin) sets forth the thesis that the Macedonians are Serbs with no racial kinship to or national sympathy with the Bulgarians.

Doubleday, Page, and Company will publish in October the account by Mr. Henry Morgenthau of his experiences as ambassador in Turkey, which has been running for some months in the *World's Work*.

Various topics of Near Eastern affairs furnish subjects for L. Bloy's *Constantinople et Byzance* (Paris, Crès, 1918); and *Bagdad, son Chemin de Fer, son Importance, son Avenir* (Paris, Éditions et Librairie, 1917) by E. Aublé, a French engineer and agent in Mesopotamia.

Armenia: a Martyr Nation, by M. C. Gabrielian (Fleming H. Revell) is primarily a history of the religion of the country.

The narrative of a single Armenian family's escape from massacre is presented in a pamphlet of 45 pages, *From Turkish Toils* (George H. Doran Company), by Mrs. Esther Mugerditchian, wife of an Armenian pastor and British vice-consul in Diarbekir, with great simplicity of statement but with such intelligence and such tragic detail as to make it a contribution of real significance in the history of a great episode.

In the series *Pages Actuelles* (Paris, Bloud and Gay), no. 115-116, by the Abbé Eugène Griselle, is entitled *Syriens et Chaldéens, leur Martyre, leurs Espérances*, and is made up from reports and documents of the Bishop of Van, of a Lazarist missionary in Persia, of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, and similar sources.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Mikhail Katkov, *Lettres au Tsar Alexandre III.* [five important letters, December, 1886-May, 1887, on Russia's future relations to Germany and France] (Correspondant, April 10); A. Gratieux, *L'Église Russe et la Révolution* (Le Monde Slave, February-March); F. A. Golder, *The Russian Revolution* (The [Canadian] University Magazine, April); S. Reizler, *Le Dernier Romanov en Sibérie* (Revue Hebdomadaire, June 8); H. Laporte, *Quatre Mois de Bolchevisme, Russie, Finlande: Notes de Voyage, Janvier-Mai 1918* (Correspondant, May 25, June 10); E. Denis, *L'Armée Chèque* (Le Monde Slave, December, 1917); *The Four Treaties of Bucarest* (Quarterly Review, July); E. Denis, *La Bulgarie et la Diplomatie Alliée* (Le Monde Slave, November, 1917); *La Question des Détroits: l'Histoire et les Hypothèses*, II. (Correspondant, May 25).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

Messrs. Macmillan have issued a new edition of Col. L. J. Trotter's *History of India*, first published in 1874. The present edition contains chapters on Lord Curzon's administration, and the Dürbar of 1911, in addition to notes throughout the volume, supplied by Archdeacon Hutton.

The Clarendon Press announces for early publication Mr. Vincent A. Smith's *Oxford History of India*, which tells the story of India from early times to 1911.

February 6, 1919, will be the one-hundredth anniversary of the hoisting of the British flag on the island of Singapore by Sir Stamford Raffles, who had acquired it for the East India Company from the Sultan of Johor. The event will be commemorated by the preparation and publication of a comprehensive and authoritative history of these hundred years of a city than which few are more important in the modern history of the world's commerce.

Light on an adjoining field, about the time of Singapore's foundation, from original sources carefully investigated, may be found in P. H. van der Kemp, *Oost-Indië's Inwendig Bestuur van 1817 op 1818* (the Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, pp. xxxii, 352).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Lorenzo Pérez, *Cartas y Relaciones del Japón* [cont.] (Archivo Ibero-Americano, March-April); A. Gérard, *Les Hommes d'État du Japon, 1868-1918* (Correspondant, May 25); F. W. Williams, *The Mid-Victorian Attitude of Foreigners in China* (Journal of Race Development, April); W. H. Moreland and A. Yusuf Ali, *Akbar's Land-Revenue System as described in the Ain-i-Akbari* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January).

AFRICA

Mr. E. C. Godée Molsbergen has edited for the Linschoten Vereeniging two interesting volumes, 1652-1686 and 1686-1806, of *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd* (the Hague, Nijhoff).

Sir Hugh Clifford is the author of a volume announced by Mr. John Murray, entitled *The German Colonies, with special relation to the Native Populations of Africa*. From a quite different point of view is *War in Africa and the Far East*, by H. C. O'Neill, relating to the conquest of the German colonies (Longmans).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Among recent accessions of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress are papers of Edmond C. Genet, 1756-1827, Philip R. Fendall, 1823-1860, Benjamin Stoddert, 1784-1809, Samuel Blodget, 1758-1813, and General Samuel W. Crawford, 1860-1861; additions to the Argenteau Papers, 1300-1889, amounting to about 7000 pieces; and three large folio volumes from the papers of William Blathwayt, being the original entry-book of colonial letters patent, commissions, etc., prepared by him for the use of the Lords of Trade.

The Library of Congress has published a *Check List of Collections of Personal Papers* possessed by historical societies, university and public

libraries, and other learned institutions in the United States. This publication (pp. 87), which can be obtained for thirty cents from the Superintendent of Documents at the Government Printing Office in Washington, furnishes useful guidance to an extraordinary variety of manuscript materials for American history.

Ten volumes of the notable series, *Chronicles of America*, edited by Professor Allen Johnson, are being distributed to subscribers by the publishers, the Yale University Press.

A *History of the American People* for grammar grades and junior high schools, by Professor C. A. Beard and W. C. Bagley, has been published by Macmillan.

How American history is presented to the Dutch public by an intelligent writer may be seen in C. te Lintum, *De Geschiedenis van het Amerikaansche Volk* (Zutphen, Thieme and Company, pp. iv, 306, with maps and illustrations).

The Boston Book Company has brought out a *Guide to the Use of United States Government Publications*, by Edith E. Clarke.

Volume III. of A. W. Calhoun's *Social History of the American Family* has come from the press (Arthur H. Clark Company).

It is announced that Mr. Henry E. Huntington has acquired the historical and literary manuscripts collected by Dr. William K. Bixby of St. Louis. The collection is a remarkable one, embracing the journals of André and Burr and numerous letters of Washington.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for July has for its first article an excellent general account by Rev. Dr. J. B. Culemans of the Catholic Explorers and Pioneers of Illinois. Dr. Edwin Ryan, under the title Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies, treats of episcopal visitations of Florida between 1565 and 1819, and of synodal and episcopal legislation specially affecting that parish (St. Augustine). The third article, by Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein, on New Netherland Intolerance, traverses with some fresh material the ground covered, with respect to this subject, by his valuable volume on *Religion in New Netherland*. The document printed in this number is an account of a voyage from San Blas to northern Alaska in 1799 by the frigates *Princesa* and *Favorita*, translated from a manuscript in the archives of the University of Santa Clara, Cal. There is also the beginning of a diocesan bibliography of American Catholic history.

Attention should be called to the valuable work which is being done by the committee on historical records established by the National Catholic War Council of the United States of America and in operation since January last, with the Rt. Rev. Mgr. H. T. Drumgoole as chairman and Professor Peter Guilday as secretary. It is making systematic endeavors, on a large scale, to preserve accurate and complete records of all Catholic American activity in the present war.

The June number of the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society contains a paper on the Church in the Island of San Domingo, by Peter Condon; one on Catholics in the War with Mexico, by Thomas F. Meehan; a sketch of Francis Cooper, New York's First Catholic Legislator, by William H. Bennett; an account of the destruction of the Ursuline convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1834, as related in 1887 by the leader of the mob; a narrative of a voyage to Alaska by Father Riobo in 1779, translated from the Spanish by Rev. Walter F. Thornton, S. J.; and the story of Pierre Toussaint, a Catholic Uncle Tom, by Henry Binsse.

The principal contents of the June number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* are continued articles hitherto mentioned: papers concerning the San Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia, Bishop Flaget's Diary, and the Life of Bishop Conwell. Under the title Missionary Journeys in Alaska appears a letter of Father Philip I. Delon, S. J., to the Very Rev. Richard A. Gleeson, S. J., written from Akularak, May 29, 1916.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, vol. V., no. 1 (January-March, 1918), is a monograph entitled *A Further Study of Prehistoric Small House Ruins in the San Juan Watershed*, by T. Mitchell Prudden.

Baumarchais and the War of American Independence, in two volumes, by Elizabeth S. Kite, has been added to Messrs. Badger's series of *Studies in American History*.

Last winter Professor Aulard devoted his chief course at the Sorbonne to the historical origins of friendly relations between France and America. The opening lecture is printed in *La Révolution Française* for November-December.

Benjamin Rush and his Services to American Education, by Harry G. Good, has been brought out in Bluffton, Ohio, by the American Educator Company. The author has made use of the Rush manuscripts in the Ridgeway Library, Philadelphia.

John H. B. Latrobe and his Times, 1803-1891, by John E. Semmes (Baltimore, Norman Remington Company), may be said to possess greater significance because of the "times" in which Latrobe lived than because of his own achievements. Counsel for the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, president of the American Colonization Society, inventor, writer, artist, he came in contact with many remarkable personalities, and his record of them is interesting.

A study of Lincoln from a purely local point of view is that presented by Miss Octavia Roberts in her *Lincoln in Illinois* (Houghton Mifflin), largely built up from the recollections of those who knew Lincoln as a neighbor and friend.

The July number of *The Military Historian and Economist* continues Professor Johnston's study of Pope's campaigns in Virginia by a chapter on Gainesville. Herewith the journal suspends publication, for the present.

The Navy Department has brought out another volume of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, series I., vol. 72 (Washington, 1917, pp. xxiv, 829), compiled and edited by Mr. Charles W. Stewart, and containing reports, orders, and correspondence, both Union and Confederate, relating to naval forces on western waters, January 1–September 6, 1865, and to supply vessels, 1861–1865.

Hon. Simon Wolf of Washington, D. C., who has enjoyed many years' contact with public affairs, particularly as a champion of Jewish rights, has privately printed a volume of reminiscences touching upon American history in general and especially upon the modern history of the Jews in the United States. For convenience of treatment the author has grouped his incidents around the various presidential administrations and the book is entitled *The Presidents I have known from 1860 to 1918* (pp. 450). Orders should be sent to the author, Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

A Diplomat's Helpmate: How Rose F. Foote, Wife of the First United States Minister and Envoy Extraordinary to Korea, served her Country in the Far East, is the title of a book by Mary V. Tingley Lawrence published in San Francisco by H. S. Crocker.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

Many of Secretary Baker's war addresses and writings have been published in *Frontiers of Freedom* (Doran, pp. 335). In *Secretary Baker at the Front* (Century Company), an account of his tour of inspection in France, written by his private secretary, is presented.

Three more numbers of the *University of Chicago War Papers* have appeared, viz., *The War and Industrial Readjustments*, by Professor Harold G. Moulton; *England and America*, by Professor Conyers Read; and *Democracy and American Schools*, by Charles H. Judd, director of the School of Education.

Our First Year in the Great War (Putnam, pp. 127), by Maj.-Gen. Francis V. Greene, consists for the most part of articles reprinted from the *New York Times*, reviewing the country's accomplishments under such headings as man power, transportation, censorship, tactics, etc.

Messrs. Dodd, Mead, and Company announce for early publication *America in France*, by Maj. Frederick Palmer, the well-known war correspondent, now attached to General Pershing's staff in France.

Coningsby Dawson, who was commissioned by the British govern-

ment to visit the American army in France, gives an account of this visit in *Out to Win: the Story of America in France* (Lane, pp. 206).

Corp. Osborne De Varila, 6th U. S. Field Artillery, who fired the first shot of the American army, has written *The First Shot for Liberty* (Winston, pp. 223), a lively account of the entrance of American troops into France and of experiences in the trenches.

Firmin Roz has made the translation and Ambassador J. J. Jusserand has written the preface for *Amis de la France, la Service de Campagne de l'Ambulance Américaine décrit par ses Membres* (Paris, Plon).

Ralph D. Paine in *The Fighting Fleets* depicts in somewhat picturesque language the work of the American fleet in our first year of war.

(See also pp. 152-159.)

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the New England Historic and Genealogical Society (by aid of the Eddy Town Record Fund) have printed the vital records, to 1850, of the towns of Charlemont, Cohasset, Hardwick, Harvard, Northbridge, Salem (vol. II., births), and Stoneham.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has distributed photostat sets of *Domestic Intelligence; or News both from City and Country*, a London newspaper which was published from July 9, 1679, to April 15, 1681, in 114 issues. Apart from its interest as a record of news at the time of the Popish Plot, it was edited and published by Benjamin Harris, a printer who afterwards came to Massachusetts and has been regarded as the author, as he was the publisher, of the *New England Primer*. The March-April serial of the *Proceedings* of the society contains the annual reports, remarks in commemoration of Henry Adams and F. B. Sanborn, and a paper by Professor George F. Moore on Ezra Stiles's Studies in the Cabala.

In the July number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* Francis B. C. Bradlee gives a history of the Boston and Lowell, Nashua and Lowell, and Salem and Lowell railroads, early lines now all embraced in the Boston and Maine system.

A History of Swansea, Massachusetts, 1667-1917, edited by Otis O. Wright, is published in Swansea by the town.

Hartford Camp 50, Sons of Veterans, through its secretary, Mr. Charles R. Hale, has for two years been engaged in a systematic attempt, now already carried well forward toward completion, to locate and mark graves of the soldiers of wars in which Connecticut has been engaged, as found in the cemeteries of Hartford County. The procedure is unusually elaborate and serviceable.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Division of Archives and History of the University of the State of New York has placed in the printers' hands volume III. of the *Early Records of Albany*, containing the translations made by Professor Pearson and revised by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer. It is about to do the same with the first two volumes of the *Papers of Sir William Johnson*; and has, in various stages of advancement, inventories and histories of the records of the city of Kingston, of the town of North Hempstead, of Suffolk County, and of the village of Ballston.

The New York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin* for July contains an account by R. P. Bolton of the work of the society's field exploration committee, and a record of the baptisms of the First Presbyterian Church, New York city, 1804-1805.

The Buffalo Historical Society, in co-operation with Hamilton College, is preparing to issue as a volume the journal and letters of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Seneca and Oneida Indians, United States Indian agent, and founder of Hamilton College.

Mr. H. E. Deats of Flemington, New Jersey, has prepared and published *Marriage Records of Hunterdon County, New Jersey, 1795-1875*, vol. I. (pp. 337), being an index to the marriages recorded in the office of the county clerk. The filing of records of marriages in the clerks' offices of New Jersey counties began in 1795 and ceased to be obligatory in 1876. The area includes not only the present Hunterdon County but, from 1795 to 1838, nearly all of Mercer County. The second volume, now under preparation, for ultimate issue, will contain marriage data derived from township, church, and family records.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired seven folio volumes of letter-books of John Nicholson, 1796-1797, embracing many letters to Robert Morris.

The German Drama in English on the Philadelphia Stage from 1794 to 1830, preceded by a General Account of the Theatre in Philadelphia from 1749 to 1796, by Charles F. Brede, has been published by the Americana Germanica Press.

In the July number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* is an account by Mrs. Agnes M. H. Gormly, of the community of Harmonists who established the settlement of Harmony in Butler County, Pa., in 1804, removed to Indiana in 1814, and returned to Pennsylvania in 1825, establishing a community which they named Economy. The *Magazine* prints a letter from W. H. Harrison to Harmar Denny, December 2, 1838, responding to the notification of his nomination for the presidency by the Anti-Masonic convention.

The University of Pittsburg has received as a gift the library of the late William M. Darlington, and his widow, Mary O'Hara Darlington, a

collection of about ten thousand volumes, chiefly of English and American history.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

A Selected Bibliography and Syllabus of the History of the South, 1584-1876, by Professors W. K. Boyd of Trinity College and R. P. Brooks of the University of Georgia, constitutes the *Bulletin of the University of Georgia* for June. The principles of selection in the bibliographical portion are not always clear. The syllabus presents a chronological and topical outline of the history of the South through the Reconstruction period, with references to sources and historical accounts appended to each chapter.

The Virginia State Library has recently acquired a type-written copy of Governor Jefferson's letter-book, July 27-September 13, 1780, the original of which, carried off from Richmond by Benedict Arnold, has been recently presented to the British Museum; also a detailed card inventory of the records of Northampton County.

The Virginia Historical Society will keep a careful record of all Virginians who lose their lives in the Great War, and will publish the compiled lists quarterly in the issues of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. The July number of the magazine contains the list of deaths to about the end of June. The society, having recently taken an inventory of its collections (books, newspapers, manuscripts, maps, portraits, and other articles of historical interest), prints in this issue of the magazine a synopsis of this inventory.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has recently received from the governor's office 2786 executive documents, embracing portions of the correspondence and other papers of Governors Owen, Graham, Manly, Reid, Vance, Holden, Worth, Caldwell, and Brogden (1828-1830, 1845-1854, 1862-1879). From private sources it has secured three Civil War diaries of the late Col. W. H. S. Burgwin, and 910 letters from the private correspondence of Chief Justice Walter Clark. The Pettigrew Papers, 1772-1900 (Bishop Charles Pettigrew, Ebenezer Pettigrew, M. C., and Gen. J. J. Pettigrew, C. S. A.), and the Robert J. Miller Papers have been bound and made ready for use. The commission has published volume I. of the *Papers of* [Chief Justice] *Thomas Ruffin*, edited by Professor J. G. DeR. Hamilton, embracing his correspondence from 1803 to 1830. Volume II. is in press.

The *Proceedings* of the eighteenth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina (*Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin no. 23) contains a very interesting paper by Dr. Gaillard Hunt, entitled *Reminiscences of the Secretaries of State*. Other historical papers are: *Influence of Peculiar Conditions in the Early History of North Carolina*, by Paul B. Barringer; *Historical Parallels*, by D. H. Hill; *Influence of the Civil War*

on Education in North Carolina, by Edgar W. Knight; the South's Pension and Relief Provisions for the Soldiers of the Confederacy, by William H. Glasson; Medical and Pharmaceutical Conditions in the Confederacy, by E. Vernon Howell; and the Raising, Organization, and Equipment of North Carolina's Troops in the Civil War, by Judge Walter Clark. R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, describes the work of the commission during the year, and there is a North Carolina bibliography for 1917, by Mrs. E. R. Blanton.

The South Carolina Historical Commission has published a volume of *Commissions and Instructions from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina to Public Officials of South Carolina, 1685-1715* (pp. 292), edited by A. S. Salley, jr., secretary of the commission.

The April number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains, besides continued articles heretofore mentioned, a paper by Judge Henry A. M. Smith, entitled Hog Island and Shute's Folly, concerning islands which have almost entirely disappeared, the latter having been the site of Castle Pinckney.

WESTERN STATES

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains an article by Mr. William L. Jenks surveying Territorial Legislation by Governor and Judges, Professor Eugene C. Barker's paper on Stephen F. Austin, read before the American Historical Association at its last meeting, an article by Mr. Melvin J. White on Populism in Louisiana during the Nineties, and a survey of recent historical activities in the Old Northwest, by Professor Arthur C. Cole.

The Western Reserve Historical Society has recently acquired the private papers and correspondence of Senator Theodore E. Burton and a collection of some two thousand papers of General Braxton Bragg, C. S. A.

The July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is a monograph entitled *The Indian in Ohio*, by H. C. Shetrone. The principal part of the monograph is devoted to a history of the Indian in Ohio in his relation with the white race, and to Indian archaeology in Ohio.

The April-June number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* contains a fifth group of selections from the Follett Papers. The letters are of the period 1848-1856, and the principal writers are Salmon P. Chase, Joseph Medill, Thomas Ewing, Millard Fillmore, and Lewis D. Campbell.

Mr. John C. Dean publishes at Indianapolis the *Journal of Thomas Dean, an Account of a Journey to Indiana in 1817*.

Articles in the June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are: Some Reminiscences of James Whitcomb Riley, by George S. Cottman; an Historical Sketch of Tell City, by Will Maurer; a brief Diary of the Mexican War, October, 1847, to July, 1848, by Thomas Bailey, and the conclusion of J. Edward Murr's paper concerning Lincoln in Indiana.

The Making of a Township, being an Account of the Early Settlement and Subsequent Development of Fairmount Township, Grant County, Indiana, 1829 to 1917, is a part of the title of a volume edited by E. M. Baldwin and published by him in Fairmount.

The Illinois Historical Survey (University of Illinois) has acquired from archives in Paris some 3000 photostats and 2100 transcripts of documents relating to the early history of the Mississippi Valley; also some 6000 pages of transcripts from the Archives of the Indies at Seville, obtained through Dr. Charles H. Cunningham, and relating to Spanish Louisiana, the Mississippi Valley, and the Revolutionary War.

As a part of the general centennial celebration in Illinois there were numerous celebrations at historic places July 4, especially notable being the Kaskaskia celebration and the Starved Rock pageant. The former was held at Chester and Fort Gage and included addresses by Governor Lowden and the Masque of Illinois, by Wallace Rice. August 26, the hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the first constitution, special exercises were held, which included addresses by Governor Lowden and former President Roosevelt. The greatest celebration of the year is to be held in Springfield in the first week in October, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the first governor of the state.

The legislative reference bureau of Illinois intends to bring out, under the general editorial direction of Dr. W. F. Dodd, a volume containing the three constitutions of Illinois, with annotations and introduction, and one reprinting the journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1848, printed originally in the *Springfield Register*. A third volume will contain a reprint of the territorial laws, beginning with the Northwest Territory.

Included in the volume of *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1917 are the following papers read at the annual meeting: Contemporary Vandalism, the annual address, by Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones; the Movement of the Population of Illinois, 1870-1910, by Professor Ernest L. Bogart; Illinois and the Underground Railroad to Canada, by Verna Cooley; Lincoln and the Presidential Election of 1864, by Professor A. C. Cole; and the article of Stephen A. Day concerning the Debs case, also found in the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society for July, 1917. The volume also contains a reprint, from the *Transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural Society*, vol. II. (1856-1857), of a paper on the Agricultural Resources of Southern Illinois, by John Reynolds.

Among the contents of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, July, 1917, are a paper by Stephen A. Day concerning a Celebrated Illinois Case that made History (the Debs case, 1894); a sketch of Thomas Beard, the founder of Beardstown, Ill., by Rev. P. C. Croll; one of Thomas Lippincott, a pioneer of 1818, together with a short diary of his journey from Pennsylvania, edited by President Charles H. Rammelkamp; a letter of Ninian Edwards to Nathaniel Pope, August, 1813; and a paper by Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, apropos of the centennial celebration, characterizing a "Hundred Years of Progress in Illinois".

Early in the present year the Illinois Catholic Historical Society was organized, partly as a result of the movement to commemorate the centennial of the state's admission into the Union. It has begun, with a June number, the issue of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, under the editorial direction of Mr. Joseph J. Thompson of Chicago. With analogous purposes, a committee of the Jewish Historical Society of Illinois is preparing a centennial history of the Jews of Illinois.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* begins in the March number the publication of a history of Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest, 1730-1807, by Albert V. Goodpasture. The same number contains an article by Charles C. Trabue on the Voluntary Emancipation of Slaves in Tennessee as reflected in the State's Legislation and Judicial Decisions. In the section of Documents appear sketches of Felix Grundy, Justice John Catron, and James K. Polk, taken from a diary of S. H. Laughlin, some of whose diaries were published in the issue of the *Magazine* for March, 1916.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has received the manuscript papers of John H. Tweedy, territorial delegate for Wisconsin in the 1840's, and for many years a leading lawyer and citizen of Milwaukee; also the letter-books of Hon. George P. Smith of Madison, prominent in legal and political affairs in the period from 1840 to 1870. The society has issued volume XXV. of its *Collections*, *An English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin* (Edward Bottomley). It also has in proof volume XXVI. of the *Collections*, which is the first volume of the *Documentary History of the Constitution of Wisconsin*, and a report on the public archives of the state, prepared by Theodore Blegen. Volume II. of the constitutional series will follow shortly. A second volume of the Calendar of the Draper Collection (Kentucky series) is in press; a volume relating to treaties with the Northwestern Indians is in preparation. The society has begun an extensive enterprise of copying with the photostat various files of early American newspapers published in the Middle West; it has arranged with the Missouri Historical Society for the reproduction of the files of Missouri newspapers still in existence down to 1825.

The June number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* prints three letters of the late Senator Paul O. Husting of Wisconsin, setting

forth his views at three critical moments of recent history. The first is dated May 14, 1915, a few days after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and discusses questions of international law and neutrality; the second, dated April 1, 1916, deals primarily with the question of embargo on munitions; the third, dated May 19, 1917, sets forth the fundamental purposes of the war against Germany. Other articles are: a sketch of Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth, by Charles A. Ingraham; and an examination of the Paul Revere Print of the Boston Massacre, by Miss Louise P. Kellogg. Some account is also given of the papers of Rev. Matthew Dinsdale (1815-1898) and of those of Dr. Azel Ladd, superintendent of public instruction in Wisconsin, 1851-1852, which have recently come into the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The September number has articles on the Bennett Law in Wisconsin, by Miss Kellogg, and My Recollections of Civil War Days, by Mrs. Lathrop Smith. The early history of the United States army is illustrated by an original journal of St. Clair's campaign, kept by Capt. Samuel Newman, U. S. A., and never heretofore published.

The Minnesota Historical Society has installed a photostat, and is now prepared to make, for a reasonable fee, photographic reproductions of material in its possession. The principal contribution to the May number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* is the address of Professor Lester B. Shippee at the annual meeting of the society in January on Social and Economic Effects of the Civil War with special Reference to Minnesota.

The July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a paper by Dan E. Clark on Frontier Defense in Iowa, 1850-1865, one by W. W. Gist on the Ages of the Soldiers in the Civil War, and one by Professor Louis B. Schmidt on the Influence of Wheat and Cotton on Anglo-American Relations during the Civil War.

In the series of the Historical Society of Iowa, *Iowa and War*, the June and July numbers are *The Mexican War*, by Cyril B. Upham, and *War Proclamations by Governor Harding* (1917 and 1918).

Messrs. Heath have issued a *History of Missouri*, by Professor E. M. Violette of the Kirkville Normal School.

Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days, vol. I., nos. 3 and 4 (double number, April and May), contains a number of sketches of pioneers and early settlers, an account of the first railroad excursion to Nebraska, also some account of the Union Club, organized in Brownville in 1863, characterized as the Civil War substitute for a council of defense.

The July number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* reprints from the June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* Professor Eugene C. Barker's paper on Stephen F. Austin. Other articles in the *Quarterly* are: Acapulco and the Manila Galleon, by William L. Schurz; a first installment of Reminiscences of the Terry Rangers, by

J. K. P. Blackburn; and the third installment of the Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832, edited by Professor Barker.

The July number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains an article by Charles M. Buchanan entitled the Evolution of an Indian Hero in France, being a sketch of Chief Se-at-thl; a bibliography of Isaac I. Stevens, by Rose M. Boening; a further selection from David Thompson's Journeys in the Spokane Country, edited by T. C. Elliott; a continuation of Professor Edmond S. Meany's account of the Origin of Washington Geographic Names; and a continuation of the proceedings of the Washington constitutional convention of 1878.

The Oregon Mission: the Story of how the Line was run between Canada and the United States, by Bishop James W. Bashford, is from the Abingdon Press.

The California Historical Survey Commission has just placed in the hands of the printer the copy for its *Guide to County Archives*, which will soon be published. The volume will be well illustrated with maps showing all the changes in county boundaries since the organization of the state. At the request of the State Council of Defense the Historical Survey Commission is preparing to co-operate with that body in supervising records and gathering information dealing with the war activities carried on within the state. Dr. Owen C. Coy, of Berkeley, Cal., is the executive officer of the commission.

Pasadena, California, by J. W. Wood (San Francisco, J. J. Newbegin) offers a full history of that city, dwelling especially upon the original organization of the Indiana colony in California.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The contents of the May number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* have been partially described by anticipation in these pages. The bibliographical matter supplied by Professor Charles E. Chapman, and which is to be completed in the August number, proves to be a description of some 207 *legajos* in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, 36 of them from the section called "Papeles de Estado", and the rest from that styled "Audiencias". The descriptions are a by-product of the work done by Dr. Chapman in preparing his *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Northwest*. That work, shortly to appear, is confined to the region suggested by its title. The present descriptions are prepared with a view to the interests of a wider group of historical scholars.

In *The Virgin Islands of the United States of America*, Mr. Luther K. Zabriskie (Putnam) gives a brief history of the islands, to which he adds a mass of information of a commercial nature, consular reports, import and export statistics, and the like.

The Rise of the Spanish-American Republics, by Professor W. S. Robertson of Illinois (Appleton) gives an account of the liberation of those countries from Spanish rule in the form of biographies of the great leaders of their revolutions.

Germany's peaceful penetration of South America can be followed in the naturalist Émile R. Wagner's *L'Allemagne et l'Amérique Latine* (Paris, Alcan).

The Hakluyt Society has recently issued part IV., book II., of *The War of Chiapas*, translated and edited by the late Sir Clements R. Markham, being the "Civil Wars of Peru", written by the sixteenth-century historian Pedro de Cieza de León.

Professor Rómulo D. Carbia and other members of the faculty of philosophy in the University of Buenos Aires have co-operated in the production of a *Manual de Historia de la Civilización Argentina*, of which the first volume has been published (Buenos Aires, Fransetti, 1917).

The influence of the Encyclopaedists on the revolutionists of Argentina is ably set forth by M. José P. Otero in *La Révolution Argentine, 1810-1816* (Paris, Bossard).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Salvador Massip, *The Discovery of America by the Chinese* (Inter-America, June); A. de Altolaiguirre y Duvalé, *La Patria de D. Cristóbal Colón, según las Actas Notariales de Italia* (Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, March); *id.*, *Los Argumentos aducidos para demostrar que Don Cristóbal Colón nació en Galicia* (*ibid.*, June); M. F. Vallette, *Work of the Spanish Friars on the American Continent in the Sixteenth Century* (American Catholic Quarterly Review, January); A. J. Morrison, *The Historical Farmer in America* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); Woodbridge Riley, *Early Free-Thinking Societies in America* (Harvard Theological Review, July); F. P. Renaut, *La Politique des États-Unis dans l'Amérique du Nord Espagnole, sous le Règne de Joseph Bonaparte, 1808-1814* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, February); J. S. Bassett, *The Significance of the Administration of Rutherford B. Hayes* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); C. R. Lingley, *Characteristics of President Cleveland* (Political Science Quarterly, June); P. Darcy, *L'Avant-guerre Pangermaniste aux États-Unis* (Correspondant, April 25); G. Lechartier, *Les Intrigues Allemandes aux États-Unis: la Mission du Comte Bernstorff et son Échec* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 15); Henry Rood, *Defeating the German Spy System in America* (Century Magazine, July); Nesmo, *Les Causes de l'Entrée en Guerre des États-Unis* (Revue Hebdomadaire, June 15); Waldo G. Leland, *America's First Year of War* (Quarterly Review, July); Lieutenant-Colonel D., *Au Front Américain: l'Organisation de l'Armée, les Soldats, les Officiers, leurs Idées sur la Guerre* (Correspondant, May 10); Julio Villoldo, *The Civilian Republic [Cuba]* (Inter-America, June).

The
American Historical Review

VAGARIES OF HISTORIANS¹

MAN has an instinctive curiosity concerning processes; though he has been baffled a thousand times in his search for ultimate causes, he turns eagerly to watch causes unfold. If he can not discover the *why* of things, he can observe with the utmost accuracy the *how* of things; and possibly he may be able, after a sufficiently ample investigation, to deduce the *why* from the *how*. The reason may be indirectly disclosed by the process.

There is another instinct strong in man, and that is his instinct for certitude. He does not rest tranquil amid doubts. The missing link in a chain of evidence or argument torments him, and if he can not find it, he busies himself in imagining what it ought to be like.

These two instincts have never been more active than during the last half century. You have only to glance through an approved history of the literature of any country in order to see with what perfect precision and assuredness the work is done. The sequence of cause and effect rolls on as smoothly as does the leather belt which turns the wheels in a factory. There are no gaps, no doubts, no hesitation. Take the history of American literature, for example, and see how simply Washington Irving is "accounted for", and then how naturally William Cullen Bryant followed him, and when you come to the New England School, how Emerson, and Hawthorne, and Longfellow, and Whittier, and Holmes, are beautifully related each to each in a fatal rack-and-pinion combination. There is an implied causal connection, and everything is so perfectly adjusted that you begin to infer that nature amuses herself by playing an unending ball-and-socket game.

If you allow your mind a little freedom, however, or even indulge in a little common sense—that most uncommon and little

¹ Presidential address prepared to be read before the American Historical Association, at Cleveland, December 28, 1918.

valued of human attributes—you must perceive that the causal relationship among those American authors was purely imaginary. Emerson might have flourished and have been the complete Emerson whom we know, although Holmes and Hawthorne had never existed; and so not one of them was important, much less indispensable, to the development of the others. I do not mean, of course, that being contemporaries and acquaintances they had no superficial influences on each other, but I do mean that they were structurally independent.

Now to write literary history in this fashion is to falsify. The persons who produce it mean no harm; they are simply the unconscious victims of the instinct for process and of the instinct for precision; having only half learned the theory of evolution, they inevitably misuse it. Six or eight authors of a given generation loom up before them; what can be more certain than that these authors have some occult evolutionary interdependence?

Thus do personalities, the most fluid and elusive of essences, become petrified and standardized and made to fit into one another, and into the pattern which the historian has devised, as if they were pieces of metal, moulded into interlocking parts of a soulless machine.

The same calamity befalls a national history, or any episode in it, in the hands of historians of this sort. They, too, must account for everything, and carefully dovetail one incident into another, leaving no gap, for fear they may be thought undiligent, or inaccurate. So we have from them a perfectly consecutive story without breach or suture, the product, though the writers know it not, of our common craving for certitude. No class of our historical writers seems more prone to this defect than do the documentarians—by whom I mean those who devote themselves almost entirely to the inspection of documents, which they come sometimes to worship as fetishes. They withdraw themselves so far from actual life that they fail to understand that the written document alone is not the sole material of history, nor is it always the best.

The historian comes to his work with many prepossessions which must, if he gives them free play, lead him to strange and unexpected results. It is as if some demon urged him not to use his own eyes but to wear colored glasses; and as the colors vary, so will his pictures. The prepossessions of race, of creed, of a political party, or of an economic school are all temptations which he must resist. A judicious reader will not, of course, be deceived by them; indeed they will often help him to know more intimately than he otherwise could the principles and the desires which sway the

zealots of creed or party. The writer who strives to be neutral or parades his impartiality may often lead us farther from the truth than does the partizan whose very zeal discloses it.

But there are still larger prepossessions which I may call cosmic. These are based on your ultimate conception of the universe, on what you think life is, and on your duties and relations towards it. I need hardly say that as long as man was regarded not only as the central object for which the earth was created, but also as the very sum and crown of life in the visible universe, the historians in the bonds of these prepossessions made a very different story of man's deeds than anybody would make now. The Jews, for instance, looked upon themselves as the Chosen People, and in the Old Testament they pieced together fact, tradition, myth, poetry, religious and civil laws, and even sanitary and hygienic ordinances so as to prove their assumption. The early chronicles of other peoples—of Egyptians and Assyrians, of Babylonians and Chinese—have similar features. Even the open-minded and keen-sighted Greeks did not escape from assigning to Hellas supreme importance: the gods of Hellas were to them indisputably the highest of all deities, just as they themselves, the Hellenes, were first among men.

When we read the works of the Jews or Greeks, or other ancient peoples, we must remember, therefore, that this conviction of primacy lay in the back of the mind of each of them. It came to be taken for granted; it ceased to be debated or discussed.

Substituting creeds for races, we find just such a prepossession in the case of Christians and Mohammedans, and later, when Christians became divided, between Protestants and Roman Catholics. There was always the primal assumption that one creed was orthodox and that the supporters of all the other creeds were heretics. Likewise, among races yours was civilized and all the others were barbarian.

In the nineteenth century, however, came the revelation, now generally accepted among intelligent peoples, that the earth is not the centre of the universe, and consequently man's cosmic position has completely changed. His history, at least so far as it concerns ultimates, must be wholly revised. As we look out at the Milky Way on a clear frosty night, we no longer modestly assume that its millions of stars and all the other suns and constellations were created and are whirling forever on their immeasurable circuits for the benefit of us mere men. Not only the scale by which we measure has changed, but the degree and the purpose.

The modern key word for solving the enigma is evolution, development, growth, not special creation according to theological

assertions and guesses. After trying this key in every lock during the past sixty or seventy years, we find, as it seems to me, that it has opened to us not the secret of life itself, but the process by which we and all other living things, and all forms of matter, live.

Inevitably, the study of history and its writing felt the change and felt it so imperiously that for the last half-century historical students and writers have sought deliberately to record the process of evolution in human affairs. No doubt, the formula helps us to advance a long way towards truth, and it supersedes all the fantastic and arbitrary formulas which men employed earlier. But the question for us now is, how far should we employ it? Shall we make it so paramount that it obtrudes? Should it not rather be like the skeleton in man and most vertebrate animals, which really determines their form and motions but is concealed beneath a covering of flesh? The turtle, to be sure, wears its skeleton on its outside, but the turtle is, after all, neither the highest nor the most beautiful kind of animal. And may we not be misled by employing too rigidly in the human field formulas which apply best to the domain of matter, to the field of chemistry, for example, or of physics, or of astronomy?

I have long had my doubts as to the accuracy or propriety of calling history a science. We investigate historical material in the same way that a chemist investigates his material, but we must not therefore assume that the two sorts of materials are identical, or that the employment of similar methods by historians and chemists makes history a science in the same sense that chemistry is one. In these matters we are apt to quarrel over the mere words, the names of things, rather than over the things themselves behind the words. But in general I feel that the less an historian has to do with science, the less he deliberately imitates and assumes scientific aims and conclusions, the better.

Recently, on re-reading Henry Adams's *A Letter to American Teachers of History*,² I was confirmed in my conviction. How many know that extraordinary *Letter* by our master ironist—and, may I not also say, our master historian? There are passages in it so cryptic and other parts in which the intricacies of physics and dynamics are treated with such a nimble raillery, that I am not sure that I wholly understand them. But Henry Adams's main thesis is clear enough. He had come very early on the theory of evolution and on the Darwinian illustrations of it, and then his eager and inquisitive mind had turned from organic nature to the study of mathematical and physical laws. Before you can know an animal

² Privately printed in 1910.

or a man thoroughly you must know the laws of gravity, embolism, and all the other processes which control his physical growth.

For a few decades the scientific world rested complacently on the new demonstration of the law of the conservation of energy. Now, according to Mr. Adams's view, history written by anyone who understood this law should in some way embody it, just as history written about the Saracens should reveal the Mohammedan creed, which formed the background of their life and actions. The revelation would not necessarily be formal or definite or vivid, but you would always be able to infer what it was that made the Saracens unlike other races.

Chronos, however, still devours his children as voraciously as he did when the old Greek myth-maker first caught him at this cannibalistic work. Hardly was the great law of the conservation of energy accepted as final, before William Thomson, better known to posterity as Lord Kelvin, flung into the scientific world his law of the dissipation of mechanical energy, which had been, in fact, propounded as early as 1824 by Carnot. According to Kelvin's later definitive statement his law was as follows:

1. There is at present in the material world a universal tendency to the dissipation of mechanical energy.

2. Any restoration of mechanical energy, without more than an equivalent of dissipation, is impossible in inanimate material processes, and is probably never effected by means of organized matter, either endowed with vegetable life or subjected to the will of an animated creature.

3. Within a finite period of time past, the earth must have been, and within a finite period of time to come, the earth must again be, unfit for the habitation of man as at present constituted, unless operations have been, or are to be performed, which are impossible under the laws to which the known operations going on at present in the material world are subject.

Mr. Adams devotes two hundred pages to a keen and often dazzling examination of this law, and of the stupendous deductions to be drawn from it. We need not follow him in the details: He may or may not be right in such a matter as suggesting that all fossil traces of the missing link which connected man with his simian forerunners have been buried beneath the polar ice-cap which gradually covered the earthly paradise existing round the North Pole before the Glacial Period. The upshot of his wit and analysis and argument and suggestion is destructive; for he implies that while the theory of evolution on its pleasant side pointed to the upward progress of humanity, it registered on its ruthless

side the fated extinction of individuals and species, of tribe and race.

How does all this affect the historian? First of all, Henry Adams would have the historian wisely instructed in the foundations of science, almost to such a degree that he might with a little extra study qualify as a teacher of physics. Next, the historian, being saturated with Kelvin's law of the dissipation of energy, would so construct his history as to make it appear as an illustration of the working of that law. If I understand him, an adequate history of the Peloponnesian War or of the American Revolution would disclose how each was an experiment, so to speak, not merely in politics and war, but also in the dissipation of energy. There would be obvious difficulties in the way. What means of measuring this dissipation would the historian have? If Kelvin's law is true, there must have been less energy in 1865, when our Civil War ended, than in 1861, when it began. The energy dissipated during these four years was not only human but material, solar, sidereal, cosmic. Who can compute it?

And, after all, why should we inject into our description of human affairs the law of dissipation rather than the law of gravitation, or of capillary attraction, or the binomial theorem? So far as any of these scientific truths, or any other, affected the conduct of men we may notice them, but not otherwise. The discoveries of Copernicus and the laws framed by Kepler, when they affected religion and theology and led to the efforts of hierarchs to persecute those persons who believed them, were as humanly pertinent as was any of the dogmas which caused religious wars. But in general, scientific facts, theories, and doctrines, should be reserved for the histories of science.

So far as Henry Adams reaches a conclusion, I may sum it up in his own words:

If the entire universe, in every variety of active energy, organic and inorganic, human or divine, is to be treated as clock-work that is running down, society can hardly go on ignoring the fact forever. Hitherto it has often happened that two systems of education, like the Scholastic and Baconian, could exist side by side for centuries . . . by no more scientific device than that of the shutting their eyes to each other; but the universe has been terribly narrowed by thermodynamics. Already History and Sociology gasp for breath.

The department of History needs to concert with the departments of biology, sociology, and psychology some common formula or figure to serve their students as a working model for the study of the vital energies; and this figure must be brought into accord with the figures or formulas used by the departments of physics and mechanics to serve their students as models for the working of physico-chemical and me-

chanical energies. Without the adhesion of physicists, the model would cause greater scandal than though the contradictions were silently ignored as now; but the biologists—or, at least, the branches of science concerned with humanity—will find great difficulty in agreeing on any formula which does not require from physics the abandonment, in part, of the second law of thermodynamics. The mere formal exception of Reason from the express operation of the law, as a matter of teaching in the workshop, is not enough. Either the law must be abandoned in respect to Vital Energy altogether, or Vital Energy must abandon Reason altogether as one of its forms, and return to the old dilemma of Descartes.

Here is science with a vengeance, enough one would suppose to satisfy the most zealous professor of scientific history, and much more than enough to tax the learning and wits of most of those who write and study any history. In reading Henry Adams's astonishing tract, I cannot help suspecting at times that he is making fun of us historians; for he proposes, as I think you would agree with me, something which is not only impossible for anyone to carry out but which he himself never even attempted to carry out. In all the nine volumes of his *American History*, is there a hint of the second law of thermodynamics? Can you discover the slightest trace of a common formula for history and physical chemistry?

I find, on the contrary, Henry Adams's annals of Jefferson and Madison packed full of *human* stuff. He is not content merely to mention a man by name; he draws that man's portrait. The interactions of persons, the rivalries of political parties, the intrigues of competing groups, the clashing of international diplomacy, are not described as examples of abstract laws, but as workings of the human will through concrete human beings. And how delicately and surely are his descriptions drawn! How admirably he probes the baffling complexes of character! And with what a wealth of allusion, borrowed equally from history and literature, he enriches his portraits and views! His reflections tinged with sarcasm, which springs now from his pessimism and now from his irony, complete this masterly specimen of historical writing.

In other words, Henry Adams refutes by his practice the theories which he professed. He was in the prime of life, in the years round fifty, when he wrote the *History*. He was twenty years older when he wrote the *Letter to Teachers of History*. Some men grow more abstract as they grow old; their interest in persons gives way to a greater interest in laws. I do not say that this was the case with Mr. Adams. Certainly, his *Mont St. Michel and Chartres* and his *Education*, written when he was sixty and over, have no mathemat-

ical chill and no thermodynamical abstractions about them.³ But he was a man possessed from youth to age with a passion for knowing the ultimate truth. Not having found that in religion, he turned to science, and when science, through Lord Kelvin, revealed to him the law of the dissipation of energy, he believed that in that law he touched ultimate truth. And so he exerted himself to trace the operation of that law in organic nature, including man, not less than in the inorganic world.

Your own view of life and human destiny must be greatly affected if, instead of believing in the upward progress of mankind as it develops on the earth and in its limitless perfectibility in other worlds, you interpret Kelvin's law as Henry Adams did; that is, if you regard the energy of the universe as a clock that is slowly running down with the certainty that after millions, or it may be billions, of years its last ounce of power will be dissipated and there will be absolutely *nothing* left. The prospect does not cheer; and yet I submit that even the historian who holds this view has no more business to mix it up with the history he writes, than the painter who believes in annihilation has to let that belief interfere with the portrait he is painting of a beautiful woman.

No matter what a man does, he will doubtless reveal himself in ways he little suspects; I insist, however, that the historian should no more convert his history of a period or episode in the life of a people into a proof of Kelvin's law of thermodynamics than into a disproof of quadratic equations. The time may come when human affairs may be described no longer by words and sentences, but by a system of symbols or notation similar to those used in algebra and chemistry. Then it may be possible, as Mr. Adams suggests, to invent a common formula for thermodynamics and history. I once had sent to me by a stranger a conclusive demonstration, which I could not refute, in the form of a combination of trapezoids, polygons, and parallelopipedons, of the doctrine of the Trinity. Perhaps I ought to add that the man was crazy; but his diagram taught me never to assert that anything is impossible.

You may say that no sensible man would attempt to write history as a demonstration of Kelvin's law of dissipation; and yet you may insist that history is, nevertheless, a science and should be written as a science. You may, for instance, have been fascinated by that remarkable philosophic guesser, Giovanni Battista Vico, whose fertile and luminous suggestions lighted up a murky age as a

³ To be strictly accurate, Henry Adams, in the final chapters of the *Education*, refers to his excursions into science; but these chapters are hardly read with the most profit or remembered with the most pleasure.

shower of meteorites lights up a November evening. Convinced that his law of cycles in human development is well founded, you may wish to show this by your treatment of some historical theme. How will you do this? Where will you find the inevitable sequence of events which alone could make your proof scientific? What right have you to assume that progress is a regular moving forward? How do you know that it may not be an advance like that of the knight in chess? Is Vico's series of cycles, which so captivate the imagination, more than a glorified metaphor? Is it really more scientific than the old, old simile that this life is like the chrysalis, and that death is the happy liberation of the imprisoned butterfly into another ampler life?

But why should we seek farther for evidence of the danger of trying to fit history to any theory when we, and the whole world, have been struggling to break loose from the coils of a misinterpreted phrase? I do not believe that the atrocious war into which the Germans plunged Europe in August, 1914, and which has subsequently involved all lands and all peoples, would ever have been fought, or at least would have attained its actual gigantic proportions, had the Germans not been made mad by the theory of the survival of the fittest. The Germans are the most amazing doctrinaires the world has ever seen; they are also the greatest pedants. Whatever subject attracts their attention, obsesses them; and to be obsessed means to lose contact with the normal measures and perspectives of life.

So the phrase, "the survival of the fittest", obsessed them. Studying only the animal kingdom, they concluded that fitness was won by and depended upon brute force. The species possessing the greatest amount of force was, therefore, the fittest. Any of us, though we be not naturalists, can see how untrue this conclusion is, even when applied to the animal world. Frail creatures survive in spite of all the efforts of the strong creatures which prey upon them; and some of the frail have a far longer geologic ancestry than has the lion or the elephant. Insect tribes which flit hither and thither at the will of a passing breeze, date back aeons on aeons to conditions when no mammal trod the earth. If brute force alone were the test of fitness to survive, how could this be?

But we see, of course, that the vital consideration is, what do you mean by fitness? The fishes have a certain fitness which enables them to swim and to live under water; snakes have another by which they glide; insects and birds are fitted to fly; animals and man to walk and run. If you examine all these creatures, on the physical side alone, you find that something besides strength, phys-

ical force, has accounted for their being able to adjust themselves to their environment. Now, when we discover that at a certain point in mankind's evolution *moral* considerations come in, we see that as the race develops morals play a more and more important part in determining fitness to survive. The higher races, like the higher individual types, cease to regard the possession of power—brute power, enabling them to kill or enslave their neighbors—as their final aim. In a family the brothers who are physically stronger do not beat their weaker sisters; in society, we do not allow the brawny man of six feet two, merely because he is big, to persecute or destroy the little man of five feet. Civilization lives by ideals, by standards with which the girth of a man's chest or the thrust of his thighs has nothing to do.

The Germans, however, in their obsession, left all this out. If Hindenburg, colossal in form and brutish in nature, could knock down, trample, and destroy Goethe, shall we say that he thereby could prove that he was fitter than Goethe to survive? At any rate, in the imaginary conflict, he survived, and Goethe didn't.

This obsession it is which underlies the German ambition to rule the world. Being a very conceited and a very envious people, the Germans were easily led by their masters into believing that they were the fittest of all peoples to survive. Their men of science assured them that biology established that, and they were too devout materialists to question a supposed biological law, especially one which so flattered themselves. To convert them through education and military training into a warlike people, to persuade them that war is the highest duty, the noblest pursuit of man, to poison their conscience by teaching them that in war neither morals nor humanity have any place, these were easy tasks for the ambitious Prussian war-lords and their docile servants. Thus, we see the damnation into which those are led who misinterpret a phrase, or a law, if you will, and would make history and biology their accomplices in the most frightful crimes ever committed against laws human and divine.

Let us rather strive to redeem history from the bonds of scientific formulas, and of scientific purposes. Let us strive to humanize it. In so doing, the historian will abdicate no high and hard-won office; on the contrary, he will rise to the full glory of his mission. If he must have some watchword to guide him, let that watchword be "Man the Measure"—*man*, not the laws which apply to the animal kingdom, or to unthinking and soulless matter. Human nature is the substance in which the historian must work. He must try to discover how the human will—that force more mysterious

than electricity—shapes and directs the deeds of men. These deeds it is which make up the web of history. In this web, one deed leads to and determines the next, one event succeeds another in what seems to be a fated chain of cause and effect.

May we not say that there are three classes of historians? First, those who fix their attention on externals, that is, on deeds and events which are visible to everyone; next, those who search for the inner motive, the operation of the will behind the outward acts; and finally, those who, through their description of the outer, interpret the inner causes. I do not mean to imply that an historian deliberately, or even consciously, enrolls himself in one or another of these classes. His case is like that of a painter who expresses his temperament through color or through line according to his native talent. Of course, I would not imply that the division between one class of historian and another is always rigid; on the contrary, the classes often overlap.

As every historical student who has done more than scrape the surface of his subject knows, he encounters his chief difficulty when he deals with motives. It is easy enough to epitomize or paraphrase a file of consecutive documents; the real task is to search out the motives which gave rise to them. These are often unrecorded, or elusive, needing to be deduced or divined by some special instinct in the historian. This power of divination distinguishes the physician who is a master in diagnosis from his fellows who may be even more learned than he, but who lack it; this truth applies to historians also.

Those who regard history as the manifestation of will reap the richest compensation in its study. The very uncertainty of its operations, the gaps in the evidence, the *impasses*, the contradictions which need to be adjusted, keep the mind continually on the alert, and tease the wits to discover a solution. When we deal with history in the mass, over long periods of time, we are less likely to discern manifestations of will. Multitudes seem to move by a collective momentum, as a flood does, without foresight or choice, at the mercy of brute, material laws. Only when we come to that stage in human development where individuals emerge from the vast indistinct masses and lead them, or at least visibly influence them, does will confront us. This is what makes the history of Athens so much more significant and interesting than that of ancient Assyria or of Egypt; this is what gives modern and contemporary history, abounding in many well-defined individuals, its absorbing attraction for us; this is what makes biography the crowning flower of history, as portraiture is of painting.

Even if we were able to search the hearts of men to the bottom, and to know all their motives, there would still remain what we call chance, or fortune, to disconcert and puzzle us. Sometimes we can see plainly enough from what quarter the stroke of chance comes, but we never can *foresee* it, and it is this inability of the historian to foresee which differentiates him from the students of exact science. The Athenian general, Nicias, refused to withdraw his army from Syracuse at a time when it might have been saved. His reason was that an eclipse occurred, and he regarded this as a bad omen. If the Greeks had known more astronomy, they could have predicted the eclipse; further, the Athenians might well have known how Nicias was influenced by such portents, so that there was really no chance in the affair; but at the time it seemed as if the Athenians were the sport of unpredictable fortune. If President Wilson, or Mr. Lloyd George, were to die to-night, the course of world events would inevitably be deflected, but in what direction, or how far, we cannot foresee. Thus, the caprices of fortune, added to the difficulty of fathoming human motives, increase the labors and pique the zest of the historian.

It may be that Sesostris was as great an individual as Napoleon, and that his conquests and government were as significant as Napoleon's; but we shall never believe it because we shall never know about Rameses the Second a thousandth part of what we know about Napoleon. I am aware that among some historical students today who regard history as the interaction of impersonal, abstract laws, Napoleon is looked upon as a "negligible quantity", but I am unskilled in using either the telescope or the microscope when it comes to examining human deeds and motives. A man's eyes are the only proper instrument for scrutinizing men. Not merely Napoleon, but mankind, and our earth itself, must seem negligible, if their existence is known at all to the other denizens of the sidereal wilderness; but the historian has no more to do with the limitless perspectives of astronomy than with the elusive intricacies of thermodynamics.

Let me repeat that "Man the Measure" should be the guiding motto for those who would write history in human terms.

We historians have the noblest of callings. Unlike the dramatist or the epic poet, we do not invent our plot nor create the characters in the play. The Creator of all things supplies these. It is for us to discern them accurately, to describe them with all the truth there is in us, and to make them live again; for *life* is the one indispensable God-given essence, and it must throb through our copies as it did through their models. Years ago, Bonnat, the French painter,

was making a portrait of an American, and he came so unpleasantly close and looked so hard and intently that the American drew back and asked what it meant. "Good heavens!" replied Bonnat, "I am competing with God, and I must see everything which He has put into your face."

We historians also compete with God, and we must leave nothing undone to make our poor transcripts of His masterpieces true to the divine originals.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

THE WAR-SCARE OF 1875

IN the *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* of Prince Bismarck there is no chapter more interesting than the one which bears the title, "Intrigen", and none which better displays the great chancellor's disregard for so small a matter as the truth. In that chapter, sandwiched between the affairs of Arnim and Eulenburg, the better to enhance its insignificance and dishonorable connections, is to be found Bismarck's brief and contemptuous account of the crisis of 1875. It is a bold statement, though not an exaggeration, to say that hardly a sentence of that forceful and convincing narrative can escape being branded, when the evidence is weighed, as a more or less deliberate falsehood. The incidents with which it deals are certainly very perplexed and obscure at the best; but they would probably be much less so to-day, if this central character had never made public his statement of the case.

The material actually available on the subject is indeed very slight, but it is constantly being added to from various sources. One of the chief of these, the diplomatic correspondence of Gontaut-Biron, the French ambassador at Berlin, has been drawn upon by Hanotaux, and also by André Dreux in his account of the last years of that diplomat's mission. From time to time other contributions are made, as in the recently published biographies of Sir Robert Morier, of Lord Lyons, and of Count Andrassy, and in the memoirs of Prince Hohenlohe.¹ The general trend of recent accounts has been on the whole toward exonerating Bismarck from the charge first brought against him of having deliberately plotted the destruction of France; but at the same time the effect of the new evidence is to discredit more and more the German chancellor's own account, which is that he was himself the victim of a vast conspiracy intended to blacken his reputation and to undermine his policies.

About the only general introductory observation that can be made as to the incident of 1875 is that there was a "scare"—which has been singled out as "the scare" from a whole series of similar alarms extending over a considerable period of years. How frightened the various parties really were, how much foundation existed

¹ Professor Serge Goriainov had ready for the press a year ago a documentary study of the affair which would clear up many points upon which little more than conjecture can now be made. It is only the uncertain fate of his manuscript which may make this present study worth while.

for their fears, who was responsible for spreading the alarm—these are the questions which require to be considered.

Bismarck's own story begins with a misstatement to the effect that, at the beginning of the year, the French ambassador at Berlin made a trip to Petrograd for the purpose of arranging with the Russian chancellor, Gorchakov, the details of the plot.² His choice of a scapegoat is an unfortunate one to begin with, for the charge is far from being in accord with the character of the man against whom it is made. Of a refined and sensitive nature, profoundly affected by the humiliation which had befallen his country and wholly devoted to the task of maintaining her international dignity, Gontaut-Biron was the type of a conscientious and painstaking diplomat, and not at all the man to engineer the gigantic *coup de théâtre* into the sources of which we are here introduced. Bismarck did not shrink from pressing this charge to the ambassador's face in an extremely painful interview which took place at the end of the year. Although reduced to silence by the reply, supported by circumstances in the nature of proof, that Gontaut had not been in Russia since nearly two years before, the chancellor is troubled by no scruples in reviving the story for public enlightenment. As to the visit which actually did occur, in February, 1874, there is no doubt that it was the occasion for discussion of the danger of a new war with Germany; and Gontaut records that Gorchakov expressed himself in a manner highly reassuring to France;³ but the whole connection of the incident with those of 1875 is too remote to deserve particular attention.

The insistence upon this affair in the *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* has somewhat the air of being designed to obscure the importance of a later mission, the fact of which cannot be disputed, although its object has been much discussed. That Radowitz, a confidant of Bismarck, the recently appointed minister to Athens, and a diplomat of much too high a standing to be used on mere temporary missions without some higher end in view, had been sent, in February, 1875, to fill the post at Petrograd vacated by the illness of Prince Reuss, was matter of common knowledge and alarm to the entire diplomatic world. Suspicions led to inquiries and inquiries to the formulation of the account that Radowitz had been sent to bribe Russia for a free hand against France by the offer of a free hand in the Orient. Such was the story obtained by Gontaut from the wife of a Russian chamberlain and by General

² Bismarck, *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* (Stuttgart, 1898), II. 172.

³ André Dreux, *Dernières Années de l'Ambassade en Allemagne de M. Gontaut-Biron* (Paris, 1907), pp. 48-49.

Le Flô from the court rumors at Petrograd.⁴ Lord Odo Russell, the English ambassador at Berlin, and Dr. Geffcken, close friend of the crown prince, also have it from sources unnamed.⁵ Bismarck and his apologists have never succeeded in explaining the story away nor in offering a satisfactory one to take its place. Wertheimer, in his life of Andrassy, basing his account on the Radowitz despatches themselves, gives only the impression in the end that the sounding of Russia was very covertly conducted, and does not dispel the suspicion that something very like the proposals with which rumor credited him were actually the basis of his negotiations with the Russian court.⁶ At all events, Radowitz came back empty-handed when Prince Reuss was able again to relieve him from the post. His connection with the affair of 1875 is far from finished, however, for he was soon to get his master into difficulties even more serious and harder to explain away.

Apart from the mission of Radowitz, there was no lack of ground for uneasiness in diplomatic circles as to Germany's intentions toward France. At no epoch, indeed, since the treaty of Frankfort can we fairly say that apprehensions on that score were completely absent. Bismarck himself saw to that. Considerably taken aback by France's rapid recovery from her disasters and convinced that the idea of revenge was always uppermost in her national consciousness, he was constantly bent upon making her realize the hopelessness of those dreams and her dependence upon the good-will of her powerful neighbor for the very right to exist. He let slip no opportunity of declaring that she would never even be allowed to bring any bellicose plans to maturity, but that the mere indication of their existence would be the signal for her complete and sudden destruction. "We wish to keep the peace", he told Hohenlohe in 1874, "but if the French so order their preparations that in five years they will be ready and determined to strike, then in three years we shall begin the war."⁷ Not that the great chancellor could ever have seriously considered the possibility of France's attaining to sufficient military strength to dare enter upon the conflict single-handed; but he had also to consider that her posi-

⁴ Dreux, pp. 115-116; E. Flourens, *Alexandre III.* (Paris, 1894), p. 300, Le Flô to Decazes, April 21, 1875.

⁵ Mrs. Rosslyn Wemyss, *Memoirs and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Morier* (London, 1911), II. 334; Geffcken, "Die Russisch-Französische Allianz und der Dreibund in Geschichtlicher Beleuchtung", *Deutsche Revue*, November, 1892, pp. 161-162.

⁶ Eduard von Wertheimer, *Graf Julius Andrassy* (Stuttgart, 1910-1913), II. 225.

⁷ Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, *Denkwürdigkeiten* (Stuttgart, 1907), II. 107.

tion as a possible factor in his "nightmare of coalitions" would make any accessions to her strength, however insufficient in themselves to cause alarm, significant as adding to her attractiveness in soliciting allies. So it was that Bismarck, either from nervousness or from calculation, fell into the bullying attitude toward France which instilled such deep and bitter resentment into the souls of the Frenchmen of his generation and which contributed largely to keep alive the unholy fires of national hatred between the two peoples. Utterances such as that quoted by Hohenlohe were only too frequent—frequent enough to keep anxiety from ever dying down. The chancellor seemed determined that no French statesman should ever go to bed at night sure of not having to face a crisis with Germany on the morrow.

Anxiety had risen sufficiently high in 1874 over the affair of the mandates of the French bishops—a side-issue of the *Kulturkampf* then well under way. In the spring of 1875 had come a fresh crop of war-rumors, this time in connection with Belgium, which had also had the misfortune to become involved in the ecclesiastical difficulties of the young empire. The French government expressed its uneasiness regarding the general situation when, on March 11, the Duc Decazes drew the attention of Lord Lyons, then British ambassador at Paris, to three incidents of recent occurrence. These were: Germany's note to Belgium, the sharp tone of her communication of it to France, and the publication of an imperial decree prohibiting the export of horses.⁸ The last had come about in consequence of rumors that the French war office had been trying to place large contracts. Disquieting though the impression was which these three incidents made all together, it was still no more than an aggravation of a state of affairs to which Europe had become more or less accustomed; and there was far from being anything in the nature of a real "scare" in the atmosphere.

However, more serious disturbances were not long in making themselves apparent; and it was France herself who dared call up the storm. The military law of March 10, the famous "Law of the Fourth Battalions", was perhaps a salutary and even a necessary measure in completing the organization of the new republic; but to Germany's morbidly excited susceptibilities on such matters it could only spell one thing—that was, preparation for revenge. The Duc de Broglie, who himself voted on the law, writes that no one in the Chamber had any thought of such an interpretation being placed upon it, and that its final form was given it only as the re-

⁸ Newton, *Lord Lyons* (London, 1913), II. 68.

sult of an eleventh-hour amendment designed to provide for the numerous officers who had attained their grades in the recent war. He adds that it was prevented from leading to any material augmentation of the total forces by a further amendment introduced by the minister of finance, which, in consequence of the increase of the number of battalions in a regiment from three to four, cut down the number of companies in a battalion from six to four.⁹ Viewed superficially, the law was certainly a formidable one; and the German military authorities at once calculated an increase in the French forces of 144,000 men. Calculations on the basis of battalions and companies are always more or less uncertain; but the German estimate was undoubtedly pretty wide of the mark. That of the *Avenir Militaire*, which placed the increase at 28,000, is also open to question, but is probably nearer the fact.

The opportunity thus extended to the German military pedants and apostles of the doctrine of preventive war to find in the new law a confirmation of their most pessimistic views was none the less a rare one and was amply improved. Their croakings seem this time to have taken effect even in the highest quarters. The emperor expressed his conviction that France was preparing an attack; and Bismarck, in a long conversation with Hohenlohe, canvassed the various possibilities of coalitions against Germany, displaying particular concern as to an alliance between France and Russia.¹⁰ The war-rumors were also not long in finding their way into the public press, though the interval between the passing of the law and the opening of the newspaper campaign in Germany which followed was of sufficient length to warrant suspicion as to the spontaneity of the articles which appeared. The first gun of this campaign was fired on March 30 by the *Nationalzeitung*, which denounced the "fourth battalion" as a creation *ad hoc*, indicating a sudden effort rather than a desire for normal development. On April 5, the *Kölnische Zeitung* entered into the discussion of France's prospects for alliances, laying the stress upon her hopes in the direction of Austria and Italy. On the 8th all these ideas, combined and greatly reinforced in emphasis, appeared in the famous article of the *Berlin Post* entitled, "Ist der Krieg in Sicht?" This article, couched in the boldest and most authoritative terms, was read with alarm both in and out of Germany, and was at once attributed to the inspiration of the German chancellery. Almost a year later, in the Reichstag, Bismarck disclaimed vehemently all connection with the affair; but

⁹ Albert, Duc de Broglie, *La Mission de M. de Gontaut-Biron* (Paris, 1896), pp. 185-188.

¹⁰ Hohenlohe, II. 152.

this denial, so far from silencing the comment of posterity, met instant contradiction on the spot from his able and fearless critic, Windthorst. The *Post*, while not one of the most intimate and officially nourished of Bismarck's "reptiles", was nevertheless an organ well adapted to the privateering service of taking up the more dark and casual of his hints and developing them at the risk of incurring official reprimand and disavowal if the outcome proved too embarrassing. Most of the ideas of the article had already appeared in journals the connection of which with the government was even more direct; but this estimate of the situation placed before the public in the form of a definite warning what the others had only ventured to suggest. The comment of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* which followed on April 11, and of which the source is hardly to be questioned, was far from being calculated to dispel the alarm. The suspicions expressed by the *Post* regarding Austria and Italy were dismissed as groundless; but all its statements with respect to France were fully approved as warranted by the facts. The political correspondent of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* also took the articles as the text of his communication dated April 12, in which he developed at length the danger to Germany constituted by France's latest moves and the justification of eliminating it by war if it continued. "When the moment shall have arrived", he concluded, "for us to place before France the choice between disarmament and war, rests with the Chancellor and Moltke to determine." Accustomed as the world had become to such utterances in German circles, this burst of warlike talk, coming at a moment when the situation was already tense, could not fail to arouse some serious misgivings. Lord Odo Russell, while himself attempting to make light of these fears, reported to his government that most of the other foreign representatives at Berlin felt that war was actually in the air.¹¹

Gontaut-Biron, returning at this moment to his post from a vacation, had to face a situation delicate in the extreme. The question of armaments is one which touches a state in its most vital interests, and in which outside interference is the most highly unwelcome and the most easily conducive to a conflict. The French government was in no position to assume an attitude of defiance, and resigned itself to go as far as possible on the road of conciliation without actually retracting any of the measures which it had adopted. Its ambassador presented himself, on April 15, immediately after his arrival in Berlin, to von Bülow, the foreign secre-

¹¹ Newton, II. 72. Russell to Derby, April 10, 1875.

tary, with the fullest explanations and assurances regarding the effects of the new military law and data establishing the falsity of the alleged contracts of the Ministry of War with German horse-dealers. The secretary declared that his government was completely satisfied on all points and that the fear of war expressed in irresponsible newspapers was wholly illusory, closing the interview with the pious wish that peace might reign between the two countries for a hundred years. In the evening of the same day, the ambassador met the German emperor at a ball and was very graciously received by him, though without any notable expression of opinion on political affairs. The French military attaché, Polignac, was more favored, for it was on this occasion that the emperor addressed to him the remark, "On a voulu nous brouiller", explaining himself by mentioning some of the recent newspaper articles, and concluding firmly that now all was finished and the danger entirely passed.¹²

For the moment the incident appeared, in fact, to have been closed, although the surly tone in which the German press took up the reconciliation was expressive of disappointment rather than of satisfaction. That the political horizon was, however, far from clear was evidenced by the despatch of a second note to Belgium on April 16; and the storm which had threatened France soon proved also never to have been dispelled at all. Only its mutterings, now dying down in the public press, were to renew themselves in another and even more menacing fashion. Hardly a week after Gontaut's interview with von Bülow, he received intimations from various sources that the chancellor was not in the least disposed to allow the matter of his discontent to be forgotten. Some of the most disquieting warnings came from the Austrian embassy, usually so chary in communicating its private views. The Austrian ambassador, Count Károlyi, interpreted the recent newspaper campaign as an admonition to France that she would never be allowed to complete any real preparations for an attack and that, once Germany was convinced such preparations were under way, she would seize her own moment for beginning the war.¹³ The departing military attaché, Count Welsersheimb, expressed his conviction that the German government still held the view that France was going too fast and too far with her military programme, and was determined to put pressure upon her in every possible way to procure a modification in the recent laws.¹⁴ The president of the Council of Bavaria

¹² Dreux, pp. 85-87. Gontaut to Decazes, April 17, 1875.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96. Gontaut to Decazes, April 21, 1875.

was still more definite in estimating the situation. In a talk with the French minister, Lefebvre de Béhaine, over Bismarck's designs toward France, he referred first to the Belgian trouble and then added: "To-day he intends to prevent your military reorganization. He is leaving Russia free in the East, and, as she alone can come between him and you, he has tried to disinterest her."¹⁵

It was with these forebodings fresh in his mind that Gontaut-Biron went, on the evening of April 21, to a dinner at the British embassy, where he found himself seated beside the same Radowitz whose journey to Russia in the early part of the year had aroused such apprehensions, and whose intimacy with the chancellor gave weight to all opinions he might express. The conversation inevitably came round to the subject of the relations of the two countries; and Radowitz began to talk—rather freely, it appears, and with a lack of reserve which perhaps justifies Bismarck's later sarcastic remarks about his friend's ability to hold his wine—but with an assurance and a facility of expression which indicated a thorough familiarity with the matter of his discourse and a complete confidence in the official soundness of his doctrine. This doctrine was purely and simply that of the justification of preventive war, the doctrine which has loomed ugly and menacing in Germany's political thought throughout the last half-century, corrupting all confidence in her official faith and sowing everywhere suspicions as to the sincerity of her declarations of peaceful policy toward her sister states. "We can reassure ourselves for the present", said Radowitz, "but for the future we can hardly cease to be anxious. How long' will the present last? When does the future begin? It is equally difficult to say." The recent crisis was passed—at least the German government was willing to consider it so; but the press and public opinion of Germany were not to be so easily convinced, nor could one expect that they should be, when the situation was in fact so nearly hopeless of allowing a permanently peaceful settlement. Was it not inevitable that France should attempt the recovery of her lost provinces as soon as she felt herself strong enough to do so?

But if revenge is the inmost thought of France—and it cannot be otherwise—why wait to attack her until she has recovered her strength and contracted her alliances? You must agree that from a political, from a philosophical, *even from a Christian* point of view, these deductions are well grounded and these preoccupations are fitted to guide the policy of Germany.

It was the old argument of the German school, and one that had already been repeated by Bismarck more than once; but its reap-

¹⁵ Daudet, *Bismarck* (Paris, 1916), p. 49.

pearance, propounded by a person of authority in such bold language, on the very morrow of what Germany had officially declared to be a crisis safely passed, could not fail to destroy any confidence the French government might have felt in these assurances. All Gontaut's most passionate refutations of the premises of this doctrine could not move the German diplomat to recede from his pessimistic views regarding the not very remote future of the relations between the two countries.¹⁶

Even the German official world seems to have been startled at the violence of the language of its representative, and it later repeatedly endeavored to attribute the most striking phrases in the report to the imagination of his auditor. On one occasion Bismarck even offered to show Gorchakov the notes made by Radowitz himself of the conversation, which, he said, would prove that no such language could have been used. It is to be regretted that Gorchakov refused to examine this document, although the absence of certain phrases in it would hardly be conclusive evidence against their having been used.¹⁷ Moreover, Gontaut's report coincides remarkably with one sent from Petrograd by General Le Flô, on the very same day, of the language used by Radowitz to the Tsar in developing Germany's views on the French peril.¹⁸ Gontaut-Biron, informed of the efforts of the German government to discredit his veracity, wrote to Decazes, on January 16, 1876, affirming the accuracy of his report in all details and insisting upon the use of the actual expression, "*chrétiennement*", by Radowitz in characterizing his doctrine—the word which the Germans seemed particularly anxious to disclaim.¹⁹ The French ambassador does not stand convicted even of exaggeration in his statements; and Bismarck is left to fall back upon satirical remarks about the weakness of his colleague's head—remarks which tend to strengthen Gontaut's case rather than otherwise.

The French government was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded it of placing Germany before Europe in the light of a constant menace to peace. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Decazes, at once sent out copies of Gontaut's report to the diplomatic representatives at all foreign courts with instructions to communicate it as evidence of Germany's future intentions, however

¹⁶ Dreux, pp. 91–95. Gontaut to Decazes, April 21, 1875.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 155; Wemyss, II. 363. [From the latter passage (Gorchakov to Morier, in conversation), it appears that Gorchakov did examine Radowitz's notes, but the author is in France, inaccessible.] [Ed.]

¹⁸ Flourens, p. 300: "‘La religion, comme l’humanité’, concluait M. de Radowitz, ‘oblige l’Allemagne à ne pas laisser la France préparer une revanche éventuelle.’” Le Flô to Decazes, April 21, 1875.

¹⁹ Dreux, p. 175.

reassuring her recent declarations might appear.²⁰ In the case of Russia, he went considerably further, and sent off, together with the ordinary circular despatch, a special letter to the ambassador at Petrograd, General Le Flô, written in the most moving terms of appeal for support in a situation of imminent danger. He was practically certain that this appeal would not fall upon deaf ears, since the Russian government had repeatedly given France to understand that it would not permit her to be crushed or bullied by Germany. Such had been the impression conveyed to Gontaut on his visit to Petrograd a year before and since confirmed upon several occasions and from several quarters. The most recent and striking of these confirmations had come from the Tsar himself only a few days before, when Le Flô, returning to his post at about the same time as Gontaut to Berlin, had placed before Alexander all the evidence then in France's possession as to the hostile intentions of Germany. The Tsar seemed indeed impressed with the gravity of these communications, though he assured Le Flô of the unalterably peaceful attitude of the German emperor and of his own conviction that a war in the immediate future was not a possibility to be considered. His concluding words were: "Do not be alarmed. . . . The interests of our two countries are common, and if, which I refuse to believe, you should some day be seriously threatened, you would know of it very quickly, and", he added after some hesitation, "you would know of it from me."²¹

These assurances, placed side by side with the utterances of Radowitz, gave the French minister a most excellent text for an appeal to immediate action, and he improved his opportunity to the full. The Tsar, he wrote, was now the arbiter of the peace of Europe, and his intervention to prevent a war would undoubtedly be decisive, "*if only it took place in time*". Germany might easily spring a surprise by declaring war without letting him know in time to warn and save France, unless she were clearly notified beforehand that such action would bring swift and certain retribution.

I must have confidence that His Majesty will avenge what will then be an insult to himself, and that he will cover with his sword those who have trusted themselves to his protection. That, my dear General, is the assurance I should like to obtain through you.

The letter closed with the injunction to make the most of the time remaining before the Tsar's departure for Berlin, as this visit would be the ideal moment for a decisive declaration.²² The demand was

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-125. Decazes's circular despatch, April 29, 1875.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121. Le Flô to Decazes, April 15, 1875.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 125-127. Decazes to Le Flô, April 29, 1875.

an extraordinarily bold one and was perhaps even more pressing than the situation at the moment warranted; but Decazes had seen his opportunity and taken advantage of it to prepare for more serious eventualities. It was, in fact, a bold game which he had undertaken to play; but the results of success would be enormous. He would not only evade the threatened alternative of humiliation or war; but he would deal Germany a blow which would shake her omnipotence and which would go far to free his own country from the shadow of dread which enveloped it so closely. On April 29, the letter went forth to do its work.

This initial step in France's counter-attack proved to have been taken actually not a moment too soon. Germany proceeded to follow up the Radowitz interview with a course of conduct and a series of utterances on the part of her public men which fully justified the campaign laid out against her and indicated that the declaration of intentions upon which it was based, while extreme in point of expression, had been correct in point of fact. Attempts at disavowal followed after the discomfiture of her plans; but for the moment her attitude was quite the opposite of reassuring as to the groundlessness of the suspicions aroused against her. During the latter days of April, her representatives in all the capitals of Europe were besieging the governments to which they were accredited with arguments as to the danger with which their country was threatened by the recent armaments in France.²³ Such communications were certainly not calculated to indicate that Germany was satisfied and intended to push the matter no further. On April 28, the Austrian ambassador, again unbosoming himself to his French colleague, remarked that Bismarck's reassurance did not extend beyond the immediate present—an opinion coinciding remarkably with that of Radowitz.²⁴ On May 7, the Belgian minister at Berlin, Baron Nothomb, informed Gontaut of two conversations he had had in the preceding month with Bismarck and Moltke. The chancellor had declared that the French armaments were certainly in excess of her permanent ability to support them and must inevitably result either in some immediate military enterprise or in a speedy reduction. The irascible field-marshal had been even more emphatic, declaring that attempts to explain away the effects of the new French law were rubbish, and that it could not possibly mean anything but a preparation for war. "In that case", he added, "we ought not to wait until France is ready; but our duty is to anticipate her."

²³ Communicated to Gontaut by Lord Odo Russell, Dreux, p. 163.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

The war, he went on further to say, would probably be within a year, unless the other powers could induce France to recede from the measures she had taken.²⁵ All these opinions indicate that Germany was still highly discontented at France's evident determination not to cease being a military power, and had in mind some action or other toward obliging her to abandon the reorganization of her forces which she had just undertaken.

Germany's next step in that direction was of a still more serious character than those which had preceded it. Up to the end of April she had communicated her views of the situation to foreign courts and to foreign representatives at Berlin, and she had disclosed them unofficially and indirectly to France; but as yet nothing had passed between the two countries through official channels other than the honeyed assurances with which Bülow had been plying Gontaut ever since the latter's return to Berlin. On May 5, however, Prince Hohenlohe presented himself before the French minister of foreign affairs with a communication which rang quite differently from those which had gone before. Additional importance was attached to the communication by the fact that Hohenlohe had already taken leave of Decazes on the eve of his departure for a short absence from his post and had returned for the sole purpose of acquainting him, before leaving Paris, with the contents of a despatch which had just arrived. Von Bülow had written that "the optimism of M. de Gontaut appeared to him exaggerated, that the German government was not entirely convinced of the inoffensive character of the French armaments", and that, while no hostile intentions seemed apparent *at the moment*, "the German General Staff considers war against Germany as the ultimate object of those armaments, and so looks forward to their consequences".²⁶ By way of attenuating the rudeness of this declaration, the ambassador closed the interview by reading a letter from Bismarck, full of the rosiest hopes for good relations between France and Germany on the basis of their understanding over Spanish affairs; but he went away leaving the impression which his visit was doubtless intended to convey, that France was not to be allowed to rest secure in the belief that the incident of the "fourth battalions" was closed, but must consider further action upon it by Germany possible at any time.

Decazes was not panic-stricken by this turn of events. On the contrary, he had foreseen the possibility of it for a fortnight and had laid plans for meeting it the success of which was already prac-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-107. Gontaut to Decazes.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-111. Memorandum by Decazes.

tically assured. His letter to Le Flô, now justified by the facts, had attained the results toward which it was directed. The general, immediately after its receipt on May 3, had hastened with it to the Russian chancellor, who insisted that the situation demanded complete frankness and that the letter be communicated to him in its entirety. The passage regarding the protection of the imperial sword, he said, was a trifle strong; but he would leave it as it stood. He retained the letter, together with the other papers which Le Flô had brought, for communication to the Tsar; and returned them the following morning with a note stating that the emperor "has charged me to thank you for this proof of confidence" and that His Majesty would give his reply in person. The audience followed shortly afterward; and the reply turned again upon the French minister's striking phrase. "You ask me", said the Tsar, "to engage to draw the sword for you. No, I shall not draw it, nor will you either; we shall manage without that. I am going to Berlin, and I promise you to put an end to the matter."²⁷ The telegram reporting these two interviews had reached the hands of Decazes shortly before the ill-omened visit of the German ambassador, and contributed notably toward enabling him to receive with equanimity the tidings which that diplomat had brought. His measures were already under way; and he had even got a step ahead of Bismarck by his timely representations to the Russian court.

In consequence of being thus forestalled, the real projects of the chancellor never got a chance to come to a head—happily for the peace of the world, perhaps, but to the great perplexity of those who seek to get at the truth of the affair. That there were projects of some sort is certain. Hohenlohe's declaration was hardly to have been left simply hanging in the air, followed by no action on Germany's part. The day before it was delivered, Dr. Geffcken wrote to Sir Robert Morier that he was sure Bismarck had made plans to turn the visit of the Russians to account by convincing the Tsar of the reality of the danger from France and securing his support in a demand that the French military establishment be reduced.²⁸ On that same day, May 4, Bismarck himself had taken the significant step of addressing to the emperor one of his periodical requests for retirement which constituted a well-known means of persuasion at moments when the chancellor was particularly anxious to have his way. The first draft of this letter had indeed been prepared as long ago as February,²⁹ while the Radowitz project was

²⁷ Flourens, pp. 302-303. Le Flô to Decazes, May 4, 1875.

²⁸ Wemyss, II. 338-339.

²⁹ Horst Kohl, *Bismarck-Jahrbuch* (Berlin, 1894-1899), I. 87-88.

still in the balance; another occasion for its employment had now arrived. Moreover, the peculiar condition was now appended that the emperor should for the moment keep the matter to himself, "in order that the alteration may not be connected by common report with the approaching imperial visit, and other grounds attributed to it than the state of my health".³⁰ Decidedly something was in the wind; and Bismarck foresaw at least that the coming of Alexander to Berlin was to have some consequence for him which warranted measures for insuring his sovereign's favor in advance.

The effort was a failure, except in so far as it may have operated to shield him from reprimand for the steps he had already taken toward an object to which the emperor was unalterably opposed. During all this time the aged monarch had been resting quietly at Ems in practical ignorance of the turn which affairs had taken since his reassuring utterances to the French representatives after the incident of "Krieg in Sicht"; but he was now already in motion. He was on his way back to Berlin, fully determined to demolish any possible designs in the direction of war. Some inkling of the actual situation had been given him at Wiesbaden, where he had halted for a visit to his daughter, the grand duchess of Baden;³¹ and of this fact Bismarck may quite possibly have been aware when he penned his "resignation". Whether the chancellor might not still have carried his point is a question; but just at this moment the effect of Decazes's appeal to Russia for the first time appears in the affair.

On the same day, May 5, that Emperor William arrived in Berlin, arrived also Count Shuvalov, a very popular person at the German court, who was on his way back to his post at London; and the emperor invited him that evening to dinner. The Russian diplomat regaled his host with the whole story of the Le Flô interview, and repeated the assurances given by Alexander on that occasion.³² After dropping the same information into the ear of Bismarck, who sadly replied that his sleepless nights were already too frequent without hearing such news from a friend,³³ Shuvalov hurried on to London, where he had still further work to do. He had already thrown an obstacle in the way of Bismarck's scheme which for the moment put an end to its progress. Emperor and chancellor had

³⁰ *Anhang zu den Gedanken und Erinnerungen* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1901), I. 254.

³¹ Wemyss, II. 352.

³² Gefßcken in *Deutsche Revue*, November, 1892, p. 163; Charles Gavard, *Un Diplomate à Londres* (Paris, 1895), pp. 248-249.

³³ Wertheimer, II. 235. Károlyi to Andrassy, May 15, 1876.

their reckoning at a ministerial conference the following morning; and Bismarck, now on the defensive, was forced back into an attempt to throw the blame upon stock-speculators and the clerical opposition. The move was attended with some success, and it served to divert the sovereign's indignation from the real grounds of the affair.³⁴

The possibility remained to Bismarck of working through Alexander; and some diplomats believed that he still pinned his hopes upon so doing, in spite of the declarations of Shuvalov. On May 7 Morier expressed the belief that such was his intention and that he would have sufficient influence to win the emperor and the crown prince to his side when the moment came.³⁵ It did not come. Russia's response to the appeal of Decazes proved more decisive than he could have dared to hope; for, not satisfied with throwing her own weight into the scale against Bismarck, she also exerted herself in helping him to bring Austria and England to join in her protestations.

The English government had at first shown little inclination to take the affair seriously, and had met rather coldly the advances of Decazes. It had watched closely and with some apprehension the negotiations between Germany and Belgium, but had refused to credit the probability of a breach simply between Germany and France. Even the communication of the Radowitz interview had made little impression; and Lord Derby, then secretary for foreign affairs, had affected to look upon it as directed primarily against Austria—a conception of Bismarck's policy which was widely current in England at the time.³⁶ But the despatches from Berlin within the next three or four days must have operated to shake considerably this indifference, for Lord Odo Russell was informed of the threatening language used lately by Bismarck and Moltke before it was reported to his French colleague.³⁷ The German ambassador, Count Münster, did not hesitate to confirm these statements as representing his government's attitude toward a war for the purpose of anticipating possible hostile action on the part of France. Münster had already made guarded representations to England respecting Germany's present convictions on that score; and Lord Derby was by this time aware of the much stronger ones made in other courts of Europe. He summed up his fears to Lord

³⁴ Wemyss, II. 352-353. Geffcken to Morier, May 24, 1875.

³⁵ Reported by Lefebvre de Béhaine, cited by Goyau in introduction to Béhaine's *Léon XIII. et le Prince de Bismarck* (Paris, 1898).

³⁶ Gavard, p. 241.

³⁷ Newton, p. 74. Russell to Derby, May 1, 1875.

Odo Russell by writing that only the Tsar's intervention could banish the threat of war constituted by Bismarck's attitude, concluding: "I see little other prospect of averting mischief, and if it begins, where is it to end?"³⁸ The realization had forced itself upon him that the situation was actually far graver than had at first appeared.

Decazes did not cease his efforts to drive that realization home. Since the crisis had first begun to take shape, in the days of the newspaper campaign in Germany, he had had in mind a similar campaign of his own—not in the French press, which was without influence anywhere, but in that of England. A proper exposé of Germany's machinations in the *London Times*, he thought, would open the eyes of all Europe to them and rouse against them a universal protest which would effectually kill them off. He had suggested this idea to M. de Blowitz, the Paris correspondent of that journal, as far back as April 15. The correspondent's own narrative of the negotiations which ensued is so obviously retouched and is marked by such grave errors of fact that it is practically worthless in matter of detail; but it is probably correct in its general presentation of the genesis of the article which finally appeared. The undertaking, when first proposed to Blowitz, was too serious to be proceeded with on his own initiative; and he was obliged to refer it to his chief, Mr. Delane. In the period of comparative calm following the declarations made just afterward by the German government, the idea of such an article was necessarily dropped; and it was not revived until after the Radowitz interview. Blowitz relates that he was finally authorized to write it if Decazes would produce some convincing evidence of its foundation, and that Decazes showed him the report of the interview itself. At all events he sent off the article under date of May 4, and it was published on the 6th—just about a month after "Krieg in Sicht".³⁹

The article took the form of a letter from Paris and bore the title, "A French 'Scare'". The object alleged in writing it was to throw the light of publicity on a situation that was generally felt to be menacing, though without widespread knowledge of the details. Those who are well informed, says the writer, concede "that Peace or War is about to depend on the interview of the German and Russian Emperors". The military party in Germany, still dissatisfied with the treaty of Frankfort, has decided that the time has come to remedy its defects and to put an end forever to the possibility of a recovery on the part of France. Only Russia stands in a position

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75. Derby to Russell, May 3, 1875.

³⁹ Blowitz, *Memoirs* (New York, 1903), pp. 97-103; Sir Edward Cook, *Delane of the Times* (London, 1915), p. 249.

to veto their schemes; and they have been at work since the beginning of the year to persuade her to permit the execution of them.

The plan itself consists in an invasion directed to threaten Paris and to compel the signature of a treaty ceding Belfort to Germany, imposing limitations on the French military establishment, and providing for an indemnity of ten milliards to be paid in installments covering a period of not less than twenty years. The objections of emperor and people to such a project can easily be overcome if its advocates are allowed to go on unhindered with their efforts to put it through. Europe must be roused to the existence of this threat to the general peace and must exact from Germany an unequivocal disavowal of the doctrines which certain of her leading men are thus endeavoring to force upon her.

Such was the gist of the article itself. It was accompanied by an editorial apologizing for its publication on the ground that this very action would serve to discredit the rumors it contained. It is absurd, says the editor, to believe that any responsible German official can seriously entertain such theories, or that the nation as a whole could ever be carried away by what is really only the bravado of military mess-tables. The emperor would certainly not hear of it. "Nor is there any more reason to suppose", he adds, "that the Emperor of Russia would lend his influence to a wanton attack on a State with which he has not the slightest subject of quarrel." He concludes with a reference of obvious application to "Statesmen who place great reliance on the diplomatic value of fear".

This was the message with which the *Times* favored Europe on the morning of May 6. It was received everywhere with concern and with a storm of indignation in Germany. The question of its authorship was something of a mystery and was the subject of much speculation. A popular idea was that of attributing the article to the inspiration of Hohenlohe, on the ground that he hoped thereby to be the means of sparing his country the consequences of a possible rash move. This was the explanation advanced by Decazes, apparently as the one best designed to divert attention from himself.⁴⁰ The prince repudiates the connection in his memoirs, though admitting that he knew of the article while it was in preparation.⁴¹ That Blowitz was the writer is a matter beyond all doubt; and it is almost equally certain that his source of inspiration was Decazes. As for the main object in view, it is to be found probably in the references directed at the Emperor of Russia as the person to clear up

⁴⁰ Dreux, pp. 131-132, note.

⁴¹ Hohenlohe, II. 157.

the whole situation—an opinion in which the editor is careful to concur while affecting to detract from the force of all the other conclusions. Decazes had considered from the first the possibility that Alexander, when he came to the point of speaking out, would hesitate to inflict upon Germany the humiliation which his warning would convey and would decide to pass the matter over in silence after all. He could hardly do so, once the attention of the world had been called to it in so striking a manner. The article was, of course, written before the advent of Shuvalov in Berlin and was published before any report of his doings there had got out. Its publication also served a further purpose in making easier any step which the British government might later feel itself called upon to take; and it is only reasonable to suppose that some of the officials must have had knowledge of the negotiations which preceded its appearance and must have favored it on that account.

The disquieting reports which had been multiplying themselves in the few days preceding the appearance of the article received, on that very day, a notable augmentation. Gavard, the French chargé d'affaires, now came to Derby with the despatch containing Hohenlohe's communication to Decazes. The secretary still took the attitude of refusing to credit the attribution of such a plot to Bismarck; but his tone was much less assured than before. "Such an aggression", he admitted, "would arouse in Europe universal indignation; and this sentiment would be nowhere stronger than in England." When Gavard spoke of the possibility of preventing it, Derby answered: "You may rest assured that the government will not fail in its duty." He expressed the hope that the visit of Alexander would accomplish the desired object, whereupon Gavard returned to the charge, insisting that the effect of the Tsar's remonstrances would be more than doubled by the support of a disinterested power.⁴²

Derby was evidently more impressed than his language indicated by this new proof of perfidious designs on Bismarck's part and by the necessity of taking prompt measures to prevent their realization. Two days later, on May 8, he sent off a circular despatch to the British representatives at all the great Continental capitals, instructing them to use all their efforts toward bringing to an end the misunderstanding between France and Germany.⁴³ The step was a sufficiently non-committal one and would not necessarily bring England to taking a public stand against Germany's suspected intentions; but the government could hardly go further without ascertaining beforehand that it would not be acting alone in so doing.

⁴² Gavard, pp. 241-244.

⁴³ Newton, II. 78.

Only information regarding Russia's contemplated protest was necessary in order to induce more decided measures; and this information Gorchakov did not fail to supply.

Gorchakov was also, no doubt, unwilling to appear entirely alone in the matter, and was aware of the tremendously heightened effect which would be produced by converting into simultaneous action the support and approval which his declarations might receive from other courts. This co-operation on the part of England he had taken all possible pains to secure through Shuvalov, who arrived in London on the very day of the first British despatch. His mere announcement that Russia intended to act would probably have been sufficient; but, according to information which later reached Decazes, he was authorized to go even beyond that, and to communicate assurances from his government regarding the affairs of Asia which would remove England's fears of a conflict there, and any possible consequent hesitation about risking the friendship of Germany.⁴⁴ Action so energetic as this offers some indication of how seriously Russia regarded the affair with which she was dealing. The effort was not made in vain, for on the following day, May 9, Derby telegraphed again to Lord Odo Russell, instructing him to support by the most energetic declarations all counsels which the Russians were to pronounce in Berlin.⁴⁵

England's was not the only sanction which Russia had secured. Of all the countries of Europe, Austria was the one which felt the greatest need of circumspection in taking a step of this sort, because of the importance to her of keeping on good terms with her powerful neighbor. Yet, in view of her position as a member of the *Dreikaiserbund*, her attitude would be of great importance; and Alexander did his best to assure her support, keeping the Austrian ambassador informed of the communications of Le Flô.⁴⁶ Count Károlyi was finally instructed to make some representations to Bismarck, which he did at about the time of Emperor William's return to Berlin.⁴⁷ After having taken this action, Austria would have found it embarrassing to return to the charge upon the invitation sent out by Derby on May 8, so Andrassy declined this new request.⁴⁸ Not completely satisfied, however, as to Károlyi's zeal,⁴⁹ he authorized Alexander, in presenting his views at Berlin, to say

⁴⁴ Dreux, p. 137. Decazes to Gontaut.

⁴⁵ Gavard, p. 245; told him that evening by Lord Derby.

⁴⁶ Édouard Simon, *L'Allemagne et la Russie au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, 1893), p. 266.

⁴⁷ Reported to Gontaut by Lord Odo Russell, Dreux, p. 169. Gontaut to Decazes, June 1, 1875.

⁴⁸ Wertheimer, II. 232.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II. 230.

that he spoke also in Austria's behalf.⁵⁰ He thus avoided implicating himself directly before Bismarck, and yet contrived to add Austria's influence to the declarations which the Tsar was about to make.

The combined attack upon Bismarck's position, which was to burst upon him with such startling unexpectedness and such overwhelming effect, was indeed so admirably co-ordinated and carried out in so theatrical a fashion, as almost to warrant his furious allegations that it was all a comedy prepared long in advance. In fact, it had taken shape only within the space of a week, thanks to the energetic activities of persons justly alarmed at his conduct and utterances during and previous to that time. So fast did events move that the French government, which, had there been a plot, would have known its details and have been sure of what was to happen, remained up to the last moment in ignorance of the concert which had been formed. How far Decazes was from being confident as to the outcome of the approaching interview at Berlin is indicated in the instructions sent off by him to Gontaut on May 8. They were based almost entirely upon the supposition of the success of Bismarck's efforts with Alexander. The ambassador was to assure the Tsar unequivocally, unconditionally, of France's intention to keep the peace. He was to insist that all her armaments were designed solely for defense, and for the insuring of the maintenance of peace in collaboration with Russia. He should promise, if necessary, that France would take no action whatever except with the Tsar's approval. Under no circumstances, however, was he to be the first to pronounce the word "disarmament", even for the purpose of refuting the idea. If it should be pronounced, he was to express astonishment at such interference and was to call attention to the fact that England had declared Germany's fears to be pretexts. He was to say that he must first refer to his government for instructions, and was to affect to consider the proposal as applying to Germany also, in proportions to be determined by a third party, thus suggesting to Alexander the assumption of the rôle of arbiter of the peace. Decazes admitted that such a suggestion might lead to embarrassing results, but he considered it worth trying as a last resort if Alexander failed to take definitely the side of France.⁵¹ The instruction is on the whole a diplomatic masterpiece, as well as an indication of the writer's state of mind with respect to the coming events. Happily the more threatening contingencies for which it provided never arose.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 233; Newton, II. 77, Russell to Derby, May 8, 1875; Wemyss, II. 362.

⁵¹ Dreux, pp. 139-145.

On Monday, May 10, the Russian imperial party arrived in Berlin with far more resolute intentions than Decazes had imagined. On the same day Lord Odo Russell presented the communication from London. The British ambassador appeared first on the scene, treating Bismarck to an admonition in the sense of the instructions sent out by Derby on the 8th, which had been obliged to wait over Sunday. Bismarck expressed surprise and hastened to state that his relations with France were never better and that no importance should be attached to the loose talk of newspapers and irresponsible military men.⁵² Germany, he gaily remarked, could never seriously fear the French, regarding whom his slogan should always be, not "Up and at them!" but "Let them come on!"⁵³ To this sally Russell coolly rejoined: "Then why all these observations you have charged your agents to make to the cabinets where they are accredited, calling attention to the French armaments, the danger they present, and the necessity of opposing them?" To this question, which displayed rather too intimate an acquaintance with his recent moves, the chancellor found no reply. He brought the interview quickly to a close, declining England's offer of good offices to end the misunderstanding which he declared had never existed.⁵⁴

After bidding the ambassador good-bye—doubtless in' no very agreeable frame of mind—Bismarck was allowed no time to chew the cud of his reflections. Lord Odo Russell was hardly outside the door when he met Prince Gorchakov, bound upon an errand similar to that of which he had just acquitted himself. The prince seized upon the ambassador and bore him back into the terrible presence as a witness of the first words of the memorable interview of the two chancellors. "My dear Bismarck", began Gorchakov, addressing his former pupil in diplomacy, "now don't get nervous. You have in you two Bismarcks—one that is really you and that I like, and the other a nervous and excitable Bismarck." As soon as possible after this extraordinary greeting, which hardly promised a comfortable sequel, Lord Odo took his leave for the second time, but only after informing the unhappy Bismarck that his government concurred in all the observations which the Russian chancellor was about to present.⁵⁵ What passed further between the two is uncer-

⁵² Dreux, p. 137.

⁵³ Wertheimer, II. 236. Károlyi to Andrassy, May 15, 1875.

⁵⁴ Dreux, p. 138; from Gontaut's notes of conversations with Lord Odo Russell, May 22 and July 15, and Béhaine's despatch concerning a conversation, September 10.

⁵⁵ Wertheimer, II. 236. Károlyi to Andrassy, May 15, 1875. Geffcken in *Deutsche Revue*, November, 1892, p. 164.

tain as neither let much of it get out afterward; but Bismarck seems to have flattered the old man and played upon his sympathy by asking ruefully if he had come to pronounce the *quos ego* and by an affected tractability in listening to his somewhat pompous advice. At least, Gorchakov reported the next day to Gontaut that he had received the most satisfactory assurances regarding Germany's intentions; and the manner in which he cautioned France against allowing too free a rein to Ultramontanist activities indicated that Bismarck had even succeeded in turning his attention away from the question of armaments.⁵⁶ The German chancellor had, however, refused the request—which indeed went rather too far—to put any of these assurances in categorical form, as to do so would have been an admission of having entertained the designs of which he was trying to exculpate himself.⁵⁷ The step would have been a superfluous humiliation, for Bismarck's discomfiture was complete, and he was powerless to go ahead with his projects in the face of the disapproval of all his neighbors. He was obliged to give in, though he did so with sufficiently bad grace.

The meeting of the chancellors had its counterpart between the two emperors, though under circumstances of much less strain, since Emperor William already shared the sentiments which his nephew had come to express. He pronounced the Radowitz doctrine to be a most hateful and dangerous one, and one by which he would never allow himself to be swayed. Alexander was able later to confirm fully the assurances given Gontaut by Gorchakov that the crisis was completely passed. He repeated to the ambassador the promise he had formerly made to Le Flô that he would be the first to warn France of any similar developments in the future, adding significantly again: "We have common interests and we ought to remain united."⁵⁸ The bold action of Decazes had borne fruit beyond all expectations.

There followed upon these interviews the celebrated incident of Gorchakov's circular telegram, beginning, according to Bismarck's account, with the words, "*Maintenant la paix est assurée*"—that is to say, thanks to Russia's intervention.⁵⁹ The story has been repeated by a score of writers, all of them basing their accounts on the same source and none of them being able to offer a complete text of the message. The matter is not of vital importance—the phrase would have come nearer the truth than Bismarck was willing

⁵⁶ Dreux, pp. 145-149.

⁵⁷ Wertheimer, II. 237; Newton, II. 79.

⁵⁸ Dreux, pp. 150-154.

⁵⁹ *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, II. 174.

to admit; but M. Dreux has taken the pains to look into it. He produces a circular telegram to the Russian diplomatic representatives, dated May 13, which reads: "The Emperor of all the Russias leaves Berlin, perfectly satisfied as to the sentiments which there prevail and which assure the maintenance of peace."⁶⁰ This wording puts rather a different face on the affair. Was there an earlier message in the sense quoted by Bismarck? The supposition is a possible one; but, on the other hand, since his information could have reached him only by indirect channels, it is also quite possible that his version is incorrect. The further details of Bismarck's indignant and satirical attack upon Gorchakov for sending this telegram, of the latter's guilty silence, and of the Tsar's disavowal of his chancellor's proceedings, are at any rate obvious elaborations for the benefit of the reader. No doubt Alexander did humor Bismarck as far as possible after the incident was closed; and he may even have told him, as the chancellor relates, not to take too seriously the "senile vanity" of Gorchakov. Having accomplished what he had come to do, Alexander could afford to pass the matter off lightly.⁶¹

Just as the imperial party was leaving Berlin another incident involving the telegraph arose. The newspapers of Stuttgart suddenly published a telegram from the Tsar to his sister, the Queen of Württemberg, in the astounding words: "L'emporté de Berlin donne des assurances formelles de paix." The expression, so little befitting the dignity of both correspondents, was probably only the result of the false rendition of an abbreviated message running, "(J')emporte de Berlin", etc.,⁶² but no one failed to recognize the application of the wording mistakenly employed. Bismarck himself doubtless discovered the mistake; but his exasperation over the fact that such an epithet could have been thought possible, remained, none the less, almost as great as that over his actual defeat.

The effect of the combined remonstrances which had been made in Berlin proved completely satisfactory. Of the threat to peace constituted by France's military preparations nothing more was heard. The German newspapers joined in a chorus of peace and vied with each other in finding scapegoats for the rumors of war. The *Reichsanzeiger's* denial of the official representations reported to have been made by Germany to foreign courts was characterized in particular by Lord Odo Russell as "unheard-of audacity".⁶³ The government was not behind in its assurances. Bismarck him-

⁶⁰ Dreux, p. 166.

⁶¹ *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, II. 174-175.

⁶² Dreux, pp. 166-167.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

self maintained a surly reserve; but the emperor charged Hohenlohe, on his return to Paris, with the most friendly greetings to President MacMahon. "Tell him", he said, "that you are not the only herald of peace, but that the true one stands here."⁶⁴ Meeting Gontaut some days later at the opera, William approached him with the question: "Has peace been made between us?" He spoke further in much the same words as he had employed in the Polignac interview of a month before, venting his especial displeasure against the press.⁶⁵

The question of responsibility had ceased greatly to matter for the moment; the important fact was that the danger had passed. This fact was fully appreciated everywhere, and nowhere more so than among the diplomats at Berlin, almost all of whom expressed their relief and gratification to Gontaut-Biron.⁶⁶ It only remained for the French ambassador to meet personally with the chancellor in order to close the official discussion of the incident. Gontaut was himself anxious to get through with this painful duty; but Bismarck, who afterwards had the effrontery to refer to the long delay as a proof of Gontaut's troubled conscience,⁶⁷ eluded all efforts to see him and finally made his escape to Varzin, where he remained until December.⁶⁸

During his absence, the emperor took up the discussion in another quarter. Wounded by Lord Derby's declaration before the House of Lords, on May 31, that the British government had taken its action in consequence of statements from high sources regarding Germany's intentions,⁶⁹ he addressed himself directly to Queen Victoria to refute the imputation. He assured her that his government could have had no connection with the statements in question, which were at most the expressions of private opinion on the part of military theorists such as Moltke. The queen replied in a letter which has sometimes been connected erroneously with the events of May 10, that she was unwilling to go further into the subject, but that she was sure it could easily be proved that England's alarm had not been exaggerated, as it had been caused by the language both of Germany's representatives abroad and of other persons holding high posts in Berlin. William only answered by regretting that she did not make her accusations more precise. When Bismarck was

⁶⁴ Hohenlohe, II. 156.

⁶⁵ Dreux, p. 157.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁶⁷ Hohenlohe, II. 171.

⁶⁸ Dreux, pp. 174-176. Gontaut to Decazes, June 16, 1875.

⁶⁹ Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, 1875, CCXXIV. 1097.

informed of this correspondence, early in August, he was highly irritated that the emperor had not taken a firmer stand in regard to the origin of the rumors of war. He admitted, however, that Count Münster had made statements in London similar to those of Moltke, though urging that he had done so only by way of academic discussion. None of these letters had any political consequences, since they were exchanged only after the incident was closed; but they give an interesting indication of how seriously England had finally taken the alarm.⁷⁰

On December 31 took place the long-deferred interview between Bismarck and Gontaut-Biron, the last and most distressing scene of the affair. The chancellor undertook from the start to cover the weakness of his position by taking the high hand and by so overwhelming the ambassador with the flood of his indignation that the latter must in spite of himself be forced to appear in the wrong. Gontaut met this attempt to place him in the position of a culprit before his judge with quiet assurance, never lowering his eyes, speaking as little as possible, and evading all essays at cross-examination by the generality of his replies. Bismarck threshed the whole matter out from beginning to end, finding only low intrigue and malice everywhere except in his own spotless conduct. What rankled most deeply was the blow which had been dealt to public confidence in the peacefulness of his intentions. "My protestations will be in vain now", he said, "no one will believe me". Gontaut received the whole tirade with patience and for the most part in silence. Upon only one point did he venture into active contradiction—that was when Bismarck broached the subject of his supposed visit to Russia during the preceding winter. Gontaut at once protested that the statement involved an error of an entire year; and when the prince accused him of bad memory, recalled the fact that he had been summoned to France by the death of his son-in-law at the period Bismarck had in mind. Bismarck found nothing further to reply, nor did he rise to the occasion when Gontaut purposely recurred to the matter later on. The field of objects for Bismarck's invective finally became exhausted, and the interview drew to a close. Gontaut rose to take his leave, saying that France's very anxiety had been the best proof of her innocence, and that he was only the more reassured and delighted to learn that her fears had been exaggerated. His host accompanied him to the door with the plaintive reflection: "Virtue is indeed useless, quite useless", to which he made the comforting reply that nothing is more useful and

⁷⁰ *Anhang zu den Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, I. 256-259. Emperor to Bismarck, August 6, 1875; Bismarck to emperor, August 13, 1875.

gratifying to the conscience. The two parted with pious wishes for the future.⁷¹

Bismarck had managed by sheer force of bluster to maintain his position of injured innocence; but he had not convicted his opponents of either trickery or error. Gontaut, secure in the knowledge that nothing was to be gained by pressing an argument over past events, had contented himself with weathering the storm. He had not done so without difficulty; for, as he reported to Decazes, his situation had been disagreeable in the extreme, and more than once his patience had come near failing him. "J'y ai eu quelque mérite, mon cher ami", he wrote in a private letter to his chief.⁷² The episode is one of the finest in his career and one in which his conscientious devotion to the painful mission which had fallen to his lot was undoubtedly of greater service to his country than might have been rendered by far more brilliant talents than he possessed.

Whatever plan Bismarck had had in process of development was shattered beyond recall by the events of May 10. The humiliation then inflicted upon him was a fact which might be avenged but which could not be altered. Some possibility remained, however, of clearing himself of the suspicions which would henceforth attach to his policies and which, as he complained to Gontaut, would not soon be forgotten. He had already excused himself before the emperor, and apparently with some success, by casting the responsibility upon the press, the Ultramontanists, and the stock-jobbers.⁷³ An article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, on May 13, had added "several petticoats" to this scapegoat list. On February 9, 1876, he undertook similarly to convince the Reichstag, by turning to ridicule the ideas attributed to him by his opponents. He treated the assembly to an ironical version of the speech he would have had to make before it in order to obtain a vote of credit for a war under the recent circumstances. The speech, if freed from certain passages of heavy humor and made under the actual circumstances of war, would undoubtedly have compared favorably in effect with many which have lately been received by that body with thunders of applause, instead of with shouts of laughter, as was this one. As for the blame, it now fell upon certain persons in high places who set up without warrant as political oracles, and whose gossip is accepted by the credulous as genuine information. The reference was here obviously to the empress and her circle—the "petticoats" already mentioned—but, as Gontaut remarked, there were several

⁷¹ Dreux, pp. 178-184. Gontaut to Decazes, January, 1876.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁷³ Wemyss, II. 355.

German generals and ambassadors, to say nothing of the sovereigns and prime ministers of Russia and England and their representatives, who were left to take their choice of being catalogued with either the false oracles or their dupes. While denying all connection with the alarmist articles in the newspapers, the chancellor admitted that he had not disapproved of them, on the ground that the best way of undoing the designs of a bellicose minority is by giving the general public the alarm as to their intent, which he would surely not have done had the designs been his own.⁷⁴ Windthorst demolished both terms of this self-contradictory statement by pointing out some of the circumstances which warrant the belief that Bismarck was involved in the newspaper campaign, and by remarking, that in his experience with the criminal classes, he had noticed that the first person to give the alarm of fire was frequently the one who had applied the match.⁷⁵ Bismarck's general declarations of peaceable intentions on his part were unfortunately contradicted by too many of his own previous declarations, while no one doubted his ability to persuade the emperor to follow his views once he had cleared all other obstacles from his path.

On the whole, this attempt to re-establish his credit with contemporaries was not a success, and Bismarck seems more or less to have abandoned hope in this direction. Only after his retirement did he return seriously to the charge, incorporating in his memoirs and in conversations with his satellites a series of observations destined, if not completely to convince posterity, at least so to befog the issue as to leave him a margin of doubt. The version which he chose to present under his own name was the boldest among several possibilities—namely, the one that the whole affair was the result of a plot between Gontaut and Gorchakov. The theory breaks down at once when it is applied to the facts. By no stretch of argument can such an intrigue be made to explain, for example, Hohenlohe's conversation with Decazes. Moreover, Bismarck has failed to preserve to himself even the virtue of consistency. In 1892 he confided to Dr. Blum that there had been a movement toward war in 1875 on the part of the German General Staff, which he had only succeeded in heading off by resorting to roundabout means.⁷⁶ The remark had reference to a startling theory first put forward in 1878

⁷⁴ *Die Politischen Reden des Fürsten Bismarcks* (Stuttgart, 1892-1905), VI. 342-344; *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstages* (1876), pp. 1327-1332.

⁷⁵ *Stenographische Berichte* (1876), p. 1333.

⁷⁶ Johannes Penzler, *Fürst Bismarck nach seiner Entlassung* (Leipzig, 1897-1898), IV. 199.

by Blowitz in the *Times*,⁷⁷ and to which the chancellor had already given his sanction through his faithful Busch.⁷⁸ According to this novel and ingenious explanation, Bismarck had set all Europe by the ears and brought upon himself one of the greatest humiliations of his career simply in order to circumvent the machinations of these unwelcome meddlers in his foreign policy. The picture of the all-powerful chancellor reduced to such a pass is one which the imagination cannot seriously entertain, nor does the theory account for his resentment at the intervention he is credited with having himself invoked. It only adds another element of inconsistency to Bismarck's already weak position and indicates further the impossibility of establishing the innocence of his motives.

In direct opposition to the theories based upon Bismarck's entire innocence of warlike designs, stands the view advanced by several reputable writers—among them, Dr. Geffcken—that he was deliberately manoeuvring toward a war with France.⁷⁹ Such a supposition goes contrary to none of the facts of the case, except the fact that he did not promptly succeed before he was interfered with. The Bismarckian method of bringing on war, as established by precedents, was a good deal bolder and more decisive than the procedure in 1875. The explanation, if not wholly rejected, must be at least somewhat modified to appear complete.

Between the two attitudes of wolf and lamb, there is, in fact, a whole range of intermediate possibilities. That Bismarck was pushed on against his will by the military party is as improbable as that he had resorted to a ruse in order to defeat its plans. Lord Derby, in justifying his government's action before the House of Lords, put forward the suggestion that both France and Germany were jointly responsible—that each was pushing the other on, since each was laboring under misunderstandings as to the intentions of the other which only required to be pointed out by friends in order to disappear.⁸⁰ The best proof that this conception was not the one which really actuated the government in its dealings is the fact that it directed its counsels to only one of the parties and that it presented them in extraordinarily emphatic fashion. Still another explanation which has met with some favor is that, while Bismarck was doing no more than continue with his ordinary policy of bullying France in order to keep her policy unsettled by constant in-

⁷⁷ Blowitz, p. 114; adhered to in his *Memoirs*.

⁷⁸ Moritz Busch, *Unser Reichskanzler* (Leipzig, 1884), I. 276.

⁷⁹ *Deutsche Revue*, November, 1892, p. 161.

⁸⁰ Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, 1875, CCXXIV. 1097-1098, speech of May 31.

timidation, Decazes had in this instance detected and seized an opportunity to trip him up.⁸¹ The supposition here is that Decazes took advantage of certain indiscretions on Bismarck's part in order to place specifically before Europe the alternative between equilibrium and German domination, with the result of shaking seriously Bismarck's hitherto unquestioned power to do as he pleased with France, and of taking a long step toward gaining the friendship of Russia. The objection at once arises, that the indiscretions which gave Decazes his chance were indeed so very grave as to indicate that Bismarck was pushing his policy this time far beyond any mere suspended threat. Is it possible, asks the Duc de Broglie, that Hohenlohe's denunciation of the French armaments was intended to be followed by only passive resignation if France failed to heed the warning?⁸²

The answer has already been shadowed forth at more than one point in the course of development of the affair. It was advanced as a possibility by Gontaut, in a despatch of April 24,⁸³ and it was the basis of the instructions drawn up for him by Decazes on May 8.⁸⁴ Essentially it is that Bismarck was working by all means in his power to procure the repeal of the laws which France had just passed, and that he was prepared to go to great lengths to accomplish his purpose. This is the view taken by de Broglie, Hanotaux, and Dreux, on the foundation of the Gontaut correspondence. It is supported by too many facts to permit of escape even by drawing no conclusion at all. Passing over the Radowitz mission, which preceded the passage of the French military law but which was undoubtedly undertaken with a view to providing for some such eventuality, and also over the other alarming incidents of the early spring, we still have a formidable series of occurrences to account for after March 12. The first of these is the violent outcry in the German press, Bismarck's connection with which can scarcely be doubted. Then followed the extraordinary statements of Radowitz, which were echoed by Moltke, by Münster, and by Bismarck himself. A still further development was constituted by Germany's representations to foreign governments regarding the dangerous character of the French armaments. Finally came Hohenlohe's declaration to Decazes that his government had not changed its opinions on that subject. We have also to consider Bismarck's offer of resignation, coming at so significant a moment and framed in

⁸¹ Wertheimer, II. 238.

⁸² Broglie, pp. 226-227.

⁸³ Dreux, p. 98.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140, 194.

such noticeable terms. All these are facts, which have been disputed but which have not been disproved, and which certainly indicate the development of some definite design. The most reasonable interpretation of that design is that it was to place before France the demand for at least a partial disarmament.

The Duc de Broglie asserts that such a demand would have had as its inevitable consequence war, since no ministry could have survived by an hour the proposal to comply with it made before the Chamber of Deputies.⁸⁵ M. Dreux rejects this conclusion on the ground of Bismarck's skill in covering his operations.⁸⁶ He was carefully avoiding the presentation of a direct demand and endeavoring to bring it forward through a third power in the form of its friendly advice, or to procure the desired effect merely by making it appear that all Europe joined him in regarding France's measures as a threat to peace which ought to be retracted and which Germany was justified in viewing with alarm. By thus keeping out of sight and leaving the issue to be formulated by outside powers, and by the press and the militarists at home, he would avoid coming directly into contact with French public opinion and consequently avoid all danger of provoking war. It is worth noting that the same opinion was advanced by the political correspondent of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* in June, 1875.

The explanation is plausible, but it assumes a great deal that is really unwarranted. In the first place, Bismarck's hand was only too visible throughout the affair. No one in France doubted who was behind the threatened demand of disarmament; and if it had arrived, no one would have stopped to question whence it came. Moreover, had the other powers upon whom Bismarck was counting shown themselves only tolerant, withholding their active co-operation, and had France continued to disregard the handwriting on the wall, is it reasonable to suppose that the chancellor would simply have yielded to the impossibility of carrying out his designs? The supposition is not impossible; but it is much easier to picture a second visit of Hohenlohe with a communication in more definite terms. Finally, we are compelled to consider the fact that Bismarck was playing with fire throughout the entire course of events. There is no question in which one government can less safely interfere than in that of the armaments of another; and it must always recognize the presence of war immediately in the background whenever it undertakes such interference. In vain might Bismarck have sought

⁸⁵ Broglie, p. 228.

⁸⁶ Dreux, pp. 191-202.

to cover his traces; the menace was there. He would have had to rely upon the skill of his adversaries fully as much as upon his own; for, in treading upon such dangerous ground, a single false step on either side might have brought on a conflict, no matter how much against the will of both parties concerned. Bismarck's policy can, therefore, not be acquitted of involving the risk of war.

Bismarck must have realized better than anyone else the element of danger in his project and have gone ahead with it in disregard of that fact. Anxious that France should not again become a considerable military power and a rallying point for alliances which would enable her henceforth to deal with Germany on equal terms, he had determined to remedy, if possible, the deficiency of the treaty of Frankfort in not providing a limitation on armaments; and he was prepared to go even to the length of war in order to carry out his aims. Such must be the conclusion with regard to his conduct in 1875. He was brought up short by timely and decisive action on the part of the other powers and left in a worse position than before. The incident was the first rift in France's hopeless situation and a sign of promise which enabled her to breathe more freely than she had in four years. The re-establishment of the balance of power was in sight. In principle and in results the affair is an important and characteristic phase in the development of German imperial policy, which has so often brought upon itself the very situations it most dreaded and sought to prevent, and which must inevitably have culminated, sooner or later, in the realization of the brutal threat that has always been the mainspring of its action and the fundamental argument for its views.

JOSEPH V. FULLER.

PRÜSSIANISM IN NORTH SLESWICK

WITHOUT attempting to recount once more the tangled history of the Sleswick-Holstein question before 1866, it may suffice to remind the reader that the question had been precipitated by the death on November 15, 1863, of Frederick VII., king of Denmark, and by the attempted maintenance by his successor, Christian IX., of a constitution which virtually united Sleswick, but not Holstein, with the kingdom of Denmark; that after a brief war, the Danish king, by the treaty of Vienna (October 30, 1864), surrendered the duchies to the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria; that, after the Six Weeks' War, the latter by the treaty of Prague (August 23, 1866), yielded his rights to the Prussian king; and that on January 12, 1867, both duchies were formally annexed to the Prussian state.

Apart from the rival dynastic claims of the kings of Denmark and the dukes of Augustenborg, the Sleswick-Holstein imbroglio was essentially a conflict between *Deutschtum* and *Dänentum*. That Sleswick had at one time been Danish admits of little doubt; chronicles, place-names, and runic inscriptions, all give evidence that a thousand years ago South Jutland extended to the Eider River.¹ But at various times during the Middle Ages various German elements, Saxon, Frisian, and from Holstein, made their way north of the Eider, and the Germanization of South Sleswick was begun.² It was not resisted by the Oldenburg kings of Denmark. It was strengthened by the nationalistic movement which arose in Germany after the settlement of 1815, and by the formation, after 1830, of a Sleswick-Holstein party hostile to Copenhagen and urgent for the formation of a separate state, having German as its official speech, and joined to Denmark in the person of a common ruler only.

The reply to the demands of this new faction came almost immediately in a strong Danish revival throughout South Jutland. Realizing that the time had come when they must choose between German and Danish, the intellectual classes began to organize in defense of their native speech. In 1838 the publication of a Danish newspaper, *Dannevirke*, was begun in Haderslev. In 1842 a Danish

¹ For the evidence see F. de Jessen, ed., *Manuel Historique de la Question du Slesvig* (Copenhagen, 1906), pp. 3-73. Cf. Karl Jansen and Karl Samwer, *Schleswig-Holstein Befreiung* (Wiesbaden, 1897), p. 3. Jansen gives the German view.

² De Jessen, *Manuel Historique de la Question du Slesvig*, pp. 69, 93, 95-98.

member of the Sleswick estates, Hjort-Lorenzen, attempted to address the estates in Danish, but German members interposed with furious opposition, and the speech was never completed.³ After the treaty of London (1852) the Danish government, now left in control of both duchies, made definite efforts to stem the tide of Germanization in church and school, which were stoutly resisted by the Sleswick-Holstein party. The language rescripts of 1850-1851 were, perhaps, an error in statesmanship, but they seem to have been an essentially fair arrangement. In South Sleswick, which was bilingual, the two languages were put on a fairly equal footing. The chief criticism of the rescripts appears to be that the boundaries between the linguistic areas were not always accurately drawn.⁴ The situation remained unsettled until the formal annexation of both duchies to Prussia in 1867.

I.

The King of Prussia did not acquire a clear title to the whole of Sleswick by the treaty of Prague; the Emperor of Austria in transferring his rights to the duchies made this important reservation: "that the inhabitants of North Sleswick shall be again reunited with Denmark if they should express such a desire in a vote freely given" (Article V.).⁵

The idea that the proper solution of the Sleswick question was the division of the duchy along the lines of nationality was not new. It was first put forward by Uwe Jens Lornsen, the Frisian agitator, in a letter written in 1832. Since that time division was frequently proposed, occasionally by Danes but more often by Germans; it was also urged by some of the powers in the negotiations preliminary to the treaty of Vienna. But all parties directly concerned rejected the solution. The Danish government stood on its historic rights: Sleswick had been joined to Denmark for at least ten centuries, and to surrender the German part would be to surrender Danish territory. The Sleswick-Holstein party also refused to listen to the suggestion; all of Sleswick was to be included in their new state. The Danes of Sleswick were naturally reluctant to see their country

³ The Danish revival is described in two articles by P. Lauridsen, "Det Nationale Gjennembrud i Sønderjylland", in *Tilskueren*, XV. 261-285, 359-379.

⁴ On the subject of the "rescripts" see de Jessen, *Manuel Historique*, pp. 121-128; Mackeprang, *Nordslesvig* (Copenhagen, 1910), pp. 4-5; P. Lauridsen, "Efter 20 Aars Fremmedherredømme", in *Tilskueren*, I. 829-830.

⁵ For the text of the treaty, in English translation, see Oakes and Mowat, *The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 251-255, or *British and Foreign State Papers*, LVI. 1050.

mutilated, and not till they faced the danger of annexation to Prussia did they agree to accept the proposal.⁶

Unfortunately neither Prussia nor Austria was vitally interested in this part of Article V.; it was owing to the insistence of Napoleon III., who had come forward as mediator, that the reservation found a place in the treaty. But inasmuch as the stipulation was accepted by both contracting parties, it must be construed not only as a pledge on the part of Prussia to Austria, but as a moral obligation on the part of both these powers to the Danes of North Sleswick.

The news from Prague was joyfully received north of the Flensborg-Tönder line, but disappointment soon followed. In the act of annexation which became a law the following January there was not the least hint that North Sleswick was to occupy a peculiar position. Later in the same year a constitutional assembly met to draw up a constitution for the new North German Confederation. In that body North Sleswick was represented in the persons of Hans Krüger and N. Ahlmann. These men took the position that they could not participate in the deliberations, as their territory did not actually belong to the Confederation. This was the beginning of the "policy of protest" in which the Danes persisted for nearly twenty years.⁷

Thus was formed a small political group which till yesterday was a factor in Prussian politics. Its earlier policies, the protest and the refusal to take the oath, for which Krüger was chiefly responsible, were abandoned in the early eighties;⁸ but the political creed formulated by Ahlmann in 1867 remained always the platform of the party: "We are Danes; we wish to remain Danes; we wish to be dealt with as Danes and according to the precepts of the law of nations."

It seems that Bismarck honestly intended that some sort of referendum should be taken at the proper time. In October, 1864, shortly before the peace of Vienna, he stated to Jules Hansen that

⁶ The history of the movement to divide Sleswick is told in detail in de Jessen, *Manuel Historique*, pp. 135-154. See also a letter written in 1864 by a Dane, Chr. Lütken, embodying this proposition, in an article by Heiberg, "Martsforeningen og Planerne om Sønderjyllands Deling", in *Gads Danske Magazin*, XI. 666-668 (August, 1917). On Lord Russell's plan presented to the London conference (1864) see Aage Friis, *D. G. Monrads Deltagelse i Begivenhederne 1864*. Bishop Monrad was Danish prime minister in 1864. His apologia, which casts much light on the diplomatic movements of the time, was written in 1880 but was not published before 1914.

⁷ Mackeprang, *Nordslesvig*, pp. 23, 41-49.

⁸ H. P. Hanssen-Nørremølle, "De Nationale Forhold i Sønderjylland", in *Tilskueren*, IV. 472 (1887). Up to the time of the recent German revolution, Hanssen was a member of the Reichstag.

personally he would earlier have been satisfied with the southern half of Sleswick, but that the king wished to give all to the Duke of Augustenborg.⁹ In December Hansen again had an audience with Bismarck, but now "in case Prussia should return North Sleswick to Denmark", Bismarck was "of the opinion that there would have to be compensation either in the north or in the south".¹⁰ A year later he stated that his view of the question remained the same, but that certain strategic points must be left in Prussian control.¹¹ In the autumn of 1866 Bismarck appears to have looked forward to an early referendum, for in a letter dated October 21 he opposed the introduction of military service into the duchies, because he feared that it would have "an unfavorable effect on the opinion and on the eventual decision (*Abstimmung*) in North Sleswick".¹² On December 20, 1866, Bismarck, in a speech delivered in the Prussian Landtag, outlined the history of Article V., and in the course of this speech made his famous declaration against the expediency of annexing an unwilling population. He added, however, that it would be impossible to divide Sleswick exactly along national lines, but that the terms of the article were vague and "leave us a certain latitude in its execution".¹³

When Krüger, in 1867, protested against the inclusion of North Sleswick in the North German Confederation, Bismarck replied that the pledge of the preceding August would, of course, be carried out; but that the people of North Sleswick were Prussian subjects and had no right to demand a referendum. The Austrian emperor alone had any right to insist on the execution of Article V. But before any step could be taken toward a plebiscite, it would be necessary to negotiate with Denmark so as to secure the rights and economic welfare of the German residents in North Sleswick.¹⁴

In June, 1873, Krüger had a conversation with the chancellor in which the latter stated that he still held to the correctness of the demand for a plebiscite, but that the time was not opportune; he had to consider public sentiment, and he intimated that German opinion was overwhelmingly opposed to any form of territorial cession.¹⁵ But while Bismarck thus committed himself to the principle of a referendum, he never indicated clearly the extent of the ter-

⁹ Jules Hansen, *Les Coulisses de la Diplomatie* (Paris, 1880), p. 35.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹² Von Keudell, *Fürst und Fürstin Bismarck*, p. 321.

¹³ Hansen, *Les Coulisses de la Diplomatie*, p. 129; Mackeprang, *Nordslesvig*, p. 22.

¹⁴ Mackeprang, *Nordslesvig*, pp. 41-42.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

ritories that were to be allowed this privilege; and it is probable that the limits intended were far narrower than the true state of the facts would have required.

Meanwhile, in May, 1867, the Prussian foreign office had begun to negotiate with the Danish government on the subject of a possible retrocession of South Jutland; but the guaranties demanded were of such extensive character that the Danish government, though disposed to go to considerable lengths, concluded after a time that it was useless to continue the negotiations. Such guaranties as concerned ordinary civil rights the Danes would gladly give; they were also willing that the Germans who actually resided in the country should have their own churches and select their own pastors and schoolmasters; nor was any great objection raised to the demand that the German language should have equal rights with the Danish in the judicial administration. But the demand that all questions involving the rights of language should be settled on the basis of conditions in 1846, the Danes found entirely unacceptable. As that was the year before Danish really began to assert its rights in South Jutland, a concession on this point would give the German language a position of preference and even of dominance which would be unendurable. In such a case a great deal of the public instruction would continue in German where the Danes were in overwhelming majority, while in the city of Flensburg, where there was a Danish population of some consequence, the Danish language would wholly disappear from public worship.¹⁶

While demanding these conditions, the Prussians were not willing to give much in return. The Danes asked that the referendum be allowed to cover territory of sufficient extent to give Denmark a real national boundary. This would not be difficult to determine. The election of 1867 had shown clearly that the Danes were in overwhelming majority north of a line drawn from Flensburg Fjord northwestward through Tönder and Höjer. North of this line there were exceedingly few precincts in which the German vote exceeded the Danish.

After the failure of the negotiations of 1867 the Danish government was unable to do much toward securing the promised referendum. The men of North Sleswick, however, kept the matter constantly before the authorities by protests, memorials, deputations,

¹⁶ The guaranties are listed in Hansen, *Les Coulisses de la Diplomatie*, pp. 153-160. See also von Sybel, *Die Begründung des Deutschen Reiches*, VI. 190; *Tilskueren*, XXVIII. 183 (September 5, 1911). Elberling states that the guaranties were purposely drawn to provoke a refusal. De Jessen, *Manuel Historique*, p. 308.

pamphlets, and similar means. The agitation was not successful; the deputations were rarely received; the petitions and memorials were promptly consigned to the pigeonhole. Owing to their refusal to take the required oath, the Danish representatives were unable to bring the subject up in the Prussian Landtag; but in the Reichstag Krüger and Ahlmann returned to the subject of Article V. in season and out of season. The last debate on the matter in the Reichstag probably occurred in 1877, when the spokesman of the government affirmed once more that the Danes had no right to demand a referendum.

The following year, 1878, Article V. was annulled; by a treaty concluded October 11, Austria released Prussia from her pledge to South Jutland. It is believed that Austria in this way paid for Prussian support in the Congress of Berlin, that North Sleswick was the price paid for Bosnia.¹⁷ Bismarck was doubtless correct in his analysis of public opinion in Prussia; there was also the difficulty that William I., as a true Hohenzollern, was very averse to yielding a single foot of earth.

When the treaty of October 11, 1878, was published (February 4, 1879) the Danes in South Jutland were dismayed, but they did not give up the struggle. Krüger died in 1881 and new leaders arose among them, men like J. Jessen, Gustav Johannsen, and H. P. Hanssen-Nørremølle, who were disposed to accept facts but still to insist on their rights of citizenship. The policy of protest and non-juring was dropped, though only after a severe struggle; and before the close of the eighties, the Danish representatives had taken their places in the Landtag and joined the opposition. In the Reichstag, too, they have been active critics of the government. Among the members who have voted consistently against the budget during the present war has been H. P. Hanssen-Nørremølle, the member from North Sleswick.

II.

The abrogation of Article V. not only brought bitter disappointment to the inhabitants of South Jutland; it also created a situation of great difficulty for thousands of men and women whose civil rights were dependent on the complete enforcement of the pledge given at Prague.

It was provided in the earlier treaty of Vienna that any resident in the duchies who might wish to continue a subject of the King of

¹⁷ It was supposed at the time that the October treaty was a punishment directed at Christian IX. for permitting his daughter to marry the pretender to the crown of Hanover. See de Jessen, *Manuel Historique*, p. 308. Mackeprang accepts the view stated above. *Nordslesvig*, p. 112.

Denmark should have a period of six years in which to dispose of his interests and property and should be allowed to emigrate without hindrance of any sort, provided that he declared his choice of Danish citizenship before some duly authorized official.¹⁸ Those who made this choice were known as "optants". But the act of option was not legally completed and binding before there had been actual emigration. On this point there was no dispute; the question that arose was how to construe the term emigration, the Danes holding that so long as one still had property in Sleswick he had not emigrated, while the Prussian lawyers finally concluded that crossing the border completed the option, if one had earlier declared his choice in legal manner.¹⁹

During the first two years of German occupation very few declared their option; there was plenty of time and it might be safer not to commit oneself too soon. Then came the peace of Prague with the promise of an early referendum, and after that year there seemed to be no reason why one should express a choice. The country would surely be restored to Denmark before the six-year period should expire, and then neither option nor emigration would be necessary.

This delay did not accord with the wishes of the Prussian authorities and steps were soon taken to force the South Jutes to select their citizenship. For this purpose an excellent instrument was discovered in the Prussian military law. In 1866 the Prussian military system, with its demand of three years' compulsory service from all as they reached the age of twenty, was extended to the duchies. The result was that during the autumn of that year nearly all the young men of military age in North Sleswick renounced their Prussian citizenship and declared their intention to remain citizens of Denmark.²⁰

This action was doubtless what the Prussian government had hoped and expected. The next step looked toward ridding the kingdom of these "optants". It was announced (November 16, 1866) that in spite of their declarations the names of all these men would be carried on the service rolls until it should be established that they had taken up a permanent abode in the land of their option. There seemed now to be no choice but to emigrate immediately and the young conscripts began crossing the border in large numbers.

Among the new Prussian subjects were a considerable number

¹⁸ Article XIX.

¹⁹ For a discussion of these varying views see de Jessen, *Manuel Historique*, pp. 230 ff.

²⁰ Mackeprang, p. 60; *Tilskueren*, IV. 472-473 (1887).

of older men who had served in the Danish army and consequently had sworn fidelity to the King of Denmark. In March and April, 1867, all those who had served in this way since 1852 were summoned to roll-call and to take the military oath to the King of Prussia. The men appeared as ordered but with few exceptions they refused to take the oath. The result was that many of them suffered punishment, the favorite penalty being a term of military training amid German surroundings. This led to a second migration, one that took on the appearance of a panic. The chief reason for this undue haste was that war between Prussia and France seemed imminent, and the Danes did not wish to enroll under the Prussian flag.²¹

After the flight of these elder Danes, the Prussian authorities determined to proceed with greater severity against the young conscripts who had declared for Denmark. An order was issued which, if it had been carried out, would have driven Danes in large numbers across the border. It was later withdrawn, however, probably because of protest from Copenhagen. On May 2, 1869, it was announced, that all optants who had fled to evade military service before March 1 of that year, might return and resume their residence in the duchy. During the following months the question of the optants was made the subject of extended negotiations between the Prussian and the Danish government, with the result that an agreement was reached and promulgated December 3 and 20, 1869. In the "December Convention" the government of Denmark conceded the right of Prussia to demand a limited term of service from all who had declared their option *after* they had received their military summons.²²

In the summer of 1870 the Sleswick Danes again found themselves in sore straits. War had broken out with France, but to fight against Napoleon III., the author of the pledge which was very soon to give them liberty, seemed unthinkable. There was but one escape; the young men must declare their option before the order of mobilization should come. But to their great surprise they now learned that the Prussian officials would not receive their declarations, chiefly, it is believed, because it appeared likely that Denmark would join France in the coming war. But, in spite of the fact that emigration to Denmark was now practically forbidden, the conscripts hurried northward in large numbers, evaded the guards on the border, and escaped into Denmark.

²¹ Mackeprang, pp. 60-61.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 62-64.

These three migrations (in 1866, 1867, and 1870) resulted in much distress and great confusion both in Sleswick and in Denmark. Many of the fugitives had left their property behind in the panic, and the presence of so many refugees in the border communities of Jutland threatened to become a serious economic problem. At the same time the departure of so many breadwinners produced much destitution in the distracted territories south of the border. Now that the war was over many returned to their homes; but they soon discovered that only with great difficulty could they acquire rights of residence on Prussian soil. It was also a question what duties these people owed to the two governments and also to what extent their options were legal. The whole matter grew daily more confused. Finally the governments concerned agreed to have the situation examined by a joint commission, and on the basis of this investigation an agreement was reached at Aabenraa (1872) which it was hoped would remove all the difficulties.

The conclusions of the Aabenraa convention may be grouped under three principal heads. (1) The commission determined the status of something more than one thousand men who had fled to Denmark to avoid mobilization. The greater number of these, nearly two-thirds, were given the status of Danish citizens. The remainder were classified as Prussian subjects, and they were later punished for having failed to appear at muster. (2) The commission also provided that optants who wished to return might resume their residence in Sleswick on presenting a certificate of settlement from Danish authorities, and that they might continue in residence so long as they showed no hostility to the Prussian government and did not prove "burdensome". (3) The convention also settled the question of military service by providing that neither country should demand this service from any citizen of the other country. The optants therefore owed their military service to Denmark.²³

The Aabenraa commission found that in many cases the matter of citizenship was difficult to determine; but in such cases the Prussian representatives, "in kindness and as an act of special favor", allowed the decision to favor the optant. But one must not stress unduly these professions of liberality. The situation was such that the rulers in Berlin would gladly have given all the Danes in North Sleswick the status of optants. The optants had no political rights; they took no part in elections, except to a limited extent in church elections; they held no offices. The greater the number of optants, the sooner Prussian control in the duchy would be complete. In

²³ De Jessen, pp. 280-284.

1867 the number of votes cast for the Danish candidates for membership in the Reichstag was 27,448; four years later the number was 21,563. The decrease was doubtless due in part to the disfranchisement of the returned optants; and for a decade longer there was little comfort in the total of the Danish vote.²⁴

In some localities the number of optants was quite large. After the Aabenraa convention they returned from Denmark by thousands. Hanssen-Nörremölle wrote in 1887 that one-tenth of the population of North Sleswick were of Danish citizenship.²⁵ Mackeprang accepts this estimate but adds that in some localities the fraction would run as high as fifty per cent.²⁶ It is clear that under such conditions there would be a material shrinkage in the Danish vote. At the same time the Germanizing party was being steadily recruited from Prussian office-holders and public servants of many sorts. Nevertheless, the Danes have kept control of their communities to a surprisingly large extent.

For a decade the optants suffered very little annoyance, but in 1883 the Prussian returned to the problem. On January 7 of that year an order was issued that all men who were born in 1863 should report for military service. To this was joined the threat that failure to comply might entail banishment.²⁷ In so far as this order concerned the sons of optants, it was in direct opposition to the convention of Aabenraa, in which it was agreed that the optants should perform their military service in Denmark. It is true that the sons of optants born after the ratification of the treaty of cession (November 16, 1864) would not be Danish citizens; but the order of January 7 applied to young men who were born before this date and whose citizenship was unquestionably Danish. Another pledge had been broken and another wave of migration began to roll northward, though in this year the number of exiles was relatively small.

An optant is a resident of South Jutland who at one time chose Danish citizenship, emigrated to Denmark, and later returned to his former home. But by far the greater number of the emigrants never did return. Those who left the country subsequent to November 16, 1870, were permanent exiles; only in rare cases have such men been allowed to resume their residence in Sleswick.²⁸ It

²⁴ Mackeprang, pp. 35, 76; *Tilskueren*, VII. 306-328, for a study of election results, particularly the election of 1890, by Johan Ottosen.

²⁵ *Tilskueren*, IV. 472.

²⁶ Mackeprang, p. 161. See also Erik Givskov, "Germany and her Subject Races", in the *Contemporary Review*, LXXXVII. 820.

²⁷ De Jessen, pp. 287-288.

²⁸ *Tilskueren*, IV. 476 (1887).

is impossible to state how many inhabitants the country has lost through emigration to Denmark (or to America), but the estimates run from 50,000 to 60,000. As the total population of North Sleswick is but little above 150,000, this means a relatively great loss. It is, however, only when one considers the economic effects of such a movement that its extent and significance can be fully realized. It is believed that the economic cost of this migration must be placed at not less than \$25,000,000.²⁹

Among the residents of Sleswick twenty years ago were certain persons who in the sixties had taken steps to determine their citizenship in favor of Denmark but had not completed the act of option; they either had never emigrated or had returned after a short stay across the border. After the passage of more than thirty years the Prussian government suddenly had its thoughts directed toward these men, and soon information came to them that they were suspected of being optants. Many of them could point to active service in the Franco-Prussian war, to participation in Prussian elections, to the fact that they had held public offices, and to the common belief that they were Prussian subjects. But it was all to no purpose; the courts held that a brief stay in Denmark (four days in one case) was sufficient to complete the act of option. During the years 1902 and 1903 the hunt for optants was particularly active; more than a thousand men lost their Prussian citizenship in these two years. This new political sport was a deliberate effort to deprive the Danish population of its native leaders; for in nearly every case it was a man of prominence whose rights of citizenship were called into question. Ugly stories of bribery and perjury followed the progress of this investigation, some of which appear to be only too well founded.³⁰

As time passed on and a new generation grew up in South Jutland, another problem began to demand attention: that of the status of the children of optants. According to Danish law citizenship was dependent on the place of birth; children born outside Denmark, though the parents were Danish subjects, were not Danish citizens. At the same time the laws of Prussia held that a child inherited the political status of the parents; according to this principle the children of optants (born subsequent to the father's option) could not be Prussian citizens. Thus there was growing up in North Sleswick a large and constantly increasing number of children who were with-

²⁹ *Contemporary Review*, LXXXVII. 820; de Jessen, pp. 406-407; Mackeprang, pp. 149-150; *Tilskueren*, IV. 475-476.

³⁰ On the "fabrication of optants" see de Jessen, pp. 418-419; Mackeprang, pp. 242-245; *Nineteenth Century*, LIV. 60-61.

out a country—the so-called *heimatlose*. In 1898 the situation was in part remedied by a change in the Danish law which allowed the children of Danish citizens residing abroad to claim Danish citizenship. But the law could not apply to children born before the date of the statute (March 19, 1898), and for nearly a decade longer nearly all the children of optants remained "homeless".

Finally, in 1906, the Prussian authorities found it expedient to take up this question with the Danish foreign office, and the following year (January 11, 1907) a convention was signed in Berlin which to some extent has solved the problem of the "homeless children". The Berlin convention provides that Prussia will naturalize all such persons who make application, if "the ordinary legal prerequisites are present". Naturalization thus remains in the control of the Prussian officials, many of whom have been averse to granting this privilege, their plea being that the possession of the franchise would strengthen the Danes in their fight against Prussian *Kultur*. Nevertheless, several thousand have already been naturalized and the number of the "homeless" has been materially reduced.³¹

III.

The first serious attack on Danish nationalism in South Jutland came in 1871 in the form of an ordinance affecting the teaching of German in the public schools. The matter of the optants, painful as it was, affected only a minority in a direct way; but the ordinance of August 26, 1871, touched the entire population. The substance of this decree was that, beginning with his third year in the public school, every pupil should be given instruction in German six hours each week, and if circumstances demanded it the time might be extended to eight or ten hours. Though the charge that this was done in the interest of *Deutschtum* was strenuously denied, the Danes understood that an attempt to undermine their national strongholds was being made. They protested, but it was to no purpose; more effective was the refusal to buy German text-books. For some time the new subject failed to get its rights, but in the end the officers of the law carried the day, and German began to be taught, though owing to a lack of capable teachers the instruction made little progress for some time.³²

³¹ The most important study of the entire question of the optants is a work by Henning Matzen, *Die Nordschleswigsche Optantenfrage* (Copenhagen, 1904). This has been incorporated in French translation in de Jessen's *Manuel Historique*, pp. 187-295; on the subject of the "homeless children" see pp. 288 ff. Cf. Mackeprang, pp. 260 ff.

³² For a review of conditions in South Jutland in 1887 by H. P. Hanssen-Nørremølle see *Tilskueren*, IV. 485.

A second step in the same direction was taken in 1876, when it was decreed that the German language alone was to have official standing in the administration and in the law courts. Before this time both Danish and German had been employed in public business as circumstances might direct. By the new regulation Danish was outlawed, though it might be used in the lower circle of local institutions for twenty years longer, wherever it would otherwise be impossible to carry on the government. The new law was rigorously enforced and proved an effective weapon in the war against the Danish language.³³

Another step forward was taken four years later when by an ordinance of March 9, 1878, the number of hours of instruction in German in the last year of the public school course was increased to twelve. This ordinance also provided that all instruction in history, geography, singing, and mental arithmetic should be given in German. It will be observed that here was a deliberate effort to give the German view of the world and of history to the youthful mind, and also that the habit of singing German songs was to be carefully nursed. The ordinance further provided that gymnastics should be taught in German as an addition to the twelve hours. The reason given for all this was that the law of 1876 made it necessary to train up a group of men who should be able to transact public business in the official language.³⁴

For a decade after 1878 public school instruction in North Sleswick was given in the proportion of fourteen hours in German to eighteen hours in Danish. There were, however, various ways in which the school authorities were able to increase the amount of actual instruction in German. The subject of religion was taught in Danish; but the law required that in this connection German hymns should be learned and recited. Moreover, the character of the official history was such as to serve the purposes of German propaganda rather than of instruction. Conversation in and about the school was to be carried on in German; the older children were often punished for conversing in Danish.³⁵ Wherever there seemed to be a fair demand for complete Germanization of a school, the authorities acted with remarkable promptness and often on very inadequate information as to the actual desires of the communities concerned.

During the same years the government gradually eliminated all

³³ Mackeprang, pp. 96-97; *Tilskueren*, I. 827-828 (1884).

³⁴ *Tilskueren*, IV. 485-486 (1887).

³⁵ *Nineteenth Century*, LIV. 55. The author, W. Hartmann, investigated conditions in North Sleswick in 1903.

private schools. Whenever opportunity offered, such establishments were closed, and the last private Danish school, a girls' school in Haderslev, passed out of existence in 1888. The justification offered in these cases was that these institutions were not likely to educate the young in a patriotic spirit. At the same time instruction in the homes was practically forbidden, as was the practice of sending the children to school in Denmark. There was therefore nothing to do but to send them to the Germanized public schools, at least until the course was completed and the children were confirmed.³⁶

The final step in the Germanization of the school system was taken in 1888, when by an ordinance dated December 18 all Danish instruction was abolished except in religion, which might be taught in the Danish language where that seemed necessary. The ordinance also allowed the teacher some discretion in the enforcement of the new rules during the first year or two of the pupil's life in school, as the knowledge of German in parts of South Jutland was very slight.³⁷

The law met with immediate opposition. It was felt that to teach religion in Danish would serve no purpose unless some attention were given to the language itself. The Danes, therefore, demanded a minimum of two hours' instruction in their own language as a foundation for the work in religion. In this demand they received some, though rather feeble, support from the clergy. It was urged by the pietistic element in the state church that religious instruction in a language that the children did not really understand was of doubtful value and might even place their souls in jeopardy. Zealous apostles of Germanization though they were, the priests were unable to refute this argument, though their subsequent activities in behalf of the two hours of Danish were half-hearted at best.

The administration was now carried on in the German language. The business of the courts was transacted in German, though frequently with the aid of interpreters. The public school was also German, at least on the secular side. The only public institution not wholly Germanized was the church. It must not be understood, however, that the church had been wholly neglected. Services in the German language had gradually been introduced into churches where Danish only had been preached before; first a few services a year or one service a month for the edification of some German official, who in many cases failed to appreciate the concern shown by the ecclesiastical authorities for his spiritual welfare. But every

³⁶ *Tilskueren*, IV. 485 (1887).

³⁷ Mackeprang, pp. 176-177; *Nineteenth Century*, LIV. 55.

year there would be a greater number of services in a language that the congregation did not understand. The attitude of the Prussian clergy consequently weakened popular interest in the state church while at the same time it led to a vigorous promotion of the "free church movement" which at one time threatened the regular ecclesiastical establishment in certain localities with total extinction.

The free church was not a new institution in South Jutland, but its period of real growth dates from about 1894. The clerical authorities opposed the movement with all their strength and those who left the established church suffered much petty persecution. No ceremonies were to be allowed at the funerals of free church members; the ringing of bells was forbidden, no hymns might be sung, no prayers said at the grave. Free church services are classed as political meetings and can be held only in the presence of a policeman.³⁸ At the same time the clergy appreciated the power of public sentiment, and there came a conviction that forcible Germanization of the church must cease.³⁹

In 1908 the use of the Danish language was more narrowly limited by a new law governing public meetings, which forbids the use of any language but German in public addresses except for election purposes and except in communities where at least sixty per cent. of the population use a non-German idiom; in such localities this language may be used for twenty years, or to 1928.⁴⁰

The enemies of the ancient civilization of South Jutland soon found a new field for their activities; the process of Germanization would advance more rapidly if the Danes could be deprived of their right to the soil. Persistent efforts have been made to this end during the past decade, though these are not to be charged to the government, but to certain unions and corporations which, it is true, enjoyed the support of the central administration.

In 1898 the Prussian government began to purchase estates in North Sleswick, which were again sold to German colonists on a plan of payments resembling somewhat that employed by the British government under the Irish land purchase acts. But, as there was to be limited ownership only, the plan never became very popular; only thirty-seven such properties were established during the decade 1890-1900 and ninety-three during the following seven years.⁴¹

A society had been organized in 1891 to plant colonies in the

³⁸ Mackeprang, pp. 198-199; *Tilskueren*, IV. 495 (1887).

³⁹ *Tilskueren*, XIX. 516 (1902); see also *ibid.*, IV. 483.

⁴⁰ Mackeprang, p. 272.

⁴¹ Vilhelm La Cour, "Ejendomsspørgsmaalet i Nordslesvig", in *Tilskueren*, XXVII. 496 (June, 1910). For earlier efforts to secure the soil, see *ibid.*, IV. 487.

western part of South Jutland, but it was not managed honestly and went into bankruptcy ten years later. More important was the Sleswick-Holstein Colonization Society which was founded in 1909 on the suggestion of the Prussian department of agriculture.⁴² The purpose of this organization was to acquire farm land, preferably near the northern border, which the society hoped to colonize with German farmers and laborers. But the project has met with only slight success, as the South Jutes are not easily induced to part with hereditary lands.⁴³

IV.

It has been a very unequal fight, this conflict between the millions of Prussia and the 150,000 Danes in South Jutland; but, on the whole, though they have lost some territory to the Germans, the Danes have maintained their positions with remarkable success. It is only when one examines the methods employed by the Prussian officials and especially by the Prussian police, that one really appreciates what a struggle it has been.

During the years of transition to Prussian control a few irritating regulations were promulgated and enforced, such as a rule forbidding the display of Danish colors; but on the whole there was little real persecution in North Sleswick before 1874, when von Bitter was *Oberpräsident* of the province of Sleswick-Holstein. Von Bitter's activity was directed chiefly against three objects: the Danish-language press, the Danish societies, and the Danish subjects residing in Sleswick, optants as well as immigrants.

It is a well-known fact that Prussian legislation does not allow the press much freedom in any language; it was therefore comparatively easy to make life burdensome for the Danish publications. In June, 1874, the editor of *Freja*, who was a Danish subject, was banished because he was serving as editor of "a paper hostile to the state". When a little later this paper was consolidated with *Dannevirke*, the editorial secretary of the combined publications was promptly excluded from the kingdom. In August of the same year an investigation was set in motion to determine the allegiance of the compositors in the Danish newspaper offices; and all those who were found to hold Danish citizenship were ordered to leave Prussia.

The following year (1875) H. R. Hjort-Lorenzen, the editor of *Dannevirke*, was imprisoned for *lèse majesté*, and while he was still serving his sentence, his successor was found guilty of violating certain newspaper laws and was sent to prison. In 1876 four Danish

⁴² Die Schleswig-Holsteinische Gemeinnützliche Siedlungs-Genossenschaft.

⁴³ On this subject see *Tilskueren*, XXVII. 492-503 (June, 1910).

editors (all Prussian subjects) were serving prison sentences. But von Bitter's persecution bore fruits; the press was cowed, and for a time the editors shunned political subjects.

A decade later, during the administration of Oberpräsident von Steinmann, the persecution broke out anew. In 1884 the editors of *Dannevirke* and the *Flensburg Avis* were fined for libelling a school board; and when they proceeded to publish the minutes of the trial they were again punished, this time with prison sentences. In 1886 two editors went to prison for libelling Bismarck, an offense only slightly less criminal than *lèse majesté*. One of these was the aggressive Danish leader J. Jessen, who later served in the Reichstag. Jessen edited the *Flensburg Avis*, and during a period of less than five years he spent eighteen months in Prussian prisons. An opportunity to begin a suit against a Danish paper for libel was rarely missed; in 1894 the paper *Hejmdal* had fourteen such suits to fight.⁴⁴

Next to the Danish-language press the most dangerous element in North Sleswick from the view point of the Oberpräsident, was the complex of societies which had been established everywhere in the northern part of his province. The principal charge against these was that they had been organized to promote "political agitation". The Danes denied that this was a fact; they were organized to protect and preserve Danish nationalism, the peculiar characteristics of the people which the Prussian authorities had pledged themselves to respect. But the Germans held that any speech or song in praise of Denmark was an "anti-German demonstration".

Among the first to feel the iron hand were the agricultural societies, of which there seem to have been several. These usually gave an annual cattle fair at which there were certain festivities, such as a common meal with songs and speeches. The authorities very often descended upon these, and the fairs sometimes ended in collisions with the police. Various other societies, such as choral unions and workingmen's guilds, were also watched, investigated, and often suppressed.

Twenty years later the attack was renewed, the lecture unions being the principal object at this time. It was charged that the lecturers frequently touched on political subjects, and the term political proved to be a most elastic one. Inasmuch as women were forbidden by Prussian law to be present at political meetings, it was necessary to suppress these societies. In 1898 the promoters of Prussianism secured a court decision which held that all Danish societies were

⁴⁴ On the subject of the persecution of the Danish-language press see Mackeprang, pp. 88-89, 91-94, 169-170, 221, from which these illustrations are drawn.

political from the fact that they had a pro-Danish membership only and did not appeal to German sympathizers. It was, therefore, the duty of the police to suppress them. The situation was made somewhat more tolerable by the legislation of 1908 which allows women to hold membership in political societies; but during the preceding decade, Danish societies found it almost impossible to exist.

Efforts were often made to weaken these organizations by means of frequent litigation. For one thing, the law required that all societies must report promptly all changes in their memberships, withdrawals as well as accessions. Some energetic lawyer discovered that the Danes were not prompt in reporting changes that were caused by the death of members; and as death meant a withdrawal, the societies were violating the law. Several hundred suits were started in 1900 against societies that had not reported losses to their membership by death; the Language Union had about one hundred and fifty suits brought against it and was threatened with destruction. Fortunately, however, the higher courts failed to uphold the contentions of the police authorities and the suits failed.

Another effective method was to deprive the societies of the use of public halls and other gathering-places. When the Danes proceeded to build their own halls, they were often prevented on one pretext or another from taking possession. In one case a police official discovered a crack in the ceiling and condemned the building.⁴⁵

Even more odious, if possible, has been the treatment meted out to unoffending residents, whose only crime was that they were subjects of the Danish king. Many of those who suffered under the tyranny of the successive chief presidents were optants, but among them were also immigrants from Denmark who had been attracted to Sleswick by the advantages of higher wages and a more active labor market. In Article XIX. of the treaty of Vienna it is provided that all who were in possession of "the rights of native born" (*le droit d'indigénat*) both in the kingdom and in the duchies on the day of the exchange of ratifications (November 16, 1864) should remain in possession of these rights. This provision has been variously interpreted, but it was introduced into the treaty on the motion of the Danish commissioners and their intentions are easily determined. In Danish law the native born enjoyed certain rights that were not shared by alien immigrants; a native born, for example, could not be banished from the land, while an alien might be excluded without much formality. It was believed that the sec-

⁴⁵ On the persecution of the Danish societies see Mackeprang, pp. 236-238, 273.

tion referred to would render the inhabitants of South Jutland secure in the enjoyment of ordinary civil rights, whether they were Prussian citizens or not; but the Prussians have repudiated the provision by legal interpretation, and have persisted in treating the optants and other Danish citizens as alien immigrants.⁴⁶

It has already been stated that several editors and compositors were ordered to leave the land in 1874; in the same year the principal of a high school was banished and his institution promptly closed; another Danish subject was banished for having "forced his way into a polling place", though no such offense was observed at the time. In all, twelve Danish subjects were ordered to leave Prussia in that year.⁴⁷

Furthermore, great care was being taken to prevent optants from returning to their homes. Two cotters who had served in the Danish army in 1864 were promptly banished on declaring their option for Denmark. When the war with France broke out they were in Funen, and one night they stole across the Little Belt to visit their families. The police soon discovered them and they were pressed into service in the Prussian army. A year later their status was again investigated, and they were found to be Danish citizens.⁴⁸

A legal basis for these exclusions was conveniently found in an old ordinance from Danish times (November 5, 1841) which forbade aliens to take up residence in the duchies without permission from the local authorities. The original purpose of this rule had been to control the migration of paupers; but the Prussian police found it useful for other purposes. The ordinance also provided that no clergyman might perform marriage services for such aliens without license from the local administration. This ordinance now came into large use. Danish citizens were ordered to register with the authorities and receive permission to continue in the country. The permits were often issued for one year only and could be recalled at any time. License to marry was often refused, and unauthorized marriages were sometimes punished with banishment.⁴⁹

In 1883 and 1884 there were many cases of banishment. In the latter year a number of South Jutes made excursions to Jutland and other parts of Denmark, and on their return the exclusions began. In some cases men were sent into exile because their wives had taken part in these excursions. From August to November, 1884, about fifty persons were driven from the land, and as some of them

⁴⁶ On the subject of Article XIX. see de Jessen, *Manuel Historique*, pp. 191 ff.

⁴⁷ Mackeprang, p. 90.

⁴⁸ *Tilskueren*, IV. 475-476 (1887).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, IV. 473.

had families the number actually involved was at least twice as large.⁵⁰

Among the men banished were two brothers whose offense appears to have been that they had little Danish flags on display in their living-rooms. They were men of property, but were given only a fortnight to arrange their affairs and leave the country. It was in their cases that the chief president von Steinmann made a remark which has been widely quoted: "I know very well that you are personally honest and upright men for whom I have great respect . . . but we cannot go on whittling with a pen-knife, we must strike with an ax; and I am very sorry indeed for those who suffer the blow".⁵¹

Prussianism reaped its richest harvest in the later nineties, during the so-called "Köller period". More than three hundred persons were banished in 1898 and approximately the same number in each of the following two years. After 1900 the number declined somewhat; there were about fifty cases of banishment in 1903 and eighteen in 1904. But during the six years of terror (1898-1903) nearly a thousand persons were driven from the province.⁵² Among those who were banished were men with family responsibilities; nevertheless, twenty-four hours was usually the time given in which to arrange for departure. Earlier there had at least been a pretense of trying to fasten some sort of guilt on the person banished, though the charges were often far-fetched; usually it was simply stated that the person in question had become "troublesome" (*lästig*). But in 1891 a number of Danish butter-makers had been banished because their methods were not "economical", and in 1898 a prominent merchant in Haderslev was exiled because he had ceased patronizing a German barber. Von Köller frankly admitted that his victims were entirely innocent; but in banishing the servant he was able to strike at the "fanatical employer".⁵³

At the same time the Prussian police guarded the border carefully lest "agitators" should steal in. In 1875 a company of Danish tourists were refused admission at several ports. No Danish traveling salesman is allowed to operate in North Sleswick, though German salesmen enjoy complete freedom in Denmark.⁵⁴

But the most famous case of this sort was that of a theatrical troupe which came from Copenhagen to Haderslev to entertain the populace with light comedy. There were seven in all, five actors and

⁵⁰ Mackeprang, p. 166; *Tilskuere*, I. 828, II. 227, IV. 472-473.

⁵¹ *Tilskuere*, IV. 473; Mackeprang, p. 166.

⁵² The statistics are from Mackeprang, pp. 227, 235, 258.

⁵³ Mackeprang, pp. 217-218, 227-228.

⁵⁴ *Tilskuere*, XXVIII. 191 (September, 1911).

two actresses. Scenting the danger, the Haderslev police were on hand when the ship touched the wharf, and the entertainers were sent back to Copenhagen. This was in 1894. A German who was present and appreciated the humor of the situation commented on it in the following suggestive lines:

“Lieb’ Vaterland, kannst ruhig sein,
Der Feind ist fort, die Luft ist rein.”

The same caution is employed in the case of visiting Norwegians. A Norwegian naval officer who came to South Jutland to lecture on a perfectly harmless topic was forbidden to speak and ordered to leave the country. And when Captain Roald Amundsen came to Flensburg some years ago he was permitted to deliver his lecture only after the Kaiser had intervened in his behalf.⁵⁵

Prussian citizens who show an unworthy interest in things Danish cannot be deported, but their offenses can be dealt with in other ways, especially by invoking the law against “disorderly conduct”. In Sleswick disorderly conduct (*grober Unfug*) is especially associated with the display of Danish colors (red and white) and the singing of Danish songs. It is the height of disorderly conduct to have a weather-vane with a cross cut out of it, to make building wreaths of white shavings and red ribbons,⁵⁶ to decorate graves with red and white flowers, or to dress in red and white, as all these things indicate affection for the Danish flag. It is told that the police once compelled a man to repaint a red kennel because it was occupied by a white dog.⁵⁷

The singing of such Danish songs as may in any sense be classed as patriotic is also disorderly conduct. In dealing with this offense the police finds its authority in an order issued by the provisional government in 1865 forbidding the singing of “inflammatory” songs. The theory is that, while the songs do not by any means irritate the Germans, they do stir up the emotions of the Danes who sing or hear them. At one time a police official appeared at a cattle fair with a list of songs that were not to be sung. On another occasion a Prussian court secured the services of an expert adviser who produced a list of about sixty songs that were of an inflammatory character and another list of seventy-five which were dangerous. A few young girls in Aabenraa were once so indiscreet as to sing

⁵⁵ *Tilskueren*, XXXIII. 206 (1916).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 828 (1884.) [The article was written before the end of the war. We retain the present tense. It is not yet known what changes, if any, have come about. Ed.]

⁵⁷ *Nineteenth Century*, LIV. 59 (July, 1903).

a variety of Danish songs; the military forces were called out and the young women were properly fined for disorderly conduct. In one case a woman who sang a Swedish song at a social gathering was seized in the very act by the police and hustled across the border.

It is not always the offender himself who is punished for disorderly conduct of this sort. In 1901 thirteen Danes were deported because Danish songs had been sung at a wedding in Köbenhoved, though at least twelve of the thirteen had not been among the guests on this particular occasion. The principle that communities should suffer for the offenses of the individual was expressed more than twenty years ago by Landrath Mauve of Haderslev circle: "The populace must learn that each is responsible for all. If one member offends, they must all be punished, until through mutual discipline they have taught each other how to keep the peace."⁵⁸

It is only fair to state that a strong minority of the intellectual leaders in Germany have always opposed the forcible Germanization of South Jutland. If we can believe Professor Delbrück, the ordinance that finally outlawed the Danish language originated in the Prussian department of education and met considerable opposition in government circles generally.⁵⁹ Professor Delbrück on various occasions has protested vigorously against the methods employed by the police in the Danish districts; especially did he sound a warning during the Köller period.⁶⁰ It is also true that the zeal of the local administration has often outrun the purposes of the central government. At the same time the local police has usually been able to count on the unqualified support both of the courts and of the higher councils in Potsdam and Berlin.

After the fall of Bismarck (1890) a more liberal policy was adopted, but four years later the new chancellor, von Caprivi, was driven from the helm and the old methods were revived and intensified. It was believed that the convention of January, 1907, would assure more humane treatment for the Sleswick Danes, not because the administration was becoming more liberal, but because the foreign office wished to retain the good-will of Denmark. For a year or two conditions were more tolerable in South Jutland, but since 1909 the old system has again prevailed. In August, 1914, a large number of prominent Danes, the leaders in the fight against oppression, were rounded up and sent to prison.⁶¹ There were no charges against these men, no suspicion that they might be disloyal; but Prussianism is thorough and prepares for all eventualities.

⁵⁸ Mackeprang, pp. 93, 221, 229-230.

⁵⁹ *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CXLIII. 562-570 (March, 1911).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XCV. 179 ff.; cf. pp. 376 ff.

⁶¹ *American-Scandinavian Review*, VI. 286 (September-October, 1918).

V.

In 1884, "after twenty years of alien rule", P. Lauridsen, a young Danish educator, made a survey of conditions in South Jutland and published a report that was depressing and encouraging at the same time. Intellectually North Sleswick was an island, shut off from Prussia by antipathy and national differences, and shut off from Denmark by the iron barriers of Prussian law. On this island the agencies of Prussianism were always at work seeking to undermine the national culture, to erase memories, and to wrench the population from its Danish past. Lauridsen found that in South Sleswick the Danish vernacular had practically disappeared; that in Mid Sleswick it had been almost suppressed; and that to some extent it had also been displaced in the larger cities in North Sleswick. Danish had been driven out of the courts and the administration; the schools were half Germanized; and the German language was also forcing its way into the church.

But Lauridsen also reported that German had after all made but slight progress. More than half of Sleswick was still Danish, and more than half of the population still spoke the Danish idiom. Without the aid of Prussian officials and soldiers what *Deutschtum* there was could not be maintained.⁶²

Since then the process of Germanization has been steadily pushed, at times with ruthless vigor. During these thirty years and more, Danish nationalism has suffered irreparable losses; still, the greater part of the stronghold remains intact. Prussian candidates have at times polled relatively large votes in the elections, but these indicate a change in sentiment to a small degree only. A large number of optants still remain disfranchised, and in some localities the Danes who have the ballot find it expedient not to vote. On the other hand, Prussia has sent a host of officials and other public servants into the land, who never neglect to appear on election day. In addition there has been some actual immigration from the south, especially into the cities, of which Flensburg provides the best illustration.⁶³ Important, too, is the disintegrating force of socialism, which has at least professed an indifference to nationalism, German as well as Danish.⁶⁴

Before 1884 the Danes had made but slight attempts at organized

⁶² *Tilskueren*, I. 825-845.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, IV. 487.

⁶⁴ For maps showing the linguistic and political frontiers in North Sleswick, see Dominian, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, pp. 96, 97; de Jessen, pp. 122, 346; Mackeprang, pp. 36, 172. For a map showing the situation in 1884 see *Tilskueren* I. 835.

resistance to Prussianism. But during the eighties they finally agreed to shelve the old policy of protest and determined upon a new course of action. They decided to accept their place in the Prussian state, to discourage emigration, to keep the young men at home, and to organize in defense of their national and spiritual rights.

The situation was all but hopeless. Cut off as they were from their Danish brethren, they could get no reinforcements from across the border. Nor could they get much assistance from their spiritual guides, for the clergy were on the whole pro-German in their sympathies, as one might expect in a body carefully selected by Prussian officials. So the Danes were thrown back on their own resources and forced to look for strength and leadership in their own fellowship.

The story of the opposition to Germanization centres about three important societies, the Language Union, the Voters' Union, and the School Union, which were organized respectively in 1880, 1888, and 1892. Each of these has its own peculiar task and purpose; but after some years of independent action they developed a plan of co-operation and have thus been able to pursue their objects with more unified forces.

The Language Union grew out of the opposition to the ordinance of 1878 which, it will be recalled, gave the German language practically one-half of the time of instruction in the public schools. The idea originated with J. P. Junggreen, a prominent citizen of Aabenraa, but the real founder was Gustav Johannsen, a Danish editor in the German city of Flensburg, who combined great abilities with an attractive personality and unusual tact, and who, for a number of years after the death of Hans Krüger, led the Danes in the battle with Prussianism. The purpose of the Union was to promote the use and study of the Danish language. To accomplish this it has established libraries, assisted lecture societies, distributed historical literature, published a popular song-book, and has otherwise sought to provide for the more obvious intellectual needs of the masses.⁶⁵

The Voters' Union was organized in 1888 on the suggestion of H. P. Hanssen-Nörremölle, who for a long time was its secretary and most active member. (Since the death of Gustav Johannsen, Hanssen-Nörremölle has been the recognized political chief of the Danish party.) The Voters' Union serves as the central organization for political purposes in South Jutland and seeks to secure united action in the various elections; it is the accepted guardian of the civil and political rights of the Sleswick Danes.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ H. P. Hanssen-Nörremölle in *Tilskueren*, IV. 494-495.

⁶⁶ Mackeprang, pp. 147-148.

The School Union came into existence in 1892 by way of reaction against the ordinance of 1888 which eliminated Danish from the public schools. Its purposes are to stand guard over what still remains, the four hours of religious instruction in Danish; to provide teachers for those who wish to supplement the work in the public schools with instruction in Danish at home; and to assist those who desire to pursue a course of study in some higher school in Denmark. In the course of time the emphasis has come to be placed on the third point, and the result has been a steady growth in the number of young people enrolled in secondary schools across the border.⁶⁷

In 1902 these three societies began to hold their annual meetings at the same time and place, and this custom, which has since been followed, has proved a source of strength and inspiration. In a certain sense the "annual meeting" may be said to constitute an unofficial parliament for South Jutland. The co-operating unions also maintain a reserve fund called the "iron fund", which is used to promote the work of either organization wherever and however it shall seem most necessary.⁶⁸

The Danes have also organized a variety of local societies, all of which help to keep alive the fires of Danish nationalism. Of somewhat more than local interest is the Credit Association, which was organized in 1909 to meet the danger of German colonization. It was believed that if the farmers could secure loans on reasonable terms, there would be less temptation to put farm land on the market. The association has done much to achieve its purpose and has also been successful as a financial venture.⁶⁹

The history of South Jutland during the past two generations is a commentary on a series of broken pledges. The promise that the Duke of Augustenborg made on his "princely word and honor" in 1852, renouncing all claim on the sovereignty of the duchies, was broken in the interest of German nationalism in 1863. The treaty of London, which guaranteed the integrity of the Danish monarchy (not the kingdom of Denmark) and in which Prussia and Austria joined, was thrown overboard by those same powers in the London conference in 1864.⁷⁰ It was promised in the treaty of Vienna that the inhabitants of Sleswick should enjoy the "rights of native born"; but this was annulled as soon as the problem of the optants presented itself. The pledge of the treaty of Prague, that

⁶⁷ De Jessen, pp. 388-390; Mackeprang, pp. 201-202.

⁶⁸ Mackeprang, pp. 256-257.

⁶⁹ *Tilskueren*, XXVII. 492-503 (June, 1910).

⁷⁰ Friis, *D. G. Monrads Deltagelse i Begivenhederne 1864*, pp. 78 ff.

North Sleswick should be allowed to determine its allegiance by a referendum, was perhaps never seriously considered after the victories of 1870 and was definitely repudiated in 1878. The Aabenraa convention, which excused from Prussian military service certain groups of young men whose citizenship was Danish, was set aside in 1883. Of all these pledges the one of greatest consequence is the promise of a referendum; and from this promise Prussia has never been released by the party most interested and concerned, the people of North Sleswick.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

DOCUMENTS

Captain Nathaniel Pryor

THE history of the expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Pacific coast of Oregon in 1804-1806 is the object of an interest which, in the country west of the Mississippi, has greatly increased in recent years.

One reason for this growing interest is that the people of the states which now occupy the land which Lewis and Clark traversed with so much difficulty and danger now look upon them as the beginners of the state history.

And the monumental work of Dr. Thwaites in making accessible the "Original Journals" of the chiefs and such of the subordinates as could be found unprinted has furnished a source-book which can be used with unquestioning trust.

The fame of the captains has been long established; of late years the figures of their men have begun to emerge from the mists of the years and to take shape as the heroes that they were. Some of them have never been entirely lost sight of; others seem to have completely disappeared from public view on that September day when they disembarked upon the levee at Saint Louis at the end of their famous journey. The people of the East were little concerned, and the people of the West were too much occupied in subduing the wilderness about them to realize what these men had done. Now, however, many students are engaged in searching for information about them, and the publication from time to time of facts discovered is gratefully welcomed. It is hoped that the story of each man's life will, in time, be clearly set forth. In the absence of knowledge they will like the adventurers of former days become the subjects of myths, or be "enthroned amid the echoing minstrelsy sung of old times".

Indeed, the myth-making process has already begun. Nathaniel Pryor, a Virginia-Kentuckian and a typical American pioneer, is in the way to be transformed into a personality in every way foreign to the man that he was. It appears from Bancroft's *History of California* (vol. III., p. 163), that among the company that arrived in California, under the leadership of the Patties, in March, 1828, was a man whose name is given as Nathaniel Pryor or Nathaniel Miguel Pryor. It is said of him that he was then twenty-three years

old, and that he had lived for four years in New Mexico. This man was a silversmith and clock-maker, and became known as Miguel el Platero. He married a Mexican woman, raised a family, and died in 1850.

Pattie, in his *Personal Narrative*, makes no mention of Pryor, but in the edition of the book edited by Dr. Thwaites and included in his series of *Early Western Travels*, there is an editorial note in which it is assumed that the Pryor mentioned by Bancroft was the companion of Lewis and Clark.

The rule of law that identity of name indicates identity of person is well enough as cautiously applied by courts, subject to disproof by an adversary party, but it is by no means a safe rule for an historian.

Dr. Thwaites's assumption, in spite of its intrinsic improbability, has been followed by others and bids fair, unless its erroneous character is made to appear, to be generally accepted. Happily, however, for the cause of truth, the incorrectness of the assumption is demonstrable.

Miss Stella M. Drumm, the librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, whose knowledge of western history is extensive and accurate, has found in the Indian Office at Washington a series of documents which tell the story of Pryor's later life in unmistakable fashion. Certain of these documents are herewith submitted.

WALTER B. DOUGLAS.

I. LICENSE TO TRADE WITH THE OSAGE NATION.¹

To all, to whom these presents shall come, know ye that I have this day Granted permission to Nathaniel Pryor, to trade with the Osage Nation of Indians, as well as to ascend the river Arkansas with one trading boat to the six bull or Verdigrée together with all the hands that may appertain thereto.

Given under my hand and private seal (there being no public one) at the Post of Arkansas this 29th day of November 1819—Of the independence the forty fourth.

(signed)

ROBT. CRITTENDEN

Sect. and a. G. A. T.²

¹ Nos. I., II., III., IV., and VI. are enclosures in a letter of Agent Vashon to Lewis Cass, secretary of war, April 30, 1832, a letter written "for the purpose of exhibiting the true character of the question respectfully referred for the consideration and decision of the Department". In the files of the Indian Office all these are contained in a folder marked "1832 Cherokee West Agency—Geo. Vashon—Claim of N. Pryor".

² Meaning, "secretary and acting governor of Arkansas Territory". Robert Crittenden of Kentucky was secretary of the territory from 1819 to 1829.

A true copy from the original on file in this office

GEO. VASHON³

Agt. Chers. west.

West'n Cherokee Nation

Agents Office April 30th, 1832

II. AFFIDAVIT OF PRYOR.

U. S. of America

Arkansas Territory,

Crawford County

This day personally appeared before me, John Nicks, one of the Justices of the Peace in and for said County, Nathaniel Pryor of the Osage Nation of Indians, who being of lawful age and duly sworn according to law, deposed and said that some time in the month of February 1820, on the Virdigris River, a branch of the Arkansas or Paune River, at said Pryor's trading house,^{3a} about one and a half miles above the mouth of said Virdigris, this deponent had about one hundred and fifty weight of Beaver fur, and about said time a Cherokee Indian by the name of Dutch and two others, companions of his, took from the possession of this deponent the said one hundred and fifty weight of Beaver fur the property of this deponent and which said Beaver fur has never been restored to him or any part thereof, nor the value or any part thereof.

This deponent further stated that about the month of February, 1822, the Cherokee Indians stole from his possession a large bright bay horse, with a star in his forehead, and about fifteen hands high and which said horse he has never been able to recover or reclaim nor the value thereof, or any part thereof, and further this deponent said not.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 11th
day of September 1824

NATHL. PRYOR

JNO. NICKS

J. Peace

I certify the above to be a true copy from file in this office.

GEO. VASHON,

Agt. Chers. West.

West'n Cherokee Nation,

Agents Office April 30th, 1832

III. AFFIDAVIT OF DAVID MCKEE.

United States of America

Arkansas Territory

Crawford County

This day personally appeared before me John Nicks one of the Justices of the Peace in and for said County, David McKee of said

³ Capt. George Vashon, formerly of the Seventh Infantry, agent to the Cherokees west of the Mississippi.

^{3a} Pryor is mentioned as living among the Osages, on the Verdigris in 1821, by James, *Three Years among the Indians and Mexicans* (St. Louis, 1916), p. 108, and the *Missionary Herald*, XIX. 74. In that year he accompanied Glenn and Fowler in their expedition to the mountains; Coues, *Journal of Jacob Fowler*, p. 4, etc. See also note 22, below.

County who being of lawful age and duly sworn according to law deposit and saith that in the month of February 1820 a Cherokee Indian by the name of Dutch, with two other Cherokee Indians came to Nath. Pryor's trading house on the Virdigris River, a branch of the Arkansas River, and at that time the said Nathaniel Pryor had in deposit at said place about one hundred and fifty weight of furs, well secured under lock, and that on the evening of the morning on which said Indians left the trading house, he, the said deponent discovered that the lock which secured the fur, had been forced, and the sa[i]d one hundred and fifty weight of fur were stolen, and as this deponent verily believes by the said Cherokee Indians.

The deponent further states that fur was selling at that time at two dollars and a half per pound and further this deponent saith not.

DAVID X McKEE

Sworn and subscribed to before me this

11th day of September 1824

JNO NICKS

Justice Peace

I certify the above to be a true copy from file in this office.

GEO. VASHON

Agt. Chers. West

West'n Cherokee Nation

Agents Office April 30th, 1832

IV. STATEMENT OF E. W. duVAL.⁴

The taking of the property is not denied by the Individual charged with it, but he alleges as the cause and justification of the act, or acts, that he met at Mr. Priors Trading house, at the time mentioned, a War party of Osages, under the Chief called Mad Buffaloe, that at that time the Osage and Cherokee Nations were at open War with each other, that he the Dutch (the Individual referred to) commanded and then had with him a War party of Cherokees, that his party was more numerous than that of the Mad Buffaloe and that the latter were completely in his power, that he considered them as his prisoners and was waiting only until they should leave the premises of Mr. Prior to capture and secure them. That during this time he was invited out on one side of Mr. Priors House as he believes at the instance of Mr. Prior by a man named McKee or McGee, where he and his party were detained by amusements until the Mad Buffaloe and his party had time to escape; that he believed and still believes, their escape was contrived by Mr. Prior; that on discovering they (the Osages) were gone he immediately pursued but could not overtake them; that for this interference, as he considered it, on the part of Mr. Prior, whereby he was prevented making prisoners of the party and in so far weakening or injuring the enemy and rendering essential service to his own nation, he took the property for which Mr. Prior claims payment.

Mr. Prior having admitted to the agent the material facts set forth by the Dutch as to the aid and assistance he gave to the Osages to

⁴ Not dated, but presumably of the same date as the two affidavits preceding. Major duVal (so he was wont to sign his name) was for some years, from 1822, agent to the western Cherokees.

make their escape, The Committee desire that the case may be su[b]mitted to the consideration of the Secretary of War, for his decision. They would refer it to him on these grounds. That the Osages and Cherokees were relatively to each other independent Nations with whom the U. S. were on terms of amity and friendship. That Mr. Prior, a citizen of U. States intermarried with an Osage Woman, carrying on trade and intercourse with that nation and was as it would seem to the committee bound to have preserved a perfect neutrality between the belligerent parties; and that by having aided the Osages in the manner set forth by the Dutch and admitted by himself he ceased to maintain the character of a neutral and thereby subjected his property to seizure by the party injured.

I certify that Mr. Prior admitted to me that he did interfere in the manner stated to secure the escape of the Osages from the Cherokees.

Signed E. W. DUVAL

A true copy from the original on file in this office

GEO. VASHON
Agt. Chers. West

West'n Cherokee Nation
Agents Office April 30th, 1832

V. FRANKLIN WHARTON TO SECRETARY JAMES BARBOUR.⁵

CRAWFORD COURT HOUSE, A. TERR.

Secy. of War:

Feby. 28th, 1826

Sir;

Capt. N. Pryor of this Territory has requested me to use means towards obtaining a liquidation of a just claim, which he supposes he has against the U. S. Will you allow me to represent its nature and solicit your answer to certain inquiries.

Capt. Pryor was the first person who volunteered his services in Lewis and Clark's expedition. He accompanied them through all their excursions and was finally sent in command of the party, to take back the Mandan chief and family to their homes. Of the event of this, you are aware. From that time to the period, when he derives his claim, he was engaged in extensive and dangerous business among the Indian Tribes.

About eighteen months before the late war, he was licensed by the Gov. of Missouri, as a trader among the Weenibagoes or Puans, on the Eastern Mississippi, Ter. of Missouri, at a place called DeBuque's Mines.⁶ At that place he was transacting a profitable business, had buildings erected as well as a smelting furnace, and was rapidly distributing through the Tribes the comforts and conveniences of civilization. About six months before the War, he received a letter from Gov. Clarke, requesting him to endeavour to find out Tecumseh or the Prophet. The execution of this duty, a duty performed at the wish of

⁵ In a folder marked "1826, Arkansas—Franklin Wharton—Claim of N. Pryor for Depredations". Franklin Wharton (1804–1847) was a son of Lieut.-Col. Franklin Wharton (1767–1818), U. S. M. C., and a younger brother of Col. Clifton Wharton, U. S. A. Dardanelle, which he gives as his address, is on the south bank of the Arkansas, about half-way up from Little Rock to Fort Smith.

⁶ Now Dubuque, Iowa.

the Government—a duty delicate and hazardous in the extreme, rendered Capt. P. an object of hostility and enmity with the natives, From receiving the letter of the Gov. the Captain had heard nothing of a war likely to ensue. He was actively and industriously engaged in his occupation. On Christmas day and even after of the year '12 the Winbagoes were trading peaceably with him. On the 1st of Jany. 13 about 12 O'clock in the day, eight of the tribe came to his house, with their war accoutrements, and offered violence. They would not let him leave his dwelling. About sun-down of same day, sixty arrived, shooting down the oxen in the yard and killing two of his men. They rushed on him, and was in the act of putting him to death, when by the politic dissimulation of a female in the house, they were averted for the moment from their intention. They then placed him in the house with a sentinel over him, intending to burn him in it. While they were plundering his stores and ravaging his premises, with the greatest difficulty, he made his escape. After crossing the Mississippi on the cakes of ice, he was still the object of pursuit to the hostile Indians. They were not so soon to forget his endeavours for Tecumseh. They robbed him of all they [he] had in the world: they entirely destroyed every article of his property. Capt. P. only claims the original amount of his goods, amounting to 5,216\$ 25 cents. He asks not the freight on them: he asks not what they were actually worth to him—he asks nothing for his buildings, his furnaces, his cattle, save two, which were shot down before his face. He, in fact, asks for less than what he conceives to be his just claim. And his reason is; for that which he seeks a remuneration he can positively swear to the amount. He will not add more, as he cannot remember certainly the value.

Capt. Pryor is a man of real, solid, innate worth. His genuine modesty conceals the peculiar traits of his character. He was a brave and persevering officer in the attack on New Orleans. He has the most thorough knowledge of the Western country; has been on considerable service to the U. S., and the benefit he has conferred on the Indian Tribes is gratefully acknowledged by them. He has been frequently urged by Gov. Clarke the Supt. of Ind. Aff. and by Gen. Miller, the late Gov. of this Territory⁷ to forward this claim. But he has refused. His own exertions have hitherto been his support. Again robbed and plundered by the savages, viz Cherokees he is left in a situation, where the money would be of service to him. His want drives him to that, which hitherto his conscious pride prevented. You will observe, that it was six months after the declaration of war, this transaction occurred. Yet had the traders no knowledge of it. The British Indian allies, received it first through their emissaries. It was not known at St. Louis 'til months after it took place. And does not Capt. P's claim derive additional support, from the fact that Gov. Clark was bound to give notice of the war, and at the time, such notice had not been given. The Capt. was trading under the license and protection of the U. S.; by an act of the U. S. of which he was ignorant, he was deprived of his property and his home. You will also please to remember that, the tribe was allied with the English troops. I am not aware, Sir, that this

⁷ James Miller (1776-1851), the hero of Lundy's Lane, governor of Arkansas Territory 1819-1825, collector of the port of Salem (under whom Hawthorne served) 1825-1849.

claim falls under your cognizance, of this much, I am certain, that, if you cannot *officially* interest yourself in it, its details will ensure your warm and generous support. The eloquent advocate of the abstract rights of man, will not lend a cold and feeble support, to what has connection, with the more kind and gentle feelings of humanity. If not inconsistent with your duty, would you be pleased to answer these enquiries.

Does this demand come within the scope of those, which have hitherto been termed just and equitable by the U. S.? If it bear no analogy to former claims allowed, is it your opinion, that it is a fair one against the U. S.? What measures are necessary to place it before the proper authority, and what is that authority?

During the spring Gen. Clark has promised to have the necessary depositions taken. . . .

A letter will reach me, directed to "Dardanelle", Crawford Co. A. T. I have the honour to be

Yr. obt. Servt.

FRANKLIN WHARTON

To James Barbour Esq'r
Sec. of War
City of Washington,
D. C.

VI. PRYOR TO MAJOR DUVAL.

FORT SMITH, Augt. 21, 1826.

Maj'r Duval

Sir.

Please pay Saml. Rutherford^s Two hundred dollars out of the Claim that you have of mine against the Cherokees and this shall be your receipt, etc.

I am with great Respect, yours, etc.

(signed) NATHL. PRYOR.

The Original endorsed viz.

Order of N. Prior in favor of Sam'l Rutherford \$200.00 Left with me by Mr. Rutherford until a claim of Mr. Priors shall Have been decided on by the W. Department: if the claim be admitted Mr. R. wishes me to retain the amt. of this order out of it for him.

E. W. D.

Nov: 20, 1826

A true copy from the original on file in this office

GEO. VASHON
Agt. Cher's West.

West'n Cherokee Nation

Agents Office April 30th, 1832

* Samuel M. Rutherford was for many years clerk for Pryor and Richards at Arkansas Post, and while in their employ in 1819 was appointed sheriff for Clark County, Arkansas. From 1823 to 1825 he was county clerk of Phillips County; from 1825 to 1830, sheriff of Pulaski County. In 1832, when the U. S. Land Office was opened in Hempstead County, he was appointed register. He also served as territorial treasurer from 1833 to 1836. Hempstead, *Pictorial History of Arkansas* (St. Louis, 1890); and Shinn, *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas* (Little Rock, 1908).

VII. MAJ. WILLIAM McCLELLAN TO GEN. WILLIAM CLARK.⁹

LITTLE ROCK, (A. T.) May 28, 1827

*General William Clark**Superintendant of Indian Affairs**Sir*

I am happy to hear from Capt. Pryor that he is willing to serve, if appointed Sub-Agent to the Osage Indians; no man can render the same services to the United States than Capt. Pryor can with those Indians. He can speak their language, and they have every confidence in his counsel and advice. . . .

Respectfully

Your Obdt. Servant

WM. McCLELLAN

C. A. W. M.¹⁰VIII. LIEUT. J. F. HAMTRAMCK¹¹ TO CLARK.

ST. LOUIS, June 18, 1827

Sir:

. . . Capt. Pryor possesses every necessary qualification and would accept the office. I therefore have the honor respectfully to suggest the propriety of such a measure and ask your attention to it.

very respectfully

your obt. Servt

J. F. HAMTRAMCK,

U. S. Ind'n Agt. for Osages.

To Gen'l Wm. Clark

Supt. of Ind'n Affairs

IX. CLARK TO BARBOUR.

SUPERINTENDENCY OF IND'N AFFAIRS.

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 4th, 1827

Sir.

Since the death of the Sub Agent of the Arkansas Band of Osages, no appointment has been made to fill the vacancy. As the situation of that Band requires a Sub Agent of respectability and influence, I have employed Capt'n Nathaniel Pryor, at the rate of \$500 pr ann. and given

⁹ Nos. VII., VIII., and IX. are in a folder marked "1827, Osages (sub-agency)—Wm. Clark—Appointment of N. Pryor sub-agent". Governor George Izard of Arkansas Territory writes to the Secretary of War on June 6, 1827, from Little Rock: "On my way from New Orleans I became acquainted with Capt. Nath. Prior, a very intelligent man, who accompanied Mess. Lewis and Clark to the Pacific Ocean, and has since that time been much among the Indians, particularly the Osages. I learned from him that he was directed by Gen. Clark the Superintendent at St. Louis to speak to me relative to the advantage of having a sub-agent appointed to reside with the band of Osages who are designated as Clermo's, and to ask my co-operation in recommending the measure to the Government. . . . I am induced by these motives to join Gen. Clark in proposing the appointment of Capt. Prior to the sub-agency in question." *Publications of the Arkansas Historical Association*, I. 445.

¹⁰ Choctaw agent west of the Mississippi.

¹¹ John Francis Hamtramck the younger (1798-1858), who had resigned from the army as second lieutenant, and later was a colonel in the Mexican War.

him a temporary appointment of Sub Agent. His influence among the Indians generally, in that quarter, his capacity to act and be serviceable, added to his knowledge of the Osage language, would it is believed justify his receiving the appointment and pay of Sub Agent and Interpreter, which would enable him to perform those duties which Col. Arbuckle,¹² and the Choctaw and Osage Agents have suggested in their letters which I have the honor to enclose. Capt. Pryor served with me, on an expedition to the Pacific ocean in 1803, 4, 5, and 6 in the capacity of 1st Sergeant; after which he served as an officer in the Army, and was disbanded after the last war.¹³ When out of Service, he has pursued the Indian trade, in which he has been unfortunate, first by the Winnebagoes, who took every article he had and for which he has a claim before Congress, and since by casual occurrences in his commercial pursuit on the Arkansas.

Capt. Pryor's long and faithful services and his being disabled by a dislocation of his shoulder when in the execution of his duty under my command, produces an interest in his favor and much solicitude for bettering his situation by an office which he is every way capable of filling with credit to himself and usefulness to his government.

I have the honor to be

With high respect

Your most obt. servt.

The Hon.

James Barbour,
Secy. of War.

WM. CLARK

X. SAM HOUSTON TO SECRETARY EATON.¹⁴

WIGWAM NEOSHO¹⁵

15th Dec. 1830

Gen'l Jno. H. Eaton¹⁶

Sir,

I have the honor to address you on the subject of Capt. N. Pryor's claims to the appointment of Sub Agent to the Osage nation of Indians, which I had the pleasure of mentioning to you, when I was last in the City. You then took down his name, as an applicant, and assured me, tho you "would give no pledge, yet his claims should be considered of". Mr. Carr, who has recently deceased was appointed, and Capt. Pryor passed by. His claims I have taken leave to state to the President, and do most earnestly hope that they may be met by the well deserved patronage of the Government.

¹² Mathew Arbuckle, colonel of the Seventh Infantry.

¹³ Nathaniel Pryor of Kentucky, ensign First Infantry, February 27, 1807; second lieutenant, May 3, 1808; resigned April 1, 1810; first lieutenant Forty-fourth Infantry, August 30, 1813; captain October 1, 1814; honorably discharged June 15, 1815.

¹⁴ Nos. X., XI., and XII. are in a folder marked "1830, Osages (sub-agency) —Col. Arbuckle, Sam Houston—Asks appointment for N. Pryor".

¹⁵ Houston went to the Cherokee country in 1829. In 1830 he established himself on the west bank of the Neosho, a short distance above its junction with the Arkansas, and nearly opposite Fort Gibson. Here, in a wigwam, and later in a log cabin, he lived until December, 1832.

¹⁶ Secretary of War.

It is impossible for me ever to wish, or solicit, any patronage from the Government for myself, or any one connected with me, but when I see a *brave, honest, honorable and faithful servant of that country, which I once claimed as my own, in poverty with spirit half broken by neglect, I must be permitted to ask something in his behalf!*

Could any just man know him as I do, who had *power* to offer reparation for what he has done for his country, what he has suffered, I am sure he would not be allowed to languish in circumstances hardly comfortable.

I trust in God, that he will be no longer neglected, by his country.

With high respect,

I am your mo ob sert

SAM HOUSTON.

XI. HOUSTON TO PRESIDENT JACKSON.

WIGWAM NEOSHO,

15 Dec. 1830

To Genl. Jackson:

Sir,

I have the honor to address you upon the subject of one of your old soldiers at the "Battle of Orleans." I allude to Capt. Nathaniel Pryor, who has for several years past resided with the Osages as a sub agent, by appointment of Gov. Clark but without any permanent appointment from the Government. A vacancy has lately occurred by the decease of Mr. Carr, sub agent for the Osages; and I do most *earnestly* solicit the appointment for him. When you were elected President of the U. States, I assured you that I would not annoy you with recommendations in favor of persons who might wish to obtain office, or patronage from you. But as I regard the claims of Capt. Pryor as peculiar and paramount to those of any man within my knowledge, I can not withhold a just tribute of regard.

He was the first man who volunteered to accompany Lewis and Clark on their tour to the Pacific Ocean. He was then in the Army some four or five years, resigned, and at the commencement of the last war entered the Army again, and was a Captain in the 44th Regt., under you, at New Orleans; and a *braver* man never fought under the wings of your Eagles. He has done more to tame and pacificate the dispositions of the Osages to the whites, and surrounding Tribes of Indians than all other men, and has done more in promoting the authority of the U. States and compelling the Osages to comply with demands from Colonel Arbuckle than any person could have supposed.

Capt. Pryor is a man of amiable character and disposition—of fine sense strict honor—perfectly temperate, in his habits—and unremitting in his attention to business.

The Secretary of War assured me when I was last at Washington, that his "claim should be considered of", yet another was appointed, and he was passed by. He is poor, having been twice robbed by Indians of Furs and merchandise, some ten years since. For better information, in relation to Capt. Pryor, I will beg leave to refer you to Gen. Campbell, Col. Benton, and Gov. Floyd of Va, who is his first cousin.¹⁷

¹⁷ Pryor's mother was a sister of Col. John Floyd (d. 1783) and of Capt. Charles Floyd. The first Governor Floyd of Virginia was a son of the former,

With every wish for your Glory and Happiness, I have the honor to be your most obt servt

SAM HOUSTON.

[Endorsed:] Refer[r]ed to the Secretary of War

A. J.

XII. COL. MATHEW ARBUCKLE TO EATON.

HEAD QRS 7TH INF'TRY

CANTONMENT GIBSON¹⁸

19th Dec'r, 1830.

To the Honbl. John H. Eaton,
Secretary of War.

Sir,

Capt. Nathaniel Pryor, who has been acting as sub-agent to the Osage Nation of Indians for several years, was not a little disappointed, and mortified, when Mr. L. Choteau was appointed the agent to that Tribe,¹⁹ in not receiving from the Government the appointment of sub-agent. That office is again vacant, and he is anxious of receiving it.

In relation to the pretensions of Capt. Pryor, I believe I am justified in saying that he had done more than all the agents employed in the Indian Department in restoring peace between the Indians on this Frontier particularly in restraining Clermont's Band of the Osages²⁰ from depredating on the neighboring Tribes, as well as on our citizens, which they had been in the Habit of doing for a number of years. Much of this service was rendered by Captain Pryor before he was authorized to act as sub-agent to that Band, and since he has been acting by authority, except in one or two cases, soon after his appointment, the conduct of the Osages under his particular charge has been as good as that of any Indians in this country. Yet if he was now removed from that Band I would not be surprised if they should commence their former Habits, and thereby disturb the peace of this Frontier.

The high standing of Capt Pryor for Honesty and Worth together with the service he has rendered to the public, and the call (as I judge) there is for his continuance, I hope will insure to him the appointment he desires.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

With Highest Respect

Yr Obt Servt

M. ARBUCKLE,

Colo. 7th Inf'try

Sergeant Charles Floyd, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, of the latter. N. J. Floyd, *Biographical Genealogies of Virginia-Kentucky Floyd Families* (Baltimore, 1912), p. 16.

¹⁸ Now Fort Gibson, Oklahoma.

¹⁹ Paul Liguette Chouteau (1792-1851), son of Jean Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis, and younger brother of Auguste Pierre Chouteau who was a companion of Pryor on the voyage up the Missouri on the occasion of the unsuccessful attempt to return the Mandan chief to his home in 1807.

²⁰ For Clermont, principal chief among the Osages, see Long, *Expedition*, II. 237-248, and J. B. Wilkinson in Coues's *Pike*, pp. 557-558.

XIII. PAUL L. CHOUTEAU TO PRYOR.²¹

OSAGE AGENCY, 4 Apr. 1831.

To Capt. N. Pryor,
U. S. Sub Agt.
Sir.

This will be handed you by Major D. D. McNair, Sub Agent for the Osages, who visits your post by my directions in order to obtain information relative to the present State of existing difficulties between Clermonts Band of Osages and the Cherokees, and to make the necessary arrangements for contemplated meeting of those tribes at Cantonment Gibson on the 1st and 5th May next. . . .

Your Obt. Servt.

Sign'd P. L. CHOUTEAU
U. S. Ind'n Agt for Osages

XIV. PRYOR TO CHOUTEAU.

CANT. GIBSON, 6th Feb'y 1831

Dr. Sir

I have been confined by sickness at this post for five or six weeks and am not yet sufficiently recovered to return home, until the weather moderates, which is uncommonly cold. . . .

I am Sir respectfully

N PRYOR

Maj'r P L Chouteau
U. S. Agent for Osages

Sub Agt for Osages

XV. PRYOR TO CHOUTEAU.

UNION MISSION,²² Feb'y 19, 1831.

To P. L. Chouteau
U. S. Agt for Osages
Dear Sir

When I last wrote you I expected to return home before this time. . . . This has been prevented by the continuance of my bad health. I am now some what recovered, hope soon to be restored to good health. I am sorry for the delay in sending the accompanying letters to you. . . .

Yours with respect

Sign'd N PRYOR

U. S. Sub Agent for Osages

XVI.

[In a tabular statement of "Superintendents, Agents, Sub Agents, and Interpreters" (contained in a folder so marked), we find mention of

²¹ Nos. XIII., XIV., and XV. are in a folder marked "1831, Osage Agency—Wm. Clark, P. L. Chouteau—Osage and Creek Hostilities".

²² Union Mission was established in 1821 by the United Foreign Mission Society as its first station among the Osages. It was located on the Neosho River about twenty-five miles above its junction with the Arkansas. Carey and Lea, *Historical Atlas* (1822), note, map no. 35. Captain Pryor accompanied in 1820 the missionary who, going in advance to explore, selected this site. [Sarah Tuttle], *Letters on the Chickasaw and Osage Missions* (Boston, 1831), pp. 37, 45.

Nathaniel Pryor, appointed May 7, 1831, stationed at Cantonment Gibson, as sub-agent for the Osages of the Verdigris, and attached to the Osage agency under Chouteau; pay \$500.]

XVII.

[On May 10, 1831, Captain Pryor, as witness, signed a treaty between the Creeks and all bands of the Osage Nation, at Cantonment Gibson.]

XVIII. CHOUTEAU TO CLARK.²³

ST. LOUIS, 30th June, 1831.

Sir.

A few days since I informed you of the melancholy death of Mr. D. D. McNair,²⁴ late Sub Agent for the Osage Nation. Since which I have been informed of the death of Captain N. Pryor, another Sub Agent for the Osages, which leaves the Nation without a Sub Agent, and as the business of the agency requires a Sub Agent to be appointed as soon as possible, and it being my wish that Captain Thomas Anthony should receive the appointment, having heretofore recommended him to your notice, and that of the Government of the United States. . . .

I have the honor to remain

Most Respectfully
Yr obt st.

P. L. CHOUTEAU,
U. S. Ind. Agt. for Osages.

To Genl. Wm. Clark,
Supt. Ind'n Affs.
St. Louis, Mo.

²³ This document is in a folder marked "1831, Osages (sub-agency)—Wm. Clark, P. L. Chouteau—Conditions".

²⁴ D. D. McNair "was killed by lightning, June 2, 1831, while riding across the prairie in the night, not far from his post". *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), June 28, 1831.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Processes of History. By FREDERICK J. TEGGART, Associate Professor of History in the University of California. (New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. vii, 162. \$1.25.)

ACCORDING to Professor Teggart, the problem which should properly concern historians, at least in so far as they wish to be classed with scientific scholars, is the question of "*how man everywhere has come to be as he is*". Many historians would at once exclaim that this is precisely what they have been doing—explaining how man has come to be as he is. But no, Professor Teggart would answer, what you have been doing is to relate, mainly in narrative form, selected particular events in the history of certain groups of people—Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Chinese. This tells us what men have been and what they have done, but not how they have come to be as they are; it tells us the facts but not the processes of history. What we need to know are those events that are common to all peoples rather than those that are peculiar to certain peoples. Only by approaching the past in this way, by a comparative study of the history of all peoples, primitive as well as civilized, can we arrive at conclusions that will have a scientific validity.

This is, of course, an old question, and one that cannot be discussed in a brief page or two. Personally, I have no quarrel with this method of approaching the study of history. The life of man may be studied in many ways—the more the better; and I have read with pleasure and profit the compact and well-written little volume in which Professor Teggart, surveying mankind from China to Peru, draws from his observations (with the aid, it must be said, of a good deal of *a priori* reasoning) certain conclusions, comprehensive and general enough certainly, the validity of which it would doubtless be hazardous to deny—as, for example, that among primitive people migration is due to the reduction of the food supply, that the direction of migration is conditioned by the geographical factors, that "political" organization arises as the result of the conflict of groups for the possession of distinct territories, that the influence of group ideas and traditions tends towards fixity and stagnation, that the conflict of two groups with different group ideas and traditions tends towards change and modification, and so on. All this is suggestive; and, although one feels that with a different selection of facts it would be possible perhaps to reach different conclusions, the method, if persistently applied, is one which would doubtless lead to an

explanation of "how man everywhere has come to be as he is"—that is to say, it would explain the *universal processes* of historical change.

If, however, Professor Teggart maintains (as I am not sure that he does), that this is the only proper way to study history, then I do not agree with him. I do not think that it is even the most profitable way to study history, although I am quite ready to admit that it may be the only "scientific" way. We need to know more about man than the universal processes of his conduct, although we do not need to know more than that about the conduct of beetles, and the reason for that is that we are men and not beetles. Not being ourselves beetles, we cannot enter into the conduct of beetles with a sufficient degree of sympathetic understanding to make it worth while to chronicle the biography even of distinguished beetles, or of such groups of beetles as may have attained a high degree of advancement; but being men we can understand the conduct of men, not only through the abstract generalization of those impersonal forces that condition their conduct, but also through a knowledge of the concrete events of their lives and a sympathetic appreciation of the conscious motives and purposes that determined their action. In the *Phaedo*, Socrates is made to speak of the man who might try to

show that I sit here because my body is made up of bones and muscles . . . and as the bones are lifted at the joints by the contraction or relaxation of the muscles, I am able to bend my limbs, and this is why I am sitting here in a curved posture; that is what he would say, and he . . . would assign ten thousand causes of the same sort, forgetting to mention the true cause, which is that the Athenians have thought fit to condemn me, and accordingly I have thought it better and more right to remain here and undergo my sentence.

Here are two radically different explanations of the conduct of Socrates—of how he came to be sitting in his cell. They are entirely incommensurable explanations, in no sort of conflict with each other, each being entirely adequate in its own field but altogether useless in the other: the one explanation has to do with those material forces which enable men everywhere to sit in a curved posture; the other has to do with the human motives which induced Socrates to remain in his cell. Might we not say that the one explanation is scientific and the other historical?

At all events, without quarrelling over the terms "historical" and "scientific", if Professor Teggart thinks we cannot fully understand how man everywhere (as, for example, in Europe at the present moment) has come to be as he is without determining the universal processes of history, I bid him God-speed in the search for those processes. But as for myself, I find the state of man as it now is in Europe intelligible, in so far as it can be made intelligible, chiefly through a study of the concrete doings and sayings of particular Europeans, more especially during the last hundred years or so; and in the endeavor to attain this kind of understanding, the sort of information which I find most useful is that

which reveals the conscious motives and purposes that appear to have had a determinative influence.

CARL BECKER.

The History of Statistics, their Development and Progress in Many Countries. Collected and edited by JOHN KOREN. (New York: Macmillan Company, for the American Statistical Association. 1918. Pp. xii, 773. \$7.50.)

THIS is a memorial volume issued to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the American Statistical Association. It opens, therefore, as might be expected, with a history of the association. This very brief narrative by John Koren is largely devoted to telling something of the men who have been prominent in the association and the conspicuous services rendered by each. In general outline, the chief activities of the association are also recorded. In the next chapter, Dr. S. N. D. North discusses the progress of statistics during the last seventy-five years and the outlook for the future. This very broad subject is necessarily covered in a most general way.

The remainder of the volume consists of a series of histories, for various leading countries of the world, of the advancement of each in knowledge of a statistical nature concerning itself. A prominent statistician of each nation, who is or has been closely identified with the statistical work thereof, describes the statistical progress in his own particular country from its earliest recorded beginnings down to the present time.

The extension to different fields of the collection of numerical data is usually traced in considerable detail. The studies are confined to the expansion of statistical information and deal to no noticeable degree with the development of or instruction in statistical method or theory. Although private statistical studies, especially those of early days, are treated to some extent, the great bulk of the space is devoted to the kinds of data collected by various governmental units.

While differing markedly in elaborateness and form, the histories are all written in scholarly and readable style. The history of federal statistics in the United States by Dr. John Cummings is especially to be commended because it gives an apparently well-balanced, critical appraisal of the value of leading types of statistical studies made by our government. In the opinion of the reviewer, the work of many of the other writers might have been made even more valuable to the readers had the authors followed a similar course.

In reading the various histories, one is impressed by the fact that extensiveness of statistical knowledge is largely coincident with progress in civilization and governmental efficiency. In Russia, the elaborateness of the plans made contrasted with the meagreness of the results actually obtained, also the extreme decentralization and incomparability of the

statistics actually gathered, seem to throw some light upon present social and governmental weaknesses in that vast region. While there is much improvement yet to be sought, the United States seems to stand out in favorable contrast to most of the other large nations, both as to the scope covered and as to the systematic way in which statistical work is carried on. Some of the small nations of northwestern Europe seem also to have made most commendable progress in the organization of their statistical studies.

The various authors were asked to suggest improvements which might well be made by their governments in the collection of statistical material. Dr. A. Kauffman of Petrograd believes in allowing to the local governmental units free rein with practically no control from the national government, voicing thus clearly his distrust of anything emanating from the Tsar's authority. Practically all of the other writers, on the contrary, urge an increase in centralization of power or control. Some point out the danger, however, that if all statistical work is placed directly under one central bureau, the special investigations by various departments may not be made in a form to meet the exact needs of those departments or may even be discontinued altogether. Several countries seem to have partially solved this dilemma by establishing a central commission of scientists which attempts the co-ordination of all studies undertaken without actually being in charge of the work.

Many of the authors comment upon the extreme difficulty of obtaining well-trained statisticians since most universities provide courses adapted merely to the training of statistical clerks rather than of statisticians.

Most of the histories are extremely valuable because of the bibliography of the statistics of the respective countries which they contain. The book is without parallel in its contents, is well edited and printed, and is a distinct credit to its authors and to the American Statistical Association.

WILLFORD I. KING.

Social and Private Life at Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence.

By GEORGIA WILLIAMS LEFFINGWELL, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXXXI., number 1, whole number 188.] (New York: Columbia University. 1918. Pp. 140. \$1.25.)

THE present study clearly sprang from the desire to use more extensively than has hitherto been customary the comedies of Plautus and Terence for a delineation of contemporaneous Roman society. The range of topics treated is broad even if not quite complete. The collection of material, for which the specialist should be grateful, is extensive, although unfortunately not exhaustive. The presentation is clear and gives evidence of unusual independence of judgment. Finally, the author does well to call attention to a very difficult problem about which,

as she pertinently observes, a great deal of confusion prevails. But with Dr. Leffingwell's main contention, namely, that Plautus and Terence depict in general the customs and usages prevalent at Rome in their day, I must express my complete disagreement. The narrow limits set for this review preclude a discussion of the question here, but Dr. Leffingwell's attempt to establish her contention by the citation of numerous parallels from authors who were professedly describing Roman life, is in my opinion a failure. The sound critical attitude towards this question has been admirably expressed by the eminent scholar M. Dareste apropos of a somewhat similar effort to use Plautus as a source for Roman law: "Ce qu'il faut prouver, c'est que la chose était inconnue au droit grec, et qu'elle ne peut s'appliquer que par le droit romain. En appliquant cette règle de critique rigoureuse, on sera peut-être forcé d'abandonner quelques illusions, mais ce sera autant gagné pour la science."

Aside from the error in principle just mentioned there are also some serious faults which render this study at times an untrustworthy guide for the layman. The judicious will grieve over the tendency to base sweeping generalizations upon very slight evidence. Hasty workmanship no doubt accounts for such blemishes as the failure on pp. 14 f. to note the source of a rather long passage from a recent article, although most of it is a *verbatim* quotation. Some of the texts cited are not correctly interpreted, and there is insufficient familiarity displayed at times with the special literature upon the topics discussed, as well as with the general tools and methods of philological criticism. This is the more to be deplored because the author might have enjoyed at Columbia University the counsels of some of this country's foremost specialists in the field of Roman comedy. Hermann Usener's classic *Rektoratsrede—Philologie und Geschichtswissenschaft*—should be the *vade mecum* of every student of classical antiquity, and especially in the following lucid formulation of principle:

Wenn es also wahr ist, dass der Boden aller geschichtlichen Wissenschaft das geschriebene Wort ist, so folgt dass die Kunst, welche dasselbe feststellt und deutet mittelst ihres grammatischen Vermögens, die letzte Voraussetzung aller geschichtlichen Forschung ist. Diese Kunst haben wir in der Philologie erkannt. Philologie ist also eine Methode der Geschichtswissenschaft, und zwar die grundlegende, maassgebende. Denn nur sie besitzt in ihrer Kenntnis der sprachlichen Form die letzte Gewährleistung für das richtige Verständnis des Überlieferten (pp. 29 f.).

In full justice to the author it should be observed, however, that an adequate treatment of the subject to which she has addressed herself upon advice, requires a degree of erudition in both Greek and Roman antiquities and a mastery of philological and archaeological technique which might well have tasked the powers of a Hugo Blümner himself.

W. A. OLDFATHER.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Imperial England. By CECIL FAIRFIELD LAVELL and CHARLES EDWARD PAYNE, Professors of History in Grinnell College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. ix, 395. \$2.00.)

To fix the Great War correctly in a setting of British imperial history, to show where it belongs in the development of the empire, is not an easy thing to do. It can hardly be hoped that a single book will fully accomplish the task, and it is high praise to say that Professors Lavell and Payne have obtained an unexpected success.

The great feature of the book is the skill with which a rapid sketch of long periods of history has been managed. An outline of British imperial history in 350 pages, of the foundation, to Elizabeth, in fifteen, of the rise of sea-power in seventeen, of eighteenth-century colonial expansion and the American Revolution in twenty-eight, and so on, seems absurdly impossible. And yet there can be no doubt but that the average reader will have a far clearer and more lasting view of the really essential facts in the growth of the empire of to-day from this book than from a half-dozen volumes of more formal history. The result has been reached of course by a rigid exclusion of detail. "To tell all this [certain summarized details] would be only to repeat what may be learned in any school-book." On the other hand there is a lavish expenditure of space on details that seem very remote—the youth of David Livingstone for instance—but which do in the end reveal the foundations of empire and give concreteness to an outline. An attractive and lively style adds greatly to the general effectiveness.

It is to be said also that the book is far more correct both in general statement and in detail than such outlines are apt to be. La Salle and Leibnitz would hardly have agreed with the estimate of Louis XIV.'s insight into the value of colonies for world power; the Tories of the American Revolution would have given a quite different reason for their loyalty than sympathy with the party of royal prerogative and vested privilege; the colonies did not put so much emphasis on the distinction between external and internal taxation; and Pitt's plan cannot be called a federal union of Great Britain and the colonies. But such things as these are relatively unimportant in the face of the larger and more essential accuracies. The importance of American colonial expansion westward in the eighteenth century for the future is clearly indicated. The American Revolution is put in its true perspective in the development of the whole empire, and the proper correction made of the narrow view of sole economic interest which is so lacking in insight and historical imagination. "To suppose that the American Revolution taught the people of England the lesson of colonial self-government is a mistake that could only spring from our cheerful readiness to manufacture large and impressive generalizations without facts"—an impressive

generalization, it might have been added, exceedingly hard to banish from our minds. The true causes of expansion in India in spite of opposition at home; the meaning of the occupation and settlement of Australia; the transition to responsible government in the colonies; the change in the idea of empire since the middle of the nineteenth century; a quite impartial statement of Boer troubles and Irish discontent, yet with clear indication of their relation to modern progress and civilization; and a vivid account of changes that have rapidly developed under the stress of war—these are some of the outstanding features of great value in the book. It deserves the widest circulation and study.

G. B. ADAMS.

The Constitutional and Parliamentary History of Ireland till the Union. By J. G. SWIFT MACNEILL, M.P. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1917. Pp. xxxi, 516. 10 sh. 6 d.)

PROFESSOR MACNEILL adopted a novel plan in preparing his book on the constitutional and parliamentary history of Ireland up to the time of the Union. Nine out of ten students of the constitutional history of Ireland, confronted with the absorbing task of writing a history of it, would have been inclined to take the years from the repeal of Poynings's Law in 1782 to the Union in 1800, and to have described the constitution and its working during these eighteen years. Admittedly the Parliament of Ireland was at its best in these years. Poynings's Law was of the past; so were the Undertakers; the privy council in Dublin was shorn of the power it long exercised of "cushioning" bills passed by Parliament which were en route to London for allowance or disallowance there; and from 1793 Roman Catholics were freed from their disabilities, and could exercise the parliamentary franchise. The Castle, with all that Dublin Castle has always meant in the inner political life of Ireland, survived. Some of its power went with the repeal of Poynings's law; but it was still an interesting and sometimes, as in the earlier years, a sinister institution. Professor MacNeill did not adopt this plan—a plan with much to commend it. Instead of any such plan he hit on the novel idea of taking Butt's epoch-making speech of 1873 on the Irish Parliament and the constitution of Ireland; and with this masterly presentation of the subject—a presentation that Butt made in a speech apparently not more than an hour and a half in length, at the Home Rule conference of 1873—as his background or starting-point, Professor MacNeill has filled in the details, drawing for this purpose very largely on writings or speeches of all the earlier authorities on the constitutional and parliamentary history of Ireland.

Proceeding in the manner which has been described, Professor MacNeill begins with Mountmorres's *Irish Parliaments*, and works through the whole range of authorities from Mountmorres's permanently serviceable treatise, to Lecky and Froude, with some drafts from writers on

Irish history of even more recent times than these two well-known authorities on Ireland and its political institutions and political life and political leaders. Biography, memoirs, and letters have been similarly brought into service. Unfortunately Professor MacNeill has failed us as regards a bibliography, or a table of sources and authorities. But it is obvious from the text that in the preparation of the volume, few, if any, worth-while sources of Irish history have been overlooked. The plan that Professor MacNeill adopted has its advantages; also its disadvantages. One of the obvious disadvantages is that the plan adopted, despite the extreme care and great skill with which it has been worked out, gives the book the appearance of a compilation—an appearance which is made a little more striking by the author's method of inserting sources and authorities, printed in italics, in the text instead of at the foot of the page.

One of the most valuable contributions to Irish history embodied in the book—Professor MacNeill's address of 1911 on Irish parliamentary life—is in the notes or appendixes. It was an address delivered before the Eighty Club of London, when the members of the club, at the outset of a tour of Ireland, were assembled in a hall in the Bank of Ireland—in a room that until the Union in 1800 had been the chamber of the House of Lords of the Parliament of Ireland. The subject, the occasion, and the place of delivery, were all such as to appeal strongly to a student like Professor MacNeill, whose sympathies are so obviously with Ireland and its nationalism, and who is steeped in Irish history and in the traditions and lore of the Irish Parliament and of the city in which that parliament held its sessions from 1559 to the Union. The result of these auspicious conditions was an address of singular interest and of permanent value. It was an address so marked in character as to make one wish that there was a little more of Professor MacNeill, and a little less of quotation and extract, in the book to which this sketch of Irish Parliamentary Life is appended merely as note C. As it stands, Professor MacNeill's book is in a class by itself; for while within the last fifteen or twenty years there have been three or four additions to the history of the Irish Parliament, it is difficult to recall any work of modern times that is concerned with the constitution of Ireland in the days before the Union.

EDWARD PORRITT.

Economic Development of Modern Europe. By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG, Associate Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. xvi, 657. \$2.50.)

"It is the purpose of this book to indicate the origins, and to explain with some fullness the nature and effects, of a number of the more important economic changes and achievements in Europe during the past three hundred years" (preface). The volume falls into four parts, of

which part II., Agriculture, Industry, and Trade since 1815 (pp. 117-340), is the most substantial and best lives up to the promise of the preface. At the same time, parts III. and IV., Population and Labor, and Socialism and Social Insurance (pp. 343-641), cover the portion of the field in which the author is best at home and of which he can speak with authority.

Part II. may be said to be complete in itself, as a sketch of the economic history of Europe through the period selected. And as narrative and description covering its period it should be a very serviceable text, facile, engaging, and well-proportioned on the whole. It is also, on the whole, conceived in a dispassionate, historical spirit; safe and sound, in a conservative sense, with no undue color of patriotic animosity or partizan intolerance. What the professed historians may have to say of its adequacy as a presentation of the history of this period, is another matter, of which the reviewer is not competent to speak. But something is due to be said of it as an endeavor "to indicate the origins, and to explain . . . the nature and effects of . . . economic changes and achievements".

It is sane, sound, impartial, and considerate, within the range of commonplace preconceptions that were current among politicians and publicists toward the close of the nineteenth century, and that still continue to guide the policies of conservative statesmen; and it sheds the light of those preconceptions, in a felicitous manner, on the received account of the origins and the nature and effect of economic changes. In any other sense it can scarcely be said to explain or account for any appreciable group or sequence of events or for any detail of the unstable situation which has arisen out of the historical era with which it is occupied. The work of presentation is well done, and there is no reason to question the accuracy of the information which it gives; nor is it necessary to find fault with its natural limitations, although it may not be easy to avoid a feeling of disappointment with an explanation which takes those things for granted that chiefly need to be explained. These preconceptions that have guided the economic statecraft of the European nations through the later period of the era have brought these nations into the unstable situation of the twentieth century and have brought on the climax of their working-out in the Great War; and it might fairly be expected that some effort should have been spent in accounting for their origins, nature, and effects, seeing that they are the major facts in the case; whereas they are tacitly taken for granted as premises inherent in the nature of things.

So, *e.g.*, that progressive growth of chauvinistic nationalism that characterizes the late-Victorian period, and after, is assumed as a matter of course, and its imperialistic politics as it runs throughout the European countries is accepted at the face value assigned it by its disingenuous spokesmen, as a striving after the common good. This was written

late in 1916, when the war brought on by the bankruptcy of these pre-conceptions had been running for something more than two years. So unreservedly is the author committed to these bankrupt preconceptions of reactionary statecraft, that he even finds himself at home in the "fair-trade" manoeuvres by which the gentlemen-investors of the United Kingdom have been seeking to safeguard their unearned incomes (pp. 270-277). So again, the policies and adventures of governments and politicians in colonial enterprise and trade expansion are taken, quite naïvely, not at their patent value as a conspiracy of gentlemen-concessionnaires and dynastic statesmen, but at their conventionally putative value as an enterprise for the common good—and all in the glaring light thrown on these bankrupt policies by the war which is the only common outcome to which they have visibly contributed. The historical explanation at this point as at most others does not go beyond the most unguarded *post hoc* of statistical census exhibits. In the same sense there is a painstaking and very intelligent narrative of the growing uneasiness of the working classes in these countries, and of the efforts which the workmen have put forth to better their lot in the losing game they have played under the same preconceptions, as well as of the measures taken by the governments to conciliate the workmen and reconcile them to the rules of the losing game; but it is, again, a description of events, not an explanation of their nature and incidence. The statistical upshot of it is exhibited, but there is nowhere even a tentative answer to the Why?—such as one looks for under the caption of explanation; nor is there anything like an analysis designed to cover the other question—What is likely to come of it all?

THORSTEIN VEBLEN.

The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century. Edited by SIR AUGUSTUS OAKES, C.B., lately of the Foreign Office, and R. B. MOWAT, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Corpus Christi College. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1918. Pp. xii, 403. 7 sh. 6 d.)

NOTHING could be more timely than the appearance of this volume. At the moment when the younger Andrassy is dissolving the Austro-German alliance, when Danes are demanding the effective application of Article V. of the treaty of Prague, and when the wrong done to France in 1871 is about to be righted, the authors have furnished in documentary form many of the facts most essential to a comprehension of the coming settlement of Europe. Historians will find the book of the greatest convenience for purposes of reference, and amateur students of international diplomacy (in other words the general reading public) will have at hand a compact *abrégé* of recent diplomatic relations. The book is simple in form, consisting, in addition to the opening chapter on the technical aspects of the conclusion of treaties, of eleven chapters,

each dealing with a phase of diplomatic relations during the nineteenth century: the settlement of 1815, the independence of Greece, the neutrality of Belgium, Turkey and the powers, the question of the Danish duchies, Italian unity, the Austro-German quarrel, the Franco-German quarrel, Turkey, Russia, and the Balkans, the Triple Alliance. Each chapter begins with a brief historical summary of the events leading to the more important treaties pertaining to the subject, the texts of which follow. Thus the two chapters on Turkey and the Balkans contain the text of the treaty of Paris (1856), the Straits Convention, the Declaration of Paris, the treaty of London (1871), the treaty of Berlin, the treaty of London (1913), and the treaty of Bucharest, with the treaty of San Stefano in an appendix.

The authors have chosen their material wisely and certain omissions, such as that of the Gladstone treaties regarding Belgium in 1870, and the Turko-British convention respecting Cyprus, are of no great importance. A chapter on Egypt would have been useful, but this is evidently regarded as beyond the scope of the title, "European". The reviewer's chief criticism is that the historical summaries, although they are admirable in their brevity and in the lucidity with which they carry on the narrative of events leading up to the conclusion of each treaty, do not as a matter of fact explain or analyze the main issues of the several international quarrels dealt with. The text of the treaties requires elucidation, which should emphasize, first, the character of the points in dispute, and, in the second place, the degree of success attained by the settlement. Such explanation is not always contained in the commentary. It is notably lacking in the chapter on the treaties of 1815; the commentary in this chapter is clear in its statements and to one knowing nothing of the history of the period will prove useful, but it is hardly more explanatory in character than the *Annual Register*. It is possible that the authors' interest in diplomacy has led them into the attitude of professional diplomats, who too often have had regard for external facts rather than for the elemental forces lying at the roots of international quarrels.

The few errors in detail which the reviewer noted do not materially affect the value of the chronological table and the index.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

Modern and Contemporary European History. By J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in the College of the City of New York. Under the Editorship of JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Ph.D., Professor of History in Columbia University. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1918. Pp. xiv, 804. \$3.00.)

IN the prevailing furious flood of historical literature rather belatedly released for the enlightenment of our countrymen regarding the con-

fused affairs of our volcanic neighbor across the Atlantic, Professor Schapiro's book is bound to arrest attention. Fashioned as a volume *ad usum scholarum* it falls into a class inaugurated in 1907 by Robinson and Beard's *Development of Modern Europe*. A review of this rapidly growing group brings out the interesting fact that the swing has been steadily away from stating the development of nineteenth-century Europe in exclusive terms of politics to a view calling for the inclusion of matter borrowed from the related fields of society and economics. With this newest volume the broadening tendency reaches another stage, for Professor Schapiro is prepared to identify history with life itself. In his preface he tells us that his plan is to treat of nothing less than "the evolution of European civilization during the nineteenth century", for which purpose he includes "social, economic, and cultural matters with the military and political". Has he realized this inclusive, this unifying programme? Let it be said with frank admiration that he has brought within the compass of a single volume an enormous material, arranging it in orderly perspective with reference to a single viewpoint; but let it also be frankly declared that, in the light of this experiment, the time is not yet ripe for squaring history with the whole vast field of civilization. When that time comes, history, or at least that division of it which deals with civilization, will be chiefly synthetic and interpretative; it will be a philosophy of a new, pragmatic sort. As a matter of fact a tendency toward synthesis distinguishes Professor Schapiro's text, for behind its marshalled facts appears, vaguely adumbrated, an interpretation of nineteenth-century movements based on a definite view of man's destiny. Only, regrettably, we never get a clear, unmistakable statement on this head, an omission which, negligible in an ordinary political history, is extremely disconcerting in a work dealing with civilization. True, we are left in no doubt that the author considers the key to modern life to be what he calls progress; but progress, always present, is never defined. Like a *deus ex machina* it turns up at every crisis, handsomely solving all difficulties and sending everybody on his way rejoicing. On such occasions progress looms like a new Absolute, scarcely distinguishable from an Hegelian "idea"; but then suddenly and without warning it declines from its exalted state, manifesting itself with a sooty, prosaic grin as just locomotives, coal-output, steam-plows, and automobiles. If progress is to give us the form or forms by which civilization becomes intelligible, the author owed it to his readers to begin by solidly establishing his concept in terms of both philosophy and history.

But if this confident conjuring with an ill-defined formula stirs the sediments of skepticism deposited by time in the heart of the middle-aged reviewer, the young student, to whom the book is primarily addressed, will register no similar reaction. He will, after the manner of his kind, gladly respond to the optimistic message of the author, and he will find

his vision generously enriched by a consistent view of Europe as a single family which, though falling into different national groups, is engaged in working out through combats, blunders, and heart-ache a glorious common destiny. Furthermore, the reader will find a learned, well-balanced presentation of the many forces, political, economic, scientific, and even literary which have combined to make the modern world. Often enough, for instance in the introduction dealing with the French Revolution, events are linked in a causal relation which is subject to challenge. This will always occur when history makes interpretation its chief business, but it is no serious drawback as long as an author maintains, as Professor Schapiro honorably does, a fair-minded outlook studiously and sincerely concerned with giving each fact and influence its due weight. Valuable aids are afforded the student by twenty-seven maps scattered through the text and by a carefully selected bibliography at the end.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Militarism and Statecraft. By MUNROE SMITH, Professor of Jurisprudence in Columbia University. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1918. Pp. xix, 286. \$1.50.)

"It is the purpose of this essay to compare the conduct of Austro-German diplomacy before the outbreak of the World War with that of Prussian and German diplomacy in the Bismarckian period; and, in so far as the more recent diplomacy was less successful than the earlier, to indicate what seems to have been one of the principal obstacles to its success."

In this opening paragraph Professor Munroe Smith not only indicates the purpose of his book, but passes judgment on the interesting question of Bismarck's responsibility for the war. That the great chancellor must bear some part of the blame is undeniable, for the political system which vested the question of peace or war in an irresponsible government was his creation; and there also is no doubt that the insufferable conceit of contemporary Germany was born in the sweeping triumphs of the wars engineered by Bismarck. But the author believes that German diplomacy has incurred the guilt of precipitating the present war precisely because it abandoned Bismarckian practice and precept.

The first two chapters are devoted to an elaboration of this thesis. Bismarck's diplomacy, according to Professor Smith, was governed by two principal axioms: the value of the defensive position, which places the onus of starting a war on your adversary and endows you with "the whole weight of the imponderables"; and the danger of a policy which aims at power or prestige, as opposed to the promotion of national interests. In the three wars by which he achieved the unification of Germany, Bismarck managed to place his opponent technically in the wrong, and the positive advantage in each case was British neutrality.

After 1870, appreciating fully the distrust which his own methods had aroused, the chancellor was careful to steer a safe course which left the position of Germany unassailable and which did not commit her to support an adventurous policy of either Russia or Austria-Hungary, with both of which powers Germany maintained intimate relations. The result was peace in Europe and the ascendancy of Germany in its councils.

As for the method, "the keystone of Bismarck's entire foreign policy, from the beginning to the end of his official career, was the maintenance of friendly relations with Russia" (p. 26). By this means he kept France isolated and restrained the ambitions of Austria-Hungary. Nor did he allow serious difficulties to develop with Great Britain. Professor Smith quotes various utterances of Bismarck after his retirement criticizing the new departure of William II. in the Far East and the changing policy towards Russia and in the Balkans; all of which led to the disaster of 1914.

Proceeding from this hypothesis, that Bismarck's policies were dictated by a correct estimate of the European situation, the author analyzes in detail the diplomacy of the Central Powers in 1914 and finds it universally and completely at fault. In spite of the remark that "the ultimatum sent to the Serbian government was in the main defensible as to its content" (p. 135), he contends that Teutonic policy was striving for power and prestige, not for the defense of vital national interests. "By attacking Serbia, Austria menaced the existing balance of power in the Balkans; and it was on this ground, not on the ground of a duty to protect a Slav state, that Russia intervened" (p. 49). He refuses absolutely to accept the German contention that the Russian mobilization was an adequate *casus belli*—a contention put forward by the military party to justify their taking control of affairs, and a point of view successfully opposed by Bismarck from the beginning to the end of his career. In this connection the fact is noted that the German failure in 1914 to cite the promise of neutrality in the event of defensive war, which Britain had made in 1912, was tantamount to admitting that the Russian mobilization was not a hostile act.

In his third chapter, dealing with the German Theory of Warfare, Professor Smith quotes Clausewitz and Hartmann to show that the state of mind revealed by the German *War Book*, also extensively quoted, dates back several generations, at least among military men. Then, remarking that "never in the history of the world has the militarist theory had a fairer or a more crucial test" (p. 198), he asks, "What has been the result of the experiment?" The answer follows:

Today Germany has enemies in every continent and in the islands of all the seas. German theorists have learned that the world, although politically unorganized, is capable in an emergency of collective action against an offending state, just as the mining camp, although destitute of constituted authority, is capable of collective action against a claim-

jumper. The world is organizing itself into something that looks very like a vigilance committee.

And as this review is being written (October 19, 1918), we seem to hear the rumblings of the storm within Germany which portends the repudiation of the military state by those upon whom it has imposed itself.

The last chapter, on German Land Hunger, sets forth the familiar story of the growth of German ambitions and the specific expression of these ambitions by various Germans since August, 1914. The well-known collection by Grumbach provides much of the material. Once again the author makes a striking comparison with the Bismarckian era.

"Before 1870 there was little of the spirit of militarism in Germany outside of Prussia, nor was the Prussian people as a whole animated by this spirit. Few Germans even dreamed of military conquests or of world empire" (p. 206). But to-day, he deliberately concludes, the nation is "temporarily insane" (p. 266). And we may cherish with him the hope that "Today, as was the case a century ago, when the allied Russians, Germans, and English overthrew Napoleon, the defeat of an empire may be the salvation of a people".

The value of Professor Munroe Smith's book lies in the fact that a biographer and admirer of Bismarck has shown how the Germans have fallen short of his example and teaching. If some of the German pamphleteers who criticized the policy of William II. because it was not sufficiently Bismarckian, *i. e.*, not sufficiently vigorous, had understood more clearly the real policy of their hero, the world might have been spared the miseries of the present war.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648. Edited by FRANCES GARDINER DAVENPORT. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1917. Pp. vi, 387. \$2.50.)

THIS volume is a contribution to the fundamental need of those who undertake to discuss historical questions, namely, trustworthy original material. The concoction of spurious documents for purposes of public deception is an industry of which no age has enjoyed a monopoly; and, after such a document has once found its way into circulation, ignorance, carelessness, and partizanship may be expected to assure it a relative immortality. Occasionally, however, perhaps after the lapse of a long time, there comes a painstaking, conscientious investigator, whose regard for the truth outweighs the desire for notoriety and the impulse to make "copy", and raises the question of evidential value. The results of his work will not be found on popular reading shelves, where

they conceivably might tend to discredit current guides; and popular writers may regard his labors with a contempt not unmixed with apprehension. But they will be received with gratitude by sincere and honest students, in whom they inspire a feeling of confidence.

In this select category the present volume is to be included. On every page we see the evidence of painstaking, conscientious research. No trouble has been spared to trace and verify texts; and the result is a collection of materials on whose authenticity the student may rely.

These materials, as the editor's introduction explains, embrace fundamental documents relating to the great struggle which, from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, took place between the maritime powers of Europe over the division of trade and dominion in the newly discovered lands in the western hemisphere. The first document is the papal bull of January 8, 1455, granting to Portugal exclusive rights as to trade and territory in the region south of Cape Bojador; the last is a collection of extracts from the celebrated treaty between Spain and the Netherlands, concluded at Münster, January 30, 1648—a crucial document to which more than one important international controversy during the past quarter of a century has run back. A few of the documents are now printed for the first time. Of the texts in other languages than English and French, translations, made chiefly by the editor, are given.

In connection with what is said in the editor's notes concerning the effects of the temporary union between Portugal and Spain, from 1580 to 1640, I venture to refer, for a statement of territorial gains in the Brazils in the interior of the continent, which may be set off against certain losses elsewhere by Portugal, to the *Statement* of the late Baron Rio-Branco, as agent of Brazil, in the arbitration by the President of the United States of the Misiones question. (*Statement*, I. 19-20.)

J. B. MOORE.

John Pory's Lost Description of Plymouth Colony in the Earliest Days of the Pilgrim Fathers; together with contemporary Accounts of English Colonization elsewhere in New England and in the Bermudas. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by CHAMPLIN BURRAGE, B.Litt., sometime Librarian of Manchester College, Oxford, and of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1918. Pp. xxiv, 65. \$5.00.)

OF the three documents here printed only one is of probable value. John Pory, "Secretary for Virginia", a gentleman who did a variety of work for Governor Yeardley, was also speaker for the first House of Burgesses, was a much-travelled man before he reached America, had written several books of some importance, had been confidential agent for the Privy Council. Obviously his impressions of Plymouth

would be important. He came in the summer of 1622 and wrote a sort of report to Lord Southampton of the Virginia Company on his way back to England in the fall and winter of 1622-1623. It is by no means our first information about Plymouth, as Mr. Burrage seems to imply in his preface, for *Mourt's Relation* was written in 1621 and published in London in 1622, but it is the first account by an outsider. Yet despite a good deal of detail about the flora and fauna, of a not too veracious type, there is no new information in the letter. To be sure we learn that the Plymouth folk were a virtuous people, had built a strong stockade and fort, and were at peace with the Indians. Pory also states that they were really hunting for Annisquam on Cape Ann when they found Plymouth Harbor. The reading of the manuscript is beyond question, "Anquam", and is not improbably what was meant by "Anguum" as printed in *Mourt's Relation*, and which has been interpreted Agawam or Ipswich, across the bay from Annisquam. But Bradford says nothing of such a search for Annisquam, and *Mourt's Relation* definitely declares that the suggestion to settle there was negatived before the men set out in the shallop to look for Plymouth. This sole additional information is perhaps not reliable and throws some doubts on the general accuracy either of what Pory remembered or of what they told him. The real interest of the letter lies in his failure to mention at all their separatism, their half-starved and tattered condition, or their failure to receive supplies. Neither the tone nor the text of the letter gives the slightest indication of the real economic, political, and religious conditions at Plymouth as we know them to have been. Bradford's remarks in the brief postscript he prints from Pory seem to show that they convinced him of the importance of his report to the future of their enterprise and induced him to make a report which should be as favorable to them as possible, and therefore to suppress such facts as would either invite interference from the crown or dissuade settlers from coming to them. They were apparently very frank with him, showed him the works of Robinson, argued their consonance with Scripture, and persuaded him to do them the valued service of silence. Pory thus quotes with enthusiasm Bradford's statement "that for the space of one whole yeare of the two wherein they had beene there, dyed not one man, woman, or child", concealing of course effectively the frightful mortality of the first six months. The editing seems less capable than Mr. Burrage's previous minute scholarship. Some of the foot-notes are obvious, and a good deal of critical information might have been supplied, a longer account given of Pory's and Norwood's interesting careers, and the five and one-half pages, out of a total of ten in the introduction, which were devoted to quoting the text printed in the body of the book, would have provided ample space therefor. Mr. Burrage states in his preface that the handwriting of the manuscript was difficult to decipher; it will probably impress most students as a remarkably clear and simple example of an early Stuart secretarial hand.

ROLAND G. USHER.

George Westinghouse, his Life and Achievements. By FRANCIS E. LEUPP. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1918. Pp. xii, 304. \$3.00.)

IN narrative form readily followed by non-technical readers, Mr. Leupp presents a comprehensive survey of the achievements of George Westinghouse in mechanical and electrical arts. He designedly leaves to technical experts the task of preparing "an adequate summary of what the whole world's industrial advancement owes to the work of the eminent inventor", his purpose being to produce a volume whose mission is "simply human".

The presentation of incidents surrounding the birth and development of the more important inventions is interwoven with a fund of pertinent anecdotes centring about Mr. Westinghouse. To provide a picturesque setting for his story the author manifestly has exercised liberally the imagination of the novelist, especially in the introductory chapter. Some of the dialogues appear a bit fanciful; but the general treatment is such as to render the volume a fascinating history of the more notable accomplishments of the great industrialist.

In the public mind, the name Westinghouse is primarily associated with the air-brake, universally employed in the control of railway trains, his first invention of national importance. The biographer makes clear that his contributions to other industries have proved equally vital to human welfare.

The account of his work in connection with railway signalling, gas engines, steam turbines, and the distribution of natural gas illustrates his characteristic alertness in adapting instrumentalities to accomplish desired results. The plan of centralizing the operation of train-brakes was prompted by witnessing the disastrous effects of an accident due to the inefficiency of hand-brakes; but the solution of the perplexing problem of transmitting the requisite power to the brakes attended a perusal of a description of the use of compressed air in drilling the Mt. Ceniz tunnel.

The inventor's interest in the electrical art was stimulated by an account of apparatus devised in Europe for transforming high pressure electric currents into energy of low pressure. Previous experience with the transmission of natural gas over long distances under high pressure and locally reducing the pressure to fit consumption requirements, taught him the utility of adopting a parallel procedure in the distribution of electricity.

Faith in himself, an indomitable will and confidence in his ability to conquer, conspicuous characteristics of Westinghouse, are splendidly evidenced in the recital of his success in overcoming the intense opposition of his chief competitor in the electrical field, to the introduction of the alternating current, and again in the account of the manner in which he met and solved problems encountered during the financial

stresses of 1891 and 1907, which threatened to overwhelm some of his great industries.

In his endeavor to present a satisfying picture of the personality of George Westinghouse, the biographer is greatly hampered by the entire absence of personal letters and other documents of a character tending to reveal his deeper nature. If the portrayal should impress his close associates as inadequate, it nevertheless will be evident that the author has faithfully sought, by interviews with those best qualified to inform him, to acquaint himself with the real personality of Mr. Westinghouse. He has thus been able so to illuminate the account of Mr. Westinghouse's productive work by remembered sayings and episodes as to give to the reader a fairly vivid picture of a man possessed of a native, unassuming dignity which barred familiarity but invited cordiality, whose earnestness in pursuing inventive and creative work inspired others, and who by his genial nature, kindly spirit, and thoughtful consideration won the friendship, admiration, and confidence of all.

Mr. Leupp has performed an unusually difficult task with great credit.

CHARLES A. TERRY.

A History of Missouri. By EUGENE MORROW VIOLETTE, Professor of History in the State Normal School. (Boston, New York, and Chicago: D. C. Heath and Company. 1918. Pp. xxxiii, 500. \$1.60.)

THIS book is primarily intended as a text-book for Missouri high schools. The author despairs of having the history of the state taught in such schools as a separate subject (in which despair we hope that he is not justified), and consequently has prepared this book for use along with the course in the history of the United States, and to this end has emphasized certain selected topics. The result is a well-designed and a well-executed piece of work. At the head of each chapter is a brief note calling attention to that phase of the history of the United States with which the subject of the chapter is most intimately connected, and at the close of each chapter reference is made to the most easily accessible authorities. The topics are well chosen and, in the main, adequately presented. They relate to the settlement of Missouri and to the social, economic, and political life of the people. There are chapters on Slavery, Banking, and Railroads, and on the Indian and Mormon troubles. An interesting chapter on the Downfall of Thomas Hart Benton might, at first, be thought to be a break in the general plan of the book, but when it is remembered that for many years the real political parties in the state were Benton and Anti-Benton, its appropriateness will be manifest. The great part taken by Missourians in the explorations and development of the Western country, which is generally ignored by writers, is here well set forth. There are portions of the history of the state which cannot, even after the lapse of so many years, be fitly pre-

sented within the limits of a text-book. It is doubtful, indeed, if the time has yet come when they can be truly told. The Kansas troubles and the War of 1861-1865 have left fire that still smoulders. Mr. Violette's account of the Kansas troubles is fair, from a Northern standpoint. He fails to state the Missourians' belief that since they had explored and conquered the country of Kansas and the Southwest they had the right to such political power as it might afford in the councils of the government at Washington, and that while opposition to the introduction of slavery was the pretext, the fight, on the part of the North, was really for the attainment of political predominance. The contest which resulted was a real war in little, and the "Border Ruffians" who took part in it were of the quality who offer willing service whenever the country needs their aid. The writer of this notice well remembers a benevolent Presbyterian elder, a man universally respected in his community, who had been a leader of the "Border Ruffians". The chapters on the War of 1861-1865 give a fairly impartial and adequate narrative of the principal events of those years. The story is brought down to the present year, and closes with a prophecy that an amendment to the state constitution prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors would be adopted at the fall election. The historian should not assume to be a prophet. The unwisdom of assuming such a rôle was demonstrated by the fall election mentioned. The book is one to be commended to both the teacher and the general reader. The former will find it a satisfactory and desirable professional tool, and to the latter it will be entertaining, instructive, and valuable for reference. It is well printed and indexed, and has a short bibliography.

WALTER B. DOUGLAS.

Semi-Centennial History of the University of Illinois. Volume I. The Movement for Industrial Education and the Establishment of the University. By BURT E. POWELL, University Historian, with an Introduction by EDMUND J. JAMES, Ph.D., LL.D., fourth President of the University. (Urbana: the University. 1918. Pp. xxii, 631. \$2.00.)

THE state universities of America constitute the largest group of higher educational institutions of learning of a given type that are to be found in any country. While of a distinct type they vary not only in size, offering, and fields of peculiar excellence or specialization, but somewhat also in their peculiar interpretation of education as a state process or in the part which they have played in the evolution of American education. Thus the University of Virginia first broke with the traditional scholastic education and traditional type of administration, introducing, as it has continued to exemplify, democratic principles of control and operation not yet realized to any great extent in other institutions. In a similar way the University of Michigan first demon-

strated that the entire field of higher and professional education was within the scope of the state university, and that this scope was limited only by the technical and social needs of the body politic.

The outstanding merit of the volume under review is that it makes clear, as has not been done before, that the University of Illinois was the first realization of an industrial university—that is, one designed primarily for the training of the industrial classes in technical and agricultural lines rather than of the select or socially favored classes in the traditional “learned” professions. While the university was not opened until 1868 the agitation for its foundation along these lines began in 1852. This volume clearly indicates, though perhaps it is not demonstrated beyond controversy, that the Morrill Act of 1862 for the founding of mechanical and agricultural colleges in each state had its origin in the Illinois proposition.

Consequently a most valuable part of the volume is the documents, twenty-nine in all, constituting the appendix. These documents include the original plan of 1852, the opposition arguments put forth by the colleges of the traditional type, the memorials to the legislature and to Congress, and the resulting state and federal laws.

If there is any criticism to pass on the volume, it would be on the opening chapter which traces “the beginning of the struggle”. The idea of an industrial and agricultural type of education did not originate nor did the agitation begin with the agricultural societies of New York and New England in the fifth and sixth decades of the nineteenth century. The proceedings of the American Philosophical Society during the last decade of the eighteenth and the early decades of the nineteenth contain many discussions of the same idea. The Manual Labor Institutes of the early half of the nineteenth century, originating with the parent institution of von Fellenberg founded in Switzerland in 1809, were superficial attempts at the same end. The plans of Benjamin Franklin and of Provost Smith in his College of Mirania in the middle of the eighteenth century, not to mention earlier European ones, were attempts at the realization of the same ideal. Such abortive attempts, however, detract nothing from the merits of the successful Illinois efforts.

The volume is in excellent temper and form. It is written in the spirit of the investigator, not in that of a press agent, as is so often true of the histories of educational institutions. PAUL MONROE.

Evolution of the Dominion of Canada: Its Government and Its Politics. By EDWARD PORRITT. [Government Handbooks edited by David P. Barrows and Thomas H. Reed.] (Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. 1918. Pp. xix, 540. \$1.50.)

MR. PORRITT'S book is difficult to classify. It is more than a description of the government of Canada, if the plan of such books as Bryce's

The American Commonwealth or Lowell's *The Government of England* may be taken as a criterion; for it contains not only a survey of the present-day constitutional arrangements in Canada but also a sketch of Canadian constitutional history since 1783, as well as some political and economic history. On the other hand, it falls short of being a constitutional history of Canada; for to ignore everything in Canadian history before 1783, including not only the French period but also those years pregnant with fate which followed the British conquest, is to miss the factors which have conditioned the whole of Canadian development. Perhaps it may best be described as an *olla podrida* of which the ingredients are government and constitutional history, with dashes of economic and political history thrown in.

Mr. Porritt would have been well advised if he had omitted the historical portions of his book. Not only are they unnecessary in a handbook on government, but they are unworthy of the rest of the book. Mr. Porritt's familiarity with Canadian history is hardly such as to justify him in writing about it. His statement that from 1763 to 1774 Quebec was under "military rule" (p. 66) reveals an amazing ignorance of the early days of British rule in Canada. To say that the Quebec Act of 1774 "recognized and continued the Roman Catholic church in Quebec as an established church" (p. 65) is hardly accurate; at best it was an endowed church. The ruling classes in the provinces of Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia from 1820 to 1840 were not known as the "Family Compacts" (p. 72); it was only in Upper Canada that the term was in use, and it did not become frequent even there until after 1833. William Lyon Mackenzie was not expelled from the assembly in 1832 "for publishing the division lists" (p. 92); his offense was publishing the journals of the house without the appendixes. And the governor to whom his constituents appealed, and who replied with a curt sentence which Mr. Porritt misquotes, was Colborne, not Head (p. 92). It is simply not true that either Mackenzie or Papineau demanded responsible government as we understand it (p. 93); just as it is not true that Sydenham "established cabinet government in Canada on the same basis as at Westminster" (p. 112). Such views are the result of a serious misreading of Canadian constitutional development. No less deplorable than his mistakes are Mr. Porritt's omissions. He discusses the politics of the Union period without mention of the double-majority principle. Even when dealing with the period since 1867, where he treads with surer foot, Mr. Porritt says nothing about the long struggle in the courts about provincial rights. He discusses the office of the governor-general, but fails to touch on the ambassadorial, as distinct from the vice-regal, aspects of the office. In tracing the growth of Canadian autonomy, he omits all reference to assumption by Canada of military and naval defense. Everywhere he relies on secondary authorities, not always of a trustworthy nature. One of his

authorities, from which he draws several erroneous statements, is Miss Weaver's *A Canadian History for Boys and Girls*, though it appears in his bibliography merely as *A Canadian History*.

These are grave defects. They do not, however, invalidate the claim of the book to value. Mr. Porritt, who is an Englishman resident in the United States, has been able to approach his study of Canadian institutions from a fresh and original standpoint. He is particularly good when dealing, as he does at some length, with the British background of Canadian history, with the imperial significance of Canadian development, and with the influence of the United States on Canada. In this respect his book is a useful corrective to the too intense particularism of many Canadian writers. Nor should a word of cordial praise be withheld from his clear and interesting, if somewhat journalistic, account of the working of the federal government at Ottawa. Here his pages are a distinct improvement on the only other book in the field, Sir John Bourinot's *How Canada is Governed*.

W. STEWART WALLACE.

Rise of the Spanish-American Republics as told in the Lives of their Liberators. By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of Illinois. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1918. Pp. xvi, 380. \$3.00.)

THE first work to be published in English on the general subject of the struggle that freed half of the New World from the power of Spain is bound to possess an interest apart from its actual merits. Written, moreover, by a scholar who has specialized in the field of Hispanic-American history, and devoid of the fierce partizanship that marks so many of the literary productions of the descendants of the men who fought in the conflict, its attraction to the student of the period is manifest.

Of the nine chapters in the book the first, under the caption of the Historical Background, sketches the three centuries of Spanish rule. The seven chapters that follow are devoted, respectively, to Miranda, Hidalgo, Iturbide, Moreno, San Martín, "de Bolívar", and Sucre. In point of time they deal with "a distinct period in the history of Spanish America, the transitional epoch from 1808 to 1831, which may be said to lie between the colonial period proper and the distinctly national period" (page xi). The treatment is not designed to portray the career of a single individual, or the fortunes of a single rising state, so much as to describe a revolutionary movement in which a commanding personage had the most important share. With the seven liberators in question are associated certain minor characters, like Artigas, Francia, Santander, and O'Higgins, whose deeds concerned particular countries rather than the broad sweep of the wars of emancipation. A brief con-

cluding chapter summarizes the causes for the revolt against Spanish domination, contrasts it with the American Revolution, and discusses the process of economic and social reorganization attendant upon the achievement of independence, the relations of the new nations with Great Britain and the United States, and the eventual recognition accorded the Spanish-American republics by the erstwhile mother country. A "select bibliography" of several hundred titles is appended. The volume contains two maps, also, and a dozen portraits.

While according the fullest measure of appreciation to Professor Robertson's labor of research, his conscientious erudition, and the real service he has conferred in depicting for English readers the life and times of seven eminent soldiers and statesmen of Spanish America, the reviewer must express his lack of agreement with the way in which the subject has been handled. If the scope of the initial chapter had been confined to a study of the situation in the colonies during the fifty years or so preceding the outbreak of revolution, instead of ranging backward over several centuries, its picture of conditions might have been more accurate and intelligible. Even if there were no positive errors in the account, the significance of the entire period of Spanish rule could not possibly be rendered clear in twenty-five pages. It is a venturesome thing, surely, to make Iturbide a "liberator" of Mexico and reprove the Mexican people for not so regarding him. Had the concluding chapter been given over to a comparative characterization of the seven commanding personages, and not to an analysis of the causes of the revolution, which would belong presumably in an introduction of some sort, and not to a treatment, also, of various matters that in part might have been incorporated in the text proper, and in part omitted as on the whole irrelevant, it would have rounded out the work more satisfactorily. In the interest of literary charm, the details provided in many places might have been less minute and the statements less precise in their mode of presentation. Though the bibliography is supposed to be annotated, more than half of the titles are without comment of any kind.

From the author's opinion, finally, that certain difficulties inherent in the complexity of the theme, which deals with the emergence of eleven republics, have been "lessened by the use of what may be styled the biographical method" (page ix), the reviewer dissents absolutely. Just because of this complexity of the theme, couched in terms of geography, chronology, personality, and circumstance, he believes that the rise of the Spanish-American republics cannot be told in the lives of their liberators—much less in fact than that the separation of the thirteen colonies of North America from the British empire of the time can be told in the lives of Washington and his fellow liberators.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

MINOR NOTICES

An Abbot of Vézelay. By Rose Graham, F. R. H. S., Membre Associé de l'Académie de Macon. [Studies in Church History.] (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1918, pp. iv, 136, 3 sh. 6 d.) Vézelay, it is well known, was a place of some importance in the twelfth century. It lay near one of the main north-and-south routes through France, on the bridge between the valleys of the Seine and the Loire. The monastery established on the summit of the hill there, toward the end of the ninth century, was thought to have the relics of St. Mary Magdalen; so Vézelay prospered greatly from pilgrimage. By the time Louis VII. and Bernard of Clairvaux were inaugurating at Vézelay the so-called second crusade, the population of the town numbered possibly as many as ten thousand.

It is well known also that the monastery of Vézelay, in this same twelfth century, was involved in various strifes—with the powerful Count of Nevers, with the Bishop of Autun, and with the inhabitants of the place. These matters were written down afterward, at considerable length, by one of the monks, a certain Hugh of Poitiers, and the greater part of Hugh's account was published by Dom Luc d'Achery in his *Spicilegium*, and later in popular form by Guizot in the *Collection des Mémoires*. Thierry used this account toward the twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth of his *Lettres*. In 1851, Monsieur L. de Bastard, in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, criticized the account by Thierry. Then, in the sixties, Monsieur Aimé Cherest brought out an exhaustive study on Vézelay, in three volumes.

In what Miss Graham has now done, there is little or no appeal to the investigative student. A brief, scholarly account especially of the greatest of the abbots of Vézelay and of various happenings under him—such an account as might serve well a modern traveller to Vézelay, in conjunction with the little book by Charles Porée on the abbey church there—so much she has surely accomplished. Also, she has increased serviceably the reading available in English for individual or class use, with reference to monastic history to be sure, but as well with reference to the struggles and fortunes of townspeople in the midst of feudalism.

E. W. Dow.

The Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-Gushá of 'Alá'u 'd-Dín 'atá Malik-i-Juwaynî (composed in A. H. 658 = A. D. 1260). Part I., containing the History of Chingiz Khán and his Successors; Part II., containing the History of the Khwárazm-Sháh Dynasty. Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices by MÍRZÁ MUHAMMAD, IBN 'ABDU'L-WAHHÁB-I-QAZWÍNÍ. [E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. XVI., parts I. and II.] (Leyden, E. J. Brill; London, Luzac and Company, 1912, 1916, pp. xciv, 128, 292; xvi, 24, 358. 8 sh. each.) It is indeed a remarkable fact, as Professor

Browne points out in the introduction to volume I., that, although the importance of the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-Gushá* has long been recognized in the West, no complete edition of the text has ever been attempted. The thanks of scholars are therefore due to Professor Browne and the rest of the Gibb Trustees for their decision to make accessible to all readers of Persian the entire text of this celebrated history. These two volumes are the result of this decision and reproduce the text of two of the three volumes into which the history was divided. The second of the present volumes was delayed by the war, and Professor Browne, writing in 1916 (see preface to vol. II., p. xiii.), says that the appearance of the third "must for the present be regarded as indefinitely postponed". While final comment must be reserved till the last volume of the work is published, it is clear that Professor Browne and Mírzá Muḥammad have rendered a real service by editing this work. Nor is this service rendered only to readers of Persian, for although the text itself and the long introduction which Mírzá Muḥammad has prefixed to the two volumes are in Persian (with the exception of extracts from certain Arabic authors), Professor Browne, mindful of those to whom he felicitously refers as "those who read Persian with less ease than English", has given in the long English introduction prefixed to volume I., "in a somewhat abridged and simplified form", "the substance of his (Mírzá Muḥammad's) conclusions", together with material of his own. In this introduction, which is evidently the result of careful investigation, the student will find many interesting and valuable details regarding the life and times of the author, his family, the date and composition of his great history, the manuscripts on which this edition is based, and related subjects. Moreover the facsimiles, of which several are given in each volume, reproducing, as the majority of them do, miniatures with which the pages of the manuscripts are adorned, are a welcome addition, and will be studied with interest by some whose interest in the details of Mongol history may be rather languid.

Professor Browne has prefixed a short English preface to volume II.

The volumes are provided with Persian indexes of persons, places, tribes, etc., and these indexes seem to have been prepared with care. The text is well printed on good paper. Mírzá Muḥammad, Professor Browne, and his fellow trustees of the Gibb Memorial are to be congratulated on the publication of these volumes and may feel assured that scholars will hope that the third and concluding volume will appear much sooner than seemed possible in 1916.

J. R. JEWETT.

The Household of a Tudor Nobleman. By Paul V. B. Jones, Associate in History in the University of Illinois. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. VI., no. 4.] (Urbana, the University, 1917, pp. 277, \$1.50.) The households of the Tudor noblemen

were at once the central offices of the local magnates and captains of agriculture, and the highest development of refinement and amenities in sixteenth-century English life. Of these great establishments, the "central institutions in the life of that age, from whatsoever aspect—social, intellectual, economic or other—it be viewed", no adequate study has been made, though some references occur in social histories, like Miss Bateson's chapters in Traill's *Social England*. A wealth of material is available in nearly a score of printed household account-books and household regulation books of the great Tudor noble houses, dating from 1462 to 1640. These Dr. Jones has carefully studied, and combined the results with other material into this most valuable essay.

The personnel of the household, the duties of the servants, the food in its Gargantuan quantity and endless variety, the elaborate ceremonial at dinner, the worship in the household chapel—with the sharp contrast and change introduced there by the Reformation—and the capitalization of religion as a means of keeping servants in order, the diverting excitement of moving the household from one great residence to another, with long lines of creaking wagons to carry the household stuff, the delight in the music of the children of the chapel and the hired musicians, the visits of travelling actors, and the purchase of books, are admirably set forth. The chapter on financial management gives a rather detailed account of the functions of the surveyors, auditors, and receivers of the landed estates, which, since the practice in the noble households was similar to that in the royal establishment, is helpful for a study of the national revenue organization. The two chapters on the purveyance of supplies, detailing the amount of supplies needed and their cost, have much meaty matter regarding the part of the demesne fields in the household economy, and the organization of buying and selling, in fairs and from merchants in London and in the county towns.

At times one feels that some of the wealth of illustrative material properly belongs in the foot-notes, which Dr. Jones uses chiefly for the indication of references. Too frequent quotations in involved Tudor prose, moreover, give a touch of heaviness to some pages of this scholarly contribution to Tudor social history. FREDERICK C. DIETZ.

Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace and their Teaching. By the Right Hon. Sir Walter George Frank Phillimore, Bart. (London, John Murray, 1917, pp. xvi, 227, 7 sh. 6 d.) Within the limits of one hundred and seventy-eight pages the distinguished author has undertaken to describe certain aspects of treaties of peace of the past three centuries, to point out stipulations which have brought about fresh conflicts, to offer constructive suggestions as to the terms of the treaty which shall mark the conclusion of the present war, and incidentally to discuss conventions concerning the laws of war.

Announcing at the outset nine maxims regarded as the "foundations of treaties", the author has tested the compacts of belligerent states

accordingly. He refers to the doctrine of the balance of power as a more useful alternative than a league of peace. The lessons supplied by treaties from 1648 to 1815 are briefly dealt with and summarized. The legacies and failures of the Congress of Vienna, and the treaty of Frankfort, and the half-measures of the treaties of Paris, of Berlin, and of Bucharest, are skillfully portrayed.

It is declared that "this war has taught us that neutralisation of states is no good", and it is intimated that a reconstituted Belgium might well be freed from its position of neutrality, and have annexed to it Luxemburg as well as such a strip of Zeeland as would give Belgium one bank of the West Scheldt to the sea. The author utters warning that "the annexation of an unwilling nationality, whether as subject to, or in forcible union with, another nationality, gains no strength from its being ratified in a treaty". He would apply this principle faithfully in ascertaining the transferability of territory the cession of which may be demanded in consequence of the present war. Several proposals are made with respect to the equities of particular states now in alliance with Great Britain. There is advocated an enlargement of the belligerent right of capture by the abrogation of the provisions of the Declaration of Paris. Possibly lack of space has deterred the author from discussing thoroughly or broadly the rules of maritime warfare of which the very treatment marks a digression from his main theme. In his commentary on the effects produced by numerous treaties of peace concluded by European powers, he has shown the real significance of those war-producing seeds likely to be sown by any compact terminating an international conflict, unless scrupulous regard be had for the reasonable aspirations of existing nationalities, and the normal requirements of independent states. The chapters on the Congress of Vienna, the Making of Italy, and the Remaking of Germany justify the book. It is an illuminating treatise written by one possessed of close knowledge of European affairs, and whose conclusions demand careful examination.

The suggestion that the Spanish-American peace negotiations in 1898 afforded an instance of informal mediation because Paris, a city in a neutral state, was chosen as a meeting place (p. 11), seems unfortunate. The treaty of commerce between the United States and the Argentine Confederation was concluded in 1853, not 1843 (pp. 116, 182).

A chronological list of treaties to which reference is made in the text, and a comprehensive index are appended.

Beaumarchais and the War of American Independence. By Elizabeth S. Kite. In two volumes. (Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1918, pp. 308, 306, \$5.00.) This work was first prepared in 1906. Its publication at the present time was stimulated by the author's desire to stir appreciation of the debt which America owes Beaumarchais and through him to France. From this point of view the work is thoroughly acceptable,

though it must be said that it adds little to our previous knowledge of the subject.

Miss Kite is disposed, I think, to exaggerate considerably the importance of Beaumarchais's initiative in the matter of secret aid to the colonies, while she overlooks his significance as the point of contact between popular enthusiasm for the American cause and the cold plotting of the Foreign Office. Her position with regard to the "lost million" is grounded on the Duc de Richelieu's assurance in 1816 that Beaumarchais's transactions with the colonies "were spontaneous on the part of M. de Beaumarchais"—an explanation rightly rejected by Loménie as entirely misleading. It seems probable that the "lost million" was originally intended by the king as a gratuity to the Americans (see, *e. g.*, Doniol, II. 713), but that Vergennes considered it available as a reward to Beaumarchais for his proselyting work with Louis in behalf of American intervention and for other services. It must be owned, however, that the American Congress would have appeared in much better light if it had accepted the French government's explanations in this matter at the outset without further curiosity or suspicion.

The work contains a foreword by the Hon. James M. Beck, in which we are informed that Beaumarchais was a Richard Brinsley Sheridan, a Junius, a Harriman, a Sherlock Holmes, and a Talleyrand all wrapped in one package. One is reminded of the story of the little girl, who, contemplating herself and her father in the mirror, inquired with some complacency: "Papa, why is it that God turns out so much better work at some times than at others?"

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

The Vandal of Europe: an Exposé of the Inner Workings of Germany's Policy of World Domination and its Brutalizing Consequences. By Wilhelm Mühlön, translated with an introduction by William L. McPherson. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918, pp. 335, \$1.50.) This work, which shared with Lichnowsky's memorandum official condemnation before the Reichstag, was first published in Switzerland in March of the present year. It consists of extracts from the diary of the author for the last half of the year 1914. It is not a diary in the ordinary sense but rather a commentary on conditions and events, written with rare objectivity.

Little is known of the author, outside of Germany. He speaks of himself as a Bavarian. Possibly he is identical with the Wilhelm Muehlön whose doctoral dissertation was published at the University of Würzburg in 1904. His position as a director of Krupps proved distasteful to him, and his resignation was finally accepted toward the end of the year 1914. Later he appears to have represented the German government on a special mission in Rumania until that country entered the war in 1917. Thereafter he withdrew to Switzerland, where he has since resided. From his published letter to Bethmann-Hollweg it would

seem that he sought to act as an agent of the German government in arranging a mutually honorable peace with the Allies. Failing, however, to win the German officials to this purpose, he engaged in a campaign of open criticism against the forces controlling Germany's politics. Of this the publication of this diary and his even more pointed letters are a part.

His distaste for his position with the Krupps was due in large part to the fact that it was leading almost inevitably to war, for which he had the aversion not only of a business man but also of an intellectual internationalist. Furthermore as a Bavarian he was none too fond of the harsh Prussian militarism, which to him seemed brutal and degrading. As a director of Krupps he was thrown into intimate contact with the men responsible for Germany's policies. He quotes their conversation without mentioning names, a fault which he has corrected in his more recent letters.

Most of the facts which he mentions are drawn from hearsay. It is only regarding the German-Belgian pre-war relations and the designs of the German "steel-ring" upon conquered territory that he affords any appreciable new evidence. The amassing of facts, however, is not the chief value of his work. That lies rather in his commentaries upon the facts. His analysis of German opinion toward the war, his judgment upon international relationship, and his diagnosis of local situations in Austria, Italy, Rumania, and the Balkans generally, are unusually keen. There is little evidence of malice or spite in the work. It is the statement of difference of opinion, though fundamental in this respect, from that held by the ruling powers in his country. While his comments do not quite constitute an official disclosure, they fall but little short of that, and as an aid in the interpretation of events in Germany and on the Continent they cannot be ignored by any serious student of the war.

History of the World War. Volume II. The Making of Middle Europe. By Frank H. Simonds. (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1918, pp. xv, 253, \$3.50.) Mr. Simonds's second volume deals chiefly with the military operations between April and December, 1915, and takes its title, *The Making of Middle Europe*, from their outstanding result.

Several chapters, however, survey the course of the war elsewhere than on the European battle-fronts. One discusses the transformation of the war from one between two rival groups of powers to one in defense of civilization. A second briefly sketches the naval operations of 1914 and 1915. In this the author, following an unjustifiable popular usage, refers to warships as *boats*. A third traces the fall of Germany's colonial empire, and does full justice to the work of the British fleet, whose value "cannot be exaggerated". The blockade and the first phase of the submarine question are discussed with severe impartiality.

For Simonds, the sinking of the *Lusitania* was the deciding factor in inducing the United States to endure Allied infractions of international law in enforcing their blockade, while challenging the German submarine activities.

Germany, having failed to crush France in 1914, turned to the East and in 1915 realized the Berlin-Bagdad dream by overwhelming Russia, occupying Serbia, and placing herself in control of the resources and armies of her allies, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey. This eastern offensive began with the Russian defeat at the Dunajec on May 1, and ended with the conclusion of the Balkan campaign on November 28. The Dunajec Simonds ranks with the Marne and Verdun as one of the decisive battles of the war. It saved Austria and initiated the Russian military collapse, itself a prelude to the Russian revolution. Only a successful Franco-British offensive in the West could have saved Russia. But the event justified the decision of the German General Staff to remain on the defensive there, for, prepared for trench warfare, and having abundant heavy artillery, machine guns, trench mortars, and hand-grenades, they withstood both the spring and autumn offensives of the Allies.

Simonds has nothing but contempt for the way in which Grey and Delcassé handled the Balkan problem. They were idealists, whereas the situation required realists. But his severest strictures are reserved for the "Sicilian venture" at Gallipoli. After the failure of the naval attack, any further assault was doomed to failure. The divisions thrown away at Gallipoli by the decision of Churchill, "the civilian strategist", could have won a decisive victory at Loos, or rescued the Serbian army.

In conclusion the author rightly emphasizes misconceptions which each of the warring groups entertained regarding the other at the close of the year. The Allies failed to realize the magnitude of the German conquests, and to see that Germany was united, victorious, enthusiastic for the empire she had won, and confident of reaching early a decisive issue. And the Germans equally failed to see that, with all their successes, they had not succeeded in destroying their enemies' power nor in breaking their determination to conquer.

Altogether, in lucidity, conciseness, comprehensiveness, and sound judgment, this volume is a worthy successor of the first.

A. E. R. BOAK.

Commerce and the Empire, 1914 and After. By Edward Pulsford. (London, P. S. King and Son, Limited, 1917, pp. x, 248, 7 sh. 6 d.) From 1846 to 1895—almost from the passing of the enabling act at Westminster in 1846, to the last and final amendment to the fiscal powers section of the Australian colonies government act of 1850—a propaganda was waged from the Colonial Office in Downing Street for tariffs in all the self-governing colonies that should be based, like the tariff of the United Kingdom, on free trade. The history of this propaganda—a

history that has yet to be written—is a history of complete failure. The United Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada between 1850 and 1867 enacted tariffs with both discriminatory and differential duties. Retaliatory duties were enacted at Ottawa within three years after confederation. About this time Victoria and New Zealand adopted protectionist tariffs. Other of the Australian colonies followed their example. Later on, Cape Colony and Natal went over to protection; and the propaganda of 1846 was in the end so complete a failure that to-day Newfoundland is the only one of the five oversea dominions of Great Britain in which there is no protectionist tariff.

Despite this record of failure for the propaganda of 1846–1895, Mr. Pulsford, who is a member of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Australia, is still convinced that it is possible gradually to bring tariff policy in Australasia into line with British principles of freedom of commerce. Evidently he sees hope where Grey, Newcastle, and Kimberley, and other secretaries of state for the colonies in the years from 1846 to 1895, encountered nothing but failure. His treatise is written in this spirit; and apparently he is confident that free trade in the United Kingdom will survive the war; for he insists that when a country is being taxed right up to the hilt, when the public tax-gatherer seems never to be off the doorstep—as is the case now in the United Kingdom, and will be the case for a generation after the war—"the establishment of a small army of private tax-gatherers, authorized by act of Parliament to plunder on their own account", will be a condition which the people of the United Kingdom will not tolerate. The writer of this note is as much a convinced free-trader as Mr. Pulsford. He wishes he could be as confident as Mr. Pulsford is about the future of free trade in Great Britain. In the meantime students of the fiscal systems of Great Britain and of the oversea dominions who hold the views of Mr. Pulsford, and of the writer of this note, are indebted to Mr. Pulsford for this contribution to the literature of the free-trade movement in the British Empire; and in particular for Mr. Pulsford's detailed examination—an examination which extends to a little over one hundred pages—of the system of preferences which Canada revived in the tariff act of 1897.

E. P.

German Submarine Warfare: a Study of its Methods and Spirit. By Wesley Frost, United States Consul, formerly stationed at Queenstown. (New York, Appleton, 1918, pp. xvii, 243.) For the history of the operations of German submarines off the southern Irish coast, and for somewhat more, this is a book of first-rate importance. No one had better opportunities to know the actual facts of German submarine warfare than Mr. Wesley Frost, whose work as United States consul at Queenstown was so valuable in connection with those operations and so highly commended by the Department of State. Of the exploits and crimes of submarines, a much greater number occurred within his juris-

diction than in that of any other American consul. His pages are founded on careful official investigations of scores of cases, and on numberless affidavits. Naturally, the case of the *Lusitania* is treated with especial fullness. The restraint and sobriety of Mr. Frost's statements, despite a somewhat contorted style, add great force to his narrative. It is a record of lawlessness and inhumanity which history will never forget. No reader of newspapers need think he has seen the story in anything like the whole of its blackness till he has read this sober and competent but moving little book.

Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society. Number 26. (New York, the Society, 1918, pp. xxix, 362.) The present volume of this useful and learned society covers the proceedings of its twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth annual meetings, including, in the case of the former, some matter commemorating the society's twenty-fifth anniversary and referring to its achievements, which have been distinctly notable. The first of the substantive papers in the volume is an excellent discourse on the aims and tasks of Jewish historiography, by Professor Alexander Marx, of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. The next paper in the volume is one by Mr. Max J. Kohler on Jewish Rights at the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle. It is written with much learning and upon the basis of very careful researches, though not so arranged or composed as to make easy reading. In an appendix Mr. Kohler presents a draft of a new system of legislation for the Jews, July 17, 1809, prepared by Wilhelm von Humboldt. Mr. Albert M. Hyamson reviews the long series of British Projects for the Restoration of Jews to Palestine. Mr. Leon Hühner presents a body of details respecting the service of Jews in the War of 1812. Mr. L. M. Friedman writes of the relations of Cotton Mather to the Jews. These major papers are followed by a long series of smaller contributions designated as notes, often of much interest.

Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, October, 1917-June, 1918. Volume LI. (Boston, the Society, 1918, pp. xvi, 522.) In this new volume of a famous old society, the two chief elements are two journals of public men of the early days of the republic. The longer (129 pp.) is one kept in 1818 and 1819 by Jonathan Russell, then United States minister to Sweden, covering a journey from Stockholm through Germany, Austria, and Italy as far as Naples. It is an entertaining narrative, with full and often interesting descriptions of antiquities and paintings, but if the writer had any high degree of political intelligence the journal bears no trace of it. Russell talked with Blücher and Gneisenau, Metternich and Stadion, Francis I. and Marie Louise, Niebuhr and Lucien Bonaparte and Madame Letitia, but if any of them said anything interesting he does not record it, and the historical value of his journal is not great. Of more importance is that of William

Loughton Smith of South Carolina, Federalist member of Congress, relating to journeys in New England in 1790 and from Philadelphia to Charleston in 1791. Smith was a man of ability, observant and intelligent. Mr. Albert Matthews narrates his life, gives his bibliography, and distinguishes him carefully from other William Smiths with whom he has been sadly confused. An account of Joseph Badger, a worthy Boston artist of moderate talent who painted portraits between 1740 and 1765, is contributed by Mr. Lawrence Park. A descriptive list of Badger's work is added, and is accompanied by excellent reproductions of seven of his portraits. Mr. Chester N. Greenough has a learned paper on Algernon Sidney and the Motto of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Mr. W. C. Ford casts new light, from Virginian records, on Captain Wollaston and Thomas Weston of early Massachusetts. The chief memoirs are of Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Richard Olney, and of F. B. Sanborn.

Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D. C. Volume 21. (Washington, the Society, 1918, pp. vi, 401.) Most of the matter in this volume is, naturally, occupied with local and even anti-quarian topics, biographical sketches of persons active in the affairs of the District of Columbia rather than in those of the United States, and similar contributions. Three papers, however, have in part a wider range. Rev. Dr. George Williamson Smith, formerly president of Trinity College, who in March and April, 1861, was in the Navy Department at Washington, casts interesting light upon the situation of the capital city in those anxious weeks, in a paper entitled *A Critical Moment for Washington*. Major Gist Blair, in the course of a paper called *Annals of Silver Spring*, gives many interesting biographical details respecting Francis P. Blair and Montgomery Blair, and prints a long letter of Mrs. Jefferson Davis to the latter written in May, 1865, and hitherto unprinted, in which she describes fully the events attending the flight and capture of her husband. In view of the immense importance which the work of the American Red Cross has assumed, much historical value attaches also to a paper on Miss Clara Barton, prepared by the late Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster.

The Papers of Thomas Ruffin. Collected and edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Ph.D., Alumni Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. Volume I. (Raleigh, North Carolina Historical Commission, 1918, pp. 541.) Thomas Ruffin (1787-1870), chief justice of North Carolina from 1833 to 1852, a prominent Whig during most of his life, and an earnest opponent of secession in 1860, was a man whose correspondence must yield something of value to the historian. If to this it be added that Ruffin was to the conservatives of North Carolina what Chief Justice Marshall was to conservatives of the country, no question will be raised as to the importance of this pub-

lication. And it should be said at the beginning that the work of the editor, Professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, is admirably done.

This volume gives the letters of Ruffin and to Ruffin covering the period from 1803 to 1830; but there are only twenty-nine of the former, while there are more than 450 of the latter. The volume also contains an address of William A. Graham on Ruffin and a short biography by Professor Hamilton himself. These sketches give a fair, but insufficient, view of the career of the man whose correspondence we now have. It is to be hoped that some North Carolina scholar will now undertake to present the great judge in fuller form.

Although this collection of *Ruffin Papers* does not offer any letters from the great national leaders of the Whig party, it does present very many letters from all the North Carolina Whigs of prominence. It is an interesting and important social group we have represented here for the first time in their best forms, those men to whom Fisher Ames's remark about "the rich, the wise, and the good" might apply—the Camerons, Hendersons, Haywoods, Grahams, and Mangums. If one wishes to learn what the most intelligent and the wealthiest North Carolinians thought about public matters, these letters are apt to supply the need.

And there are topics enough: the tariff agitation, the Crawford and Calhoun manoeuvres, and the election of Andrew Jackson. A number of the letters from senators and representatives in Congress give intimate accounts of events and conditions in Washington. But it is clear that the second volume of these *Papers* must be the more important one. The North Carolina Historical Commission, though late in the field, is using its resources to the best advantage.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Western Influence on Political Parties to 1825: an Essay in Historical Interpretation. By Homer C. Hockett, Professor of American History in the Ohio State University. [Ohio State University Bulletin, vol. XXII., no. 3, Contributions in History and Political Science, no. 4.] (Columbus, the University, 1917, pp. 157, \$1.00.) The five chapters of this study by Professor Hockett are designed to prove that "in Europe political parties have divided in the main along lines of social stratification; in the United States the lines of cleavage have tended to be political" (p. 9), and that "both the Federalist and Republican parties based on conditions connected with the geographical development of the United States up to the beginning of the constitutional period were destroyed before 1825 in consequence of the changes incident to further geographical development". It is really a study in economic politics, elaborating a familiar thesis, reinforced with judicious citations from newspapers and documents, and demonstrating anew that the alignment of parties in the United States has been determined by economic conditions rather than by abstract principles or theories, from the political

agriculturism of Thomas Jefferson to the bimetallism of William Jennings Bryan. The writer of this study has not kept clear the distinction between geographical influences and economic influences. The former must in the nature of things be permanent and inescapable; the latter arise out of variable and temporary conditions in an area like Massachusetts, Ohio, or South Carolina. The aspect or political mood of Ohio or South Carolina in relation to the whole United States changed greatly from 1820 to 1900, but the differences were due to changes in industry, economic organization, and distribution of population. Unquestionably the best part of this study is section II., Development of Economic Life and Thought of the West (chapter IV., The Disruption of the Republican Party), which is admirably worked out with skillful use of original material, particularly that derived from Ohio.

This study as the successor of three studies of the Loyalists of the Revolutionary period in itself illustrates western influences on historical scholarship.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

The Political History of the Public Lands from 1840 to 1862: from Pre-emption to Homestead. By George M. Stephenson, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Dartmouth College. (Boston, Richard G. Badger; Toronto, Copp Clark Company, 1917, pp. 296, \$2.50.) The political, economic, and social importance of the public lands has long been recognized, and in recent years has been intensively investigated from various points of view. Dr. Stephenson's book adds another to the chronological treatments of the subject. He has endeavored "to trace the history of the public land legislation in Congress, to portray the sentiment of the different sections of the country relative to the disposal of the public domain, and to estimate the influence of the public lands on the political and legislative situation in general, in the period from 1840 to 1862". The author's chief contribution is a thoroughgoing exposition of the homestead movement—its beginnings in the minds of western pioneers, eastern labor leaders and reformers; organized agitation when it was seen that pre-emption did not eliminate the speculator; the long struggle in Congress in face of the opposition of the southern slavocracy and the supporters of land warrants and grants to railroads; its powerful influence for Lincoln in the election of 1860, and its final passage in 1862.

The introductory chapter on sectionalism and the public lands, 1835-1845, is superficial and contains errors. Benton's graduation bill was first introduced in 1824, not 1826 (p. 26); Calhoun was not an opponent of distribution in 1833 (p. 31); the treatment of Calhoun's cession plan is misleading in not distinguishing his separate bill of February 9 from his amendment of February 7 to Morris's bill restricting the sale of public lands to actual settlers (pp. 33-37); and a quotation on the South-and-West alliance of the late 1820's is applied to 1837 (p. 36). Little new material is added for the years 1840 to 1842.

The investigation is based chiefly on the government documents, especially the *Congressional Globe*, contemporary writings, and a vast number of newspapers, representing all sections of the country. With the exception of some short chapters which might well have been incorporated in others, as for example chapter VIII. and chapter X., the material has been well organized and clearly and aptly expressed. Eight maps showing the vote on the various measures are valuable additions. The book is provided with a good index.

RAYNOR G. WELLINGTON.

Lincoln in Illinois. By Octavia Roberts. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918, pp. 119, \$5.00.) This handsome volume submits to the public a high class of folk-lore centring about Lincoln and his Illinois friends and associates. It draws upon that romantic storehouse of historical by-products that so often remains even after a portrait of a great historical personality has been repeatedly "done" in history and biography. The memories treasured by Lincoln's townsmen, together with an historical imagination stimulated by long association with the haunts of Lincoln, have encouraged the author to undertake to re-create the human background in which Lincoln moved during the greater part of his life. There is real charm in the pictures of the great commoner in the every-day surroundings of the Illinois prairies. Yet there is little of the Calvinism which so frequently flavors the fond memories of the octogenarian reminiscencer. The Lincoln here pictured is not the predestined savior of the nation, impatiently working toward the tragedy of his martyrdom; it is rather the man Lincoln portrayed with the well-known frailties of the flesh and not a few of those of the spirit. The "long-legged fellow" who pilots the *Talisman* from Beardstown to Springfield, the store-keeper at New Salem, the lawyer at Springfield, and the human and wily Whig and Republican politician show a character different from his fellows not so much in quality as in the degree in which he was able to surpass them.

ARTHUR C. COLE

The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale. By Edward E. Hale, jr. In two volumes. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1917, pp. vi, 390; 442, \$5.00.) In two handsome volumes Professor Edward E. Hale of Union College gives an ample and leisurely account of his distinguished father. If a stranger to the subject finds the scale of the work disproportionate to the amount of material significant for historical record, he will in the end justify the reverent love that uses whatever detail of letter and diary to express and preserve the personality of Dr. Hale, for, as this biography shows, Dr. Hale had greatness as a personality and left the impress of his moral will upon the social movement. He was not a publicist or statesman, though always active in

public interests and an associate of men in public life. Eminent in the pulpit and in church councils, he was not a theologian; he was not a great writer though he has ten volumes to his credit (in a final, collected edition). With a mind stored with interesting lore, prompt for utterance, he was not distinguished as a scholar. His son's just estimate is that an immense facility and the desultory aims of his brilliant cleverness prevented great accomplishments. Nevertheless, he was one of the most eminent men of his time, by virtue of a noble character and delightful temperament, by his religious feeling, and his untiring devotion to all philanthropies. Uncomely, yet beautiful by interior grace, of a presence that reconciled the figure of a prophet of God with the social charm and cleverness of a man of the world, of inexhaustible capacity for the joy of home affections and of the beauty of nature, born for friendships and democratic kindness, he lived with fullness of life, doing good and inspiring good endeavor in fields near and far.

The biographer justly emphasizes the coincidence of Hale's spirit with the Maurice and Kingsley group in England and his conscious sympathy with them, though—while he viewed his ministerial task as that of building a new civilization—he had not their precise economic programme. He was not a man of programmes, and it was almost without design that he—not as founder but as inspirer—created the important development of Lend-a-Hand Societies, the Kings' Daughters, the Epworth League, and the Society for Christian Endeavor.

The historical student will find entertaining glimpses of Harvard classrooms and student life, letters that preserve the emotion and the atmosphere of life during the conflict with slavery, the Civil War, and the reconstruction period, and, in later days, the optimistic hopes of the American circles working for arbitration and a permanent Hague Tribunal; but Dr. Hale's relation to public affairs was not the close relation of an expert responsible for the creative process. His forte was that of the public advocate and the creator of the social disposition on which progress depends.

F. A. CHRISTIE.

Constitution Making in Indiana: a Source Book. In two volumes. By Charles Kettleborough, of the Indiana Bureau of Legislative Information. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Commission, 1916, pp. ccxli, 530; xv, 693.) These two volumes edited and annotated by Dr. Kettleborough were published by the Indiana Historical Commission as a part of the observance of the one-hundredth anniversary of the admission of Indiana into the Union. According to the preface, "the documents comprised in these two volumes are designed to illustrate and interpret the constitutional growth and development of the state of Indiana from the beginnings of its institutional history to the present. For the hundred years from 1816 to 1916, an attempt has been made to include every document of a constitutional character."

Not only are the documents included, but they are accompanied by illuminating notes and explanations throughout, and the summaries are impressively fortified by foot-notes and references. Dr. Kettleborough also has his own ideas in regard to what may be properly included in a state constitution. In speaking of the difficulties confronting the delegates to one of the constitutional conventions he remarks: "Aside from these alleged Machiavellian tactics of unscrupulous and calculating politicians, there were the zealous and misguided fanatics who hoped to incorporate their chauvinistic and half-baked political theories into the fundamental instrument of government."

The Indiana State Library is rich in newspaper files and these have been used by Dr. Kettleborough in an illuminating and discriminating way. Many of the newspapers, by the way, will not now feel flattered by the quotations from their columns. Some of them opposed almost every forward movement in the history of the state.

One of the most valuable parts of the work is an elaborate introduction by Dr. Kettleborough of 227 pages. This is a scholarly and accurate summary of the constitutional history of the state and presents a striking contrast to the many county histories which have been published in recent years for commercial purposes. This introduction should be reprinted in a separate volume for wider distribution.

The proposed "Marshall Constitution", the "Stotsenburg Amendments" and the efforts for a new constitution in 1916 are all adequately treated. The present constitution of Indiana was drafted in 1851 and is now out of date in many vital particulars. A new or revised document will without doubt be drafted in the near future. In this work the volumes of Dr. Kettleborough will be invaluable.

There is a useful appendix, and an elaborate index is included in each volume. On the whole these two volumes constitute an outstanding contribution to the constitutional history of Indiana. They will be received with gratitude by historical investigators.

THOMAS F. MORAN.

History of Economic Legislation in Iowa. By Ivan L. Pollock. [Iowa Economic History Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society, 1918, pp. x, 386, \$2.00.) Of the body of state statutes which are clearly economic in character, a large proportion is included under the term commerce. In this category fall, first, the means of communication, as roads, railways, rivers and harbors, telegraphs and telephones; all these are important subjects of state legislation. Then are considered the agencies for the facilitation of trade, as money, banks, loan and trust companies, and various other business corporations and organizations. Besides, the insurance business is clearly economic in character and is one important subject for legislation.

Other lines of activity are on the border-land between matters classified as economic and those considered as social, ethical, or political. For instance, the care of the poor has important industrial relations, yet Mr. Pollock excludes this body of legislation. Education is also excluded, but in dealing with the activities of the state for the promotion of agriculture and other industries, the author makes it consist very largely in education. Labor legislation emanates from a variety of motives, but it is classified as predominantly economic, and a chapter is devoted to the subject. A chapter is also given to the subject of general taxation.

The titles of the thirteen chapters may serve to give a general idea of the book: 1, Transportation; 2, Railroad Transportation; 3, Agriculture and Stock-Raising; 4, Mines and Mining; 5, Conservation and Internal Improvement; 6, General Corporations; 7, Insurance; 8, Banking; 9, Building and Loan Associations; 10, Trade and Commerce; 11, Labor Legislation; 12, The Power of Municipal Corporations in enacting Economic Legislation; 13, Tax Legislation.

The author sticks quite closely to his text, which is a history of law-making, not law administration. Many of the statutes are, however, a mere dead letter, no attempt ever having been made to enforce them. There is here no systematic attempt to differentiate these from those which become operative in actual government. Iowa is put forward as a typical western state; there are, however, few references to the laws of other states. The chapters are occupied with brief chronological summaries of the laws on the various topics. Much of the text reads like an analytic table of contents to a fuller treatment of the subject. In fact, that is what it is. The pages are marred by no foot-notes, but following the text are forty-four pages devoted to references to the sources of information on the topics treated.

The chief merit of the book consists in the fact that in a very brief space the student is enabled to get a view of the general trend of a great body of legislation on a variety of topics, and at the same time is enabled to find the full text of the statute bearing upon topics of special interest.

In a book abounding in dates, it is inevitable that there should be errors, yet the only one noted is at the bottom of page 156, where 1866 should read 1886.

COMMUNICATION

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *American Historical Review*:

Sir:

WHEN Professor John Bassett Moore's review of my *President's Control of Foreign Relations* appeared in the July issue of the *Review* I had not time to give it attention. It is not, however, I trust, too late to correct through your pages some of the misleading impressions it seems likely to leave with the reader of it.

(1) Professor Moore thinks that the Senate report dealing with President Cleveland's appointment of Commissioner Blount was somewhat evasive and inconclusive as a vindication.

This is a matter of construction. It seems entirely reasonable to hold that the significance of this report consists precisely in its assimilating the case of Blount, notwithstanding the large powers conferred upon him, with that of previous "personal agents", and especially since a minority of the committee dissented on the point which Professor Moore says was evaded.

(2) On page 83 of my volume I write: "The downfall of Huerta was due directly to President Wilson's failure to recognize him as the *de facto* government of Mexico." Professor Moore comments: "Huerta did not claim recognition as 'the *de facto* government of Mexico', but as constitutional president."

Either this criticism is irrelevant or it implies that the administration did recognize Huerta as the *de facto* government of Mexico. In the latter connection President Wilson's words, in his address of December 2, 1913, to Congress are not open to misconstruction:

"There can be no certain prospect of peace in America until General Huerta has surrendered his usurped authority in Mexico . . . Mexico has no government", etc. Nor did the administration later alter its attitude on this question.

(3) Professor Moore takes exception to my remark that "the power of Congress to declare war" appears "in actual exercise" to have been "the power to recognize an existing state of war", a power belonging also to the President "at least in the case of invasion or insurrection". He says: "A diminution of the power of Congress or an enlargement of that of the President, is not to be inferred from verbal jockeying for diplomatic advantage in the international game."

The observation is true enough, but not pertinent to a discussion which has for its subject the *form* which congressional "declarations of war" have taken from the outset (p. 140).

(4) Professor Moore criticizes a version of the Koszta episode which I quote from an opinion of the Supreme Court as "inaccurate and misleading". I do not find that it is in the least misleading regarding the topic in connection with which it is quoted. See, moreover, Rhodes, I. 416-418.

Most of the remaining criticisms are of much the same character, involving to a great extent matters of interpretation and opinion. It is of course difficult to bring an argued refutation of such criticisms within available space or within the rules governing communications of this character.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Apologies are due for the late appearance of the October number. In these times promptness of publication is difficult, even though all precautions are taken. In this instance, the cause was an unaccountable delay of blue cover-paper in arriving at the printing office.

The annual list of doctoral dissertations in history in progress, which of late it has been customary to print in the January number of this journal, is, from motives of economy to the *Review*, omitted from the present issue; it will hereafter be printed in a pamphlet, by the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in an edition sufficient to supply all persons having any direct interest in the matter. Such persons, if they do not receive a copy before the beginning of February, may write to J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The annual meeting of the Association, arranged to take place at Cleveland on December 27 and 28, has been indefinitely postponed on the advice of the health officer of that city, because of an epidemic of influenza prevalent there. The secretary has sent notice to all members. No announcement can now be made as to when this thirty-fourth annual meeting will be held.

The Winsor Prize essay, *Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818*, by Dr. Richard J. Purcell, has been published, and distributed to subscribers. The *Annual Report* for 1917 is in galley-proof.

Now that the resort to London archives and libraries on the part of American historical students is likely to be resumed, perhaps on an increased scale, it is desirable to remind them of the existence of the London headquarters of the American Historical Association, a commodious room in the building of the Royal Historical Society at 22 Russell Square, in a locality convenient to both the Public Record Office and the British Museum. Here American students of history working in London may have opportunities of meeting, of keeping their papers in a safe place, and occasionally of obtaining guidance from the secretary of the London branch of the Association. They also receive advantages from the presence in the same building of the offices of the Royal Historical Society and of the Historical Association (of English teachers), and by the kindness of the former are given the privileges of its library.

These headquarters were acquired shortly before the war, have been little used during its continuance, but should henceforward be made a meeting-point of real importance to American scholarship. The London branch has a simple organization, with Lord Bryce as chairman, Mr. Hubert Hall vice-chairman, Mr. A. Percival Newton, of the University of London, secretary, and Mr. H. P. Biggar treasurer. The executive committee consists of these officers and of the three senior members (senior in college graduation) actually present in London or enrolled at the headquarters. A fee of 12 sh. is charged, which covers incidental expenses, the rent being paid by the American Historical Association.

NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

With the ending of the war, it is to be expected that before long most operations of the Board, in its present form at least, will also come to an end. As certain functions which it has exercised deserve to be continued in time of peace, it is not unlikely that the American Historical Association, at the next opportunity, may be asked to provide some new organization for their continuance. Meantime, Professor Schafer, as vice-chairman, has been actively co-operating with Professor Aydelotte, director of instruction for the Students' Army Training Corps, in the preparation of helpful material for the conduct of those courses which relate to history and to the historical aspects of the problems of reconstruction. Aid has also been given by the Board to the new courses devised by the educational service of the Y. M. C. A. for the soldiers remaining in camps, in Europe and America. The large files of German newspapers, a score or more in number, which through the kindness of the British, French, and Belgian Missions the Board has been currently receiving, and which through an organization headed by Dr. Victor S. Clark have been made of use to the government in varied ways, will continue to be thus utilized until after the conclusion of peace.

Under the conviction that the war has on the one hand powerfully increased public interest in history and on the other hand made necessary a recasting of our system of history-teaching in schools, the Board has resolved, on invitation from the National Education Association, to make immediate efforts, with all possible energy, toward a solution of this problem. Professor Samuel B. Harding has been appointed chairman of a committee on the subject, and will be glad to receive suggestions, which should be addressed to him at the building of the Department of the Interior in Washington, room 5124.

PERSONAL

Andrew D. White, president of Cornell University from its foundation in 1867 till 1885, died at Ithaca on November 4, a few days before the completion of his eighty-sixth year. As one of the chief founders of the American Historical Association and its first president, 1884-1886,

he would be eminently entitled to grateful commemoration in these pages; but this was but a small part of the service he constantly rendered to history and to learning during a long lifetime. He was professor of history in the University of Michigan from 1857 to 1863, lectured often on historical subjects at Cornell, and collected a notable historical library, which he presented to the latter institution. His own chief historical work was *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (1896), a brilliant and learned series of studies in the history of civilization, always his favorite field. In 1910 he published a volume in the same general domain, that of the history of thought, of expansion of the human mind, of tolerance and intolerance, entitled *Seven Great Statesmen in the Warfare of Science with Unreason*. None of his books however is more profitable than his delightful *Autobiography* (1905), which may well be read by everyone who is occupied with history and higher education in America. The career which in that book he surveys with so much ripe wisdom and such genuine good-will toward all mankind had been one of great distinction, not only in education, but in legislative and diplomatic service, as senator in New York, minister to Germany and to Russia, and ambassador in Berlin; but the founding and early management of Cornell University was his most signal achievement, and Cornell and history remained his strongest interests. In history it was the development of ideas, of culture, and of learning that he most loved to emphasize. He influenced many young men toward their study; and, genial and kind as he was wise and experienced, he was the constant friend of them, and of all men.

Richard Schröder, who during the past fifty years had in succession held the chair of history of German law in the universities of Bonn, Würzburg, Strassburg, Göttingen, and Heidelberg, died at Heidelberg on January 3, 1918, aged seventy-nine years. At the time of his death he was preparing the sixth edition of his well-known *Lehrbuch der Deutschen Rechtsgeschichte* (first edition, 1889).

Mrs. Preston, formerly Mrs. Grover Cleveland, requests that any friends of Mr. Cleveland who possess published addresses or other critical comment of historical value concerning his policies or character, or letters to or from him, or personal recollections of incidents in connection with his life which would be of interest in the preparation of a biography, would communicate as soon as practicable with Mr. William Gorham Rice, 135 Washington Avenue, Albany, New York. Any such comment, letters, and memoranda will be acknowledged and will be carefully returned if the sender so desires. Whatever portions of the materials are left in Mr. Rice's hands will be deposited ultimately in the State Library at Albany. Mr. Rice was a secretary to Mr. Cleveland during his governorship, and was for many years thereafter associated with him, at Washington and elsewhere, as a valued friend.

Most of the work of the Committee on Public Information having now been brought to an end, Professor Guy S. Ford, who from May, 1917, to December, 1918, has constantly had charge of one of its most important divisions, and in that capacity has performed services of incalculable value toward the enlightenment of public opinion in wartime, returns at the beginning of the present month to his professorship and deanship in the University of Minnesota. Professor S. B. Harding, who has been closely associated with him in the work of the committee, remains in Washington, for important educational work under the Department of the Interior. Professors Carl Becker and George F. Zook return respectively to Cornell University and Pennsylvania State College.

Major (Professor) F. M. Fling has sailed to France with the group who accompanied President Wilson, to represent at Paris, during the period of the peace conference, the interests of the Historical Branch of the General Staff and to accumulate materials for that portion of its history of which he has charge, the portion relating to the diplomatic history of the war and the peace. Several other members of the historical profession—Professors Day, Haskins, Hornbeck, Kerner, Lord, Lunt, Lybyer, Seymour, Shotwell, Westermann, Dr. G. L. Beer—members of the organization of inquiry formed by Colonel House, have sailed in the same expedition.

Dr. Gaillard Hunt has been appointed by the State Department to write an official history of its activities during the period of the war; Professor James G. Randall has resigned as professor of history in Roanoke College and is serving as historian of the United States Shipping Board.

Professor U. B. Phillips, of the University of Michigan, who for more than a year has served as a Y. M. C. A. official in Camp Gordon, is now serving in the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department; Captain A. L. P. Dennis of that division has been ordered to London, to serve as military attaché in connection with the American embassy there.

Professor D. C. Shilling of Monmouth College, on leave of absence from that institution, has been engaged in Y. M. C. A. work at Camp Sherman and more recently as general secretary of the Students' Army Training group at Miami University.

Mrs. Lois K. Mathews, of the University of Wisconsin, has by marriage become Mrs. Marvin B. Rosenberry, but continues under that name her functions as assistant professor of history.

Dr. Charles H. Cunningham, of the University of Texas, has been given a year's leave of absence and has gone to Mexico. Professor Charles W. Hackett, formerly of the University of New Mexico, has temporarily taken his place.

Leroy F. Jackson, professor of American history in the State College of Washington, is on leave for the year to take charge of the educational work of the Y. M. C. A. for the Spruce Division. Professor Frank A. Golder, of the same institution, returns to his work there after several months' service to Colonel House's Inquiry.

GENERAL

All historical students, it is believed, will welcome the news that the decisive steps have at last been taken in the matter of a National Archive Building in Washington. The *ex officio* commission designated for the purpose by the Public Buildings Act of 1913 has approved the site selected by the Secretary of the Treasury (and previously by the Public Buildings Commission of 1917) and the land is being bought. The plans made in 1915, and which met with widespread approval, are being adapted to the site chosen. Existing legislation already authorizes the erection of the building, and it is hoped with some confidence that appropriations for beginning work will be made by Congress during the present session.

Mention was made in our October number of the "War Issues Courses", partly historical, which were then being begun in most American colleges under novel agreements with the War Department for the Students' Army Training Corps. With the cessation of warfare, these contracts are being dissolved, but the "War Issues Courses" are in most cases voluntarily continued by the colleges. As a part of the needful material, Professor Frank Aydelotte, who has general superintendence of the courses, is planning for a series of pamphlets, on international relations and on problems of reconstruction, to be published by the World Peace Foundation. Among those listed for early issue is one on Great Britain, America, and Democracy, by Professor E. D. Adams, and one on Japan and the United States, by Professor P. J. Treat.

The attention of young students of history should be called to the establishment in Oxford of the degree of doctor of philosophy upon terms resembling those usual in the United States, and presenting much greater advantages and opportunity than heretofore to those American students who wish to study with Oxford professors without sacrificing anything essential in the programme they have marked out for their academic curricula in the United States. Mutual recognition, by American universities of work done at Oxford and by Oxford of work done in American universities, toward the doctorate, being now established, it is to be hoped that migration of scholars may much increase. Details concerning the new doctorate at Oxford may be found in the *American Oxonian* for April last.

The Division of Economics and History in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is planning to add to its studies of the economic

history of the war, previously mentioned in these pages, a Japanese series of studies based on the historical investigation of various aspects of finance and economics as affected by war and armament in the Far East. Books on the history of the American peace movement, on the history of the causes of war, and on the effects of the late European war on the industry, commerce, and finance of South American countries are nearly ready for publication. The Division of International Law has under preparation a monograph on the history of plebiscites, by Miss Sarah Wambaugh; a revised edition of Madison's *Notes* of 1787, edited by Dr. Gaillard Hunt; further volumes of the *Classics of International Law* (Wolff, Pufendorf, and Alberico Gentili); and a pamphlet on the Declaration of London, February 26, 1909 (text and comment). The Endowment is also providing for fuller historical exposition of the rights of belligerents and neutrals at sea, by aiding the publication of a collection of English classics on those rights, and a documentary history of events relating to them during the French wars, 1793-1815, both to be edited by Sir Francis Piggott, chief justice of Hong Kong and formerly legal adviser to the prime minister of Japan.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has begun the publication of a most useful little series of pamphlets, of forty or fifty pages apiece, entitled *Helps for the Students of History*, edited by Mr. Charles Johnson of the Public Record Office and Professor J. P. Whitney of King's College. Four of these sixpenny pamphlets have already come out: an excellent little account of the Episcopal Registers of England and Wales, by Mr. R. C. Fowler; of (English) Municipal Records, by Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw; of Medieval Reckonings of Time, by Dr. R. L. Poole; and of the Public Record Office, by Mr. Charles Johnson—the latter, however, taking little account of anything not medieval. Later papers will treat of such topics as the care of documents, the logic of history, the French Renaissance, and the manuscripts in the Public Record Office of Dublin and at Trinity College.

The articles of chief interest in the October number of the *Historical Outlook* are: a comprehensive analysis of the French government, by Professor Othon Guerlac, member of the French High Commission; the Deeper Roots of Pan-Germanism, by Professor J. W. Thompson; the Trade Routes of Western Asia, by Professor W. L. Westermann; How Southerners supported the War for Secession, by Professor J. S. Bassett; and a group of Documents relating to the Future of the British Empire, arranged by Professor A. L. Cross. Those in the November number are: the Repulsiveness of the German State, by Professor G. H. Mead; Further Evidence in the Case against Germany, by Professor L. M. Larson; Germany's Grip on Public Opinion, by Lieut. W. A. Chamberlin; English Background of American Institutions, by Professor G. B. Adams; Evolution of Democracy in England, by Professor Conyers

Read; Beginnings in Political Education, by Professor Edgar Dawson; American Catholics and the War, by Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday; Effects of the War on Labor and Capital, by Professor E. L. Bogart; and an article, by Theodore C. Blegen, entitled Two Standards of Morality (American and German). The December number opens with interesting Impressions of Britain in War-Time, by Professor A. C. McLaughlin; the other chief historical articles are, one on the Railroads of the United States and the War, by Professor T. W. Van Metre, and one on the New Birth of Islam, by Professor A. T. Olmstead.

History for October contains articles on the Origins of France, by Professor F. M. Powicke, on an Italian Historian (Villari), by Dr. H. M. Beatty, and on the Teaching of History in South African Schools, by Mr. A. F. Hattersley.

Volume IV., number 1, of *Smith College Studies in History* (64 pp.) presents an analysis of the Problem of Administrative Areas, by Mr. Harold J. Laski of Harvard University, in which the possibilities of federalism and the relations of social and industrial to political organization, especially in Great Britain, are thoughtfully considered, and set forth with much acuteness.

America and Britain: the Story of the Relations between the two Peoples, a brief book by H. H. Powers, is published by Macmillan.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. R. Thayer, *History—Quick or Dead?* (Atlantic Monthly, November); I. A. Loos, *Historical Approach to Economics* (American Economic Review, September); J. H. Rosny aîné, *L'Évolution des Conflits Ethniques et Sociaux* (Mercure de France, July 16).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague* (Copenhagen, Hoest, 1918, pp. 148, plates 29) have been published by Maria Mogensen.

The Schweich Lectures for 1916 were given by Professor L. W. King, of the University of London, assistant keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum. They are now published, for the British Academy, by Humphrey Milford, in a volume entitled *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition*.

Of the volumes of *Oriental Studies* issued by the Yale University Press, the most recent that relate to ancient history are a volume of *Miscellaneous Sumerian Religious Texts*, edited by Professor G. A. Barton of Bryn Mawr, three volumes of *Documents from the Temple Archives of Tellah*, containing the texts of 400 business documents of the period of the dynasty of Ur, edited by the same scholar, and the first of a series of volumes of *Letters and Contracts from Erech*, Neo-Babylonian, edited by Dr. C. E. Keiser.

The *Loeb Classical Library* has issued the first of five volumes of a translation of Pausanias, by W. H. S. Jones.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Seymour de Ricci, *Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Égyptologique*, II. (*Revue Archéologique*, November, 1917); L. Pareti, *Pelasgica* (*Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, April); A. Gwynn, *The Character of Greek Colonization* (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XXXVIII.); G. Batault, *L'Idée de Progrès et la Guerre d'après Xénophon, Stratège Athénien* (*Mercure de France*, October 1); P. Corssen, *Das Angebliche Werk des Olynthiers Kallisthenes über Alexander den Grossen* (*Philologus*, LXXIV. 1); K. Hartmann, *Ueber das Verhältnis des Cassius Dio zur Parthergeschichte des Flavius Arrianus (ibid.)*; J. Wells, *Cicero and the Conquest of Gaul* (*Quarterly Review*, October); T. Frank, *The Economic Life of an Ancient City* (*Classical Philology*, June); J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des Griechisch-Römischen Heidentums* (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, XLI. 3).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

R. Knopf has completed and published the second part of the late J. Weiss's *Das Urchristentum* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1918).

An extended study of *Das Register Gregors I., Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Registerwesens bis auf Gregor VII.* (Freiburg, Herder, 1918) is by Peitz.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has published a version, the first into English, of *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, translated from Abbot Butler's text.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Batiffol, *Augustin, Pélage, et le Siège Apostolique, 411-417* (*Revue Biblique*, January); P. A. Vaccari, *Gli Ultimi Anni di S. Girolamo* (*Civiltà Cattolica*, August 17).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Mr. Poultney Bigelow's *Genseric, King of the Vandals and First Prussian Kaiser* (Putnam, 1918, pp. xix, 207) is, as might be inferred from the name, no unimpassioned product of scholarship, but a *tendenziös* historical narrative filled with modern comparisons, set forth acutely and with great warmth of feeling.

Ernst Mayer's *Geschworenengericht und Inquisitionsprozess* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1916, pp. 379) contributes much to the discussion of the origins of the jury and allied problems, and has called forth various critical and controversial reviews.

The Yale University Press has in the printer's hands an edition, by Professor Charles C. Torrey, of the Arabic text of the *Futuh-Misr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, the oldest known history of the Mohammedan con-

quest of Egypt, North Africa, and Spain, written in the ninth century A. D., and now edited from the manuscripts in London, Paris, and Leyden.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Dvorak, *Idealismus und Naturalismus in der Gotischen Skulptur und Malerei* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXIX. 1); J. W. Thompson, *Dutch and Flemish Colonization in Medieval Germany* (American Journal of Sociology, September); M. de Wulf, *Western Philosophy and Theology in the Thirteenth Century* (Harvard Theological Review, October).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

M. Édouard Driault's *Tilsit: France et Russie sous le Premier Empire* (Paris, Alcan) continues his existing series of valuable works upon the foreign policy of Napoleon, by a volume of first-rate importance.

In an important volume entitled *Le Secret de la Frontière, 1815-1871-1914: Charleroi* (Paris, Bossard, 1918, pp. 600), M. Fernand Engerand sets forth the processes by which France, through the treaties of 1815 and 1871, was subjected to great military disadvantages, which proved to be almost fatal in 1914.

The Dublin Review for October prints a group of letters written, 1829-1840, by Cardinal Wiseman, founder of that journal, to Archbishop Whitfield of Baltimore, throwing new light on historical episodes such as the conclave of 1831.

The little collection of documents under the title *La Protestation du Luxembourg, 1831-1839, c'est malgré lui que le Luxembourg a été livré à l'Influence Allemande* (Macon, Protat, 1918, pp. 44) elucidates certain phases of the tangled international problem of this small but strategic area in the nineteenth century.

André David's investigations of *Les Plébiscites et les Cessions de Territoires* (Paris, Rousseau, 1918, pp. 123) are of timely interest in connection with certain problems of the peace negotiations.

The publication of secret diplomatic documents by the Bolshevik government in Russia has led the French Foreign Office to publish a Yellow Book containing *Documents Diplomatiques, l'Alliance Franco-Russe, Origine de l'Alliance, 1890-1893, Convention Militaire, 1892-1899, et Convention Navale, 1912* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1918, pp. x, 139). For the first time the subject of the Dual Alliance has become a matter not of surmise and speculation but of historic certainty.

Louis Férasson explains the important but little understood subject of *La Question du Fer, le Problème Franco-Allemand du Fer* (Paris, Payot, 1918); J. Flach traces *Les Affinités Françaises de l'Alsace avant Louis XIV. et l'Iniquité de sa Séparation de la France* (Paris, Tenin, 1915, pp. 158); the wishes of the people are revealed in a collection of

documents and addresses entitled *L'Alsace et la Lorraine doivent rester Françaises* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1918); and the nature of the German propaganda on the subject is exposed in *La Question d'Alsace-Lorraine, la Propagande Allemande depuis la Guerre et les Faits* (*ibid.*, pp. 117) by V. H. Friedel.

The Committee on Public Information has published, in a quarto pamphlet of 30 pages, *The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy*, the series of documents secured in Russia nearly a year ago by its agent, Mr. Edgar Sisson, and published in the September newspapers. The series, which exhibits the close relations between the Bolshevik government and the Petrograd branch of the German General Staff, is now illustrated by some seventeen facsimiles and accompanied by a report on their genuineness (affirming it so far as the main Russian series is concerned), prepared by a committee of investigation appointed, at Mr. Creel's request, by the National Board for Historical Service.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. d'Avenel, *Le Transport des Marchandises depuis Sept Siècles* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 1); Father B. Kruitwagen, *De Uitvinding van de Boekdrukkunst en hare eerste Voortbrengselen* (*Handelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, 1917-1918, pp. 17-52); A. Eekhof, *Hoe heeft Calvijn over Luther gedacht?* (*Nederlandsche Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n. s. XIV.); R. Peyre, *Coup d'Oeil sur la Question d'Orient en France au XVII^e Siècle* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, April); G. M. Trevelyan, *The Four Great Wars* (*Edinburgh Review*, October); C. Oman, *The Irish Troops in the Service of Spain, 1709-1818* (*Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, February, May, August); W. M. Sloane, *Napoleon and Hohenzollern* (*The Nation*, November 2); E. Laloy, *Le Livre Jaune sur l'Alliance Franco-Russe* (*Mercure de France*, September 16).

THE GREAT WAR

The Department of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan has published, as *Bulletin* no. 20, *Democracy and the Great War* (pp. 234), by Dr. George N. Fuller, secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, in which a very successful attempt is made to set forth in outline the factors entering into the history of the recent struggle.

Among the publications of documents concerning France's part in the war are the *Recueil des Documents insérés au Bulletin Officiel du Ministre de la Guerre et concernant spécialement la Période des Hostilités* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1918) which extends to 5300 pages bound in six volumes and a supplement for the period to the end of December, 1917.

The fourth supplement of *Proclamations, Orders in Council, and Documents relating to the European War* has been published by the

department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and brings this valuable compilation down to October 1, 1916.

The University of Chicago Press has issued *Readings in the Economics of the War*, edited by J. Maurice Clark, Walton H. Hamilton, and Harold G. Moulton (pp. 676).

In *The German War Code* (University of Illinois *Bulletin*, vol. XV., no. 49), Professor James W. Garner makes a comparison of the German manual of the laws of war with those of the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Hague Convention.

A new German White Book made up of documents relative to the origin of the war will before long be issued, in three or four volumes, edited by Karl Kautsky, the Socialist party leader, now under-secretary for foreign affairs.

The Cradle of the War (Little, Brown, pp. 360), by Henry C. Woods, dealing with the Near East and Pan-Germanism, is based upon the author's notes for his course of lectures upon War and Diplomacy in the Balkans, delivered before the Lowell Institute, 1917-1918.

An account of *Le Complot de Sarajévo, 28 Juin 1914* (Paris, Boscard, 1918) has been written by J. Chopin, and a second volume of *Responsabilités et Buts de Guerre* (Paris, Figuière, 1918) has come from the pen of C. Daniélou. An anonymous volume deals with *Le Mensonge Autrichien, l'Incident Clemenceau-Czernin* (*ibid.*).

The American Association for International Conciliation has published the *Memoranda and Letters of Dr. Mühlton*, giving, in German text, matter reprinted from the *Berliner Tageblatt* (March 21, 1918), and *Die Freie Zeitung* (March 27-May 4, 1918), and on opposite pages a translation by Professor Munroe Smith; translations have also been published by the George H. Doran Company in a pamphlet entitled *Revelations by an Ex-Director of Krupp's*. (See also p. 294, above.)

French views of Germans and German policies and methods are further expounded in *Les Allemands de Toujours* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1917, pp. xi, 316) by A. Aderer; in *L'Allemagne Secrète* (Paris, Michel, 1918); and in *L'Allemagne et la Paix* (Paris, Delagrave, 1918) by Professor E. Denis. Professor H. Lichtenberger and others have collected two volumes of lectures on *Les Appétits Allemands* (Paris, Alcan, 1918), with sub-titles *Les Ambitions de l'Allemagne* and *Les Rêves d'Hégémonie Mondiale*.

In the *Historische Zeitschrift* (CXIX. 1, pp. 169-170) will be found a list of some of the keenest German articles directed against English imperialism during the war. England's position in Egypt and in India furnishes material for two particular lines of attack.

A realistic account of the heroic resistance offered by General French's army in the retreat from Mons to the Marne is given in *The Black Watch* (Doubleday, Page, pp. 255), by Scout Joe Cassells, one of the survivors.

René Puaux has produced a biographical sketch of *Foch, sa Vie, sa Doctrine, son Oeuvre, la Foi en la Victoire* (Paris, Payot, 1918), and P. Bonnefon, of *Le Premier "As", Pégoud* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918).

New issues of the notable series of *Mémoires et Récits de Guerre* (Paris, Hachette, 1918) are Commandant J. E. Hennes, *À l'École de la Guerre, Lettres d'un Artilleur, Août 1914-Octobre 1916*; and L. Hourticq, *Récits et Réflexions d'un Combattant, Aisne, Champagne, Verdun, 1915-1917*. Other recently issued French memoirs of the war are V. Magne, *Heures de Guerre, d'Afrique en Flandre et en Campagne* (Paris, Perrin, 1918); H. Libermann, *L'Infanterie Héroïque et Douloureuse, Thiaumont-Moronvilliers, Juillet-Août 1916-Mars-Avril 1917, Récits Vécus d'un Officier de Ligne* (*ibid.*); M. Buteau, *Tenir* (Paris, Plon, 1918); M. Dupont, *En Campagne, l'Attente, Impressions d'un Officier de Légère, 1915-1916-1917* (*ibid.*); J. L. G. Pastre, *Trois Ans de Front, Belgique, Aisne et Champagne, Verdun, Argonne, Lorraine, Notes et Impressions d'un Artilleur* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918); Capitaine Delvert, *Histoire d'une Compagnie, Main de Massiges, Verdun, Novembre 1915-Juin 1916, Journal de Marche* (*ibid.*).

Fighting the Boche Underground (Scribner, pp. 234), by Capt. H. D. Trounce, gives a vivid account of mining and sapping, describing the construction of galleries and mines, and the explosions about Neuville, St. Vaast, in Flanders, near Arras, and under Vimy Ridge.

In *L'Heure de l'Italie, Voyage de Guerre, 1916* (Paris, Bossard, 1917) J. Ajalbert has recorded observations on how Italy has faced the conditions of the war. A brief statement of Portugal's participation is made by P. Osorio in the pamphlet *Le Portugal et la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1918). Of more considerable proportions is *Le Nationalisme Suédois et la Guerre* (Paris, Perrin, 1918) by L. Maury.

An unusually entertaining and informing account of the Salonica campaign is to be found in *Macedonian Musings* (Allen and Unwin, pp. 188), by V. J. Seligman, an officer in the Army Service Corps.

Military operations in the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Palestine are described and discussed by C. Stiénon in *Les Campagnes d'Orient* (Paris, Payot, 1918); and *L'Occupation Austro-Bulgare en Serbie* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. 164) is described by Novakovitch.

The War in the Cradle of the World (Harper, pp. 371) describes the experiences of Eleanor F. Egan in the war zone of Mesopotamia.

The Secret of the Navy (London, Murray, pp. 333), by Bennet Coplestone, is made up for the most part of articles reprinted from the *Cornhill Magazine*, treating of British naval operations.

The Zeebrugge Affair (Doran, pp. 64), by Keble Howard (J. Keble Bell), gives a vivid account of the operations at Zeebrugge and Ostend, with the official narratives of those events.

In *Fishermen in War Time* (London and Edinburgh, Sampson Low, Marston, and Co., pp. 240), Walker Wood tells of the part played by the North Sea fishermen during more than three years of war.

In *A Captive on a German Raider* (McBride, pp. 151), F. G. Trayes tells of the capture by the *Wolf* of the Japanese vessel *Hitachi Maru* on which he was a passenger, and of the Spanish steamer, *Igotz Mendi*, and of his experiences as a prisoner aboard these three vessels.

The activities of the French navy are recorded in *Sur nos Fronts de Mer* (Paris, Plon, 1918, pp. 323) by Commandant E. Vedel; *Sur le Front de Mer, le Mémorial de la Marine Marchande* (Paris, Renouard, 1918, pp. xii, 220) by A. Galopin; *80,000 Milles en Torpilleur, Récits de Chasse aux Sous-marins, 1914-1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1918, pp. 302) by J. Fierre; *Dix-neuf Histoires de Sous-marins* (Paris, Payot, 1918) by B. Frank; and *Vingt Mois de Guerre à Bord du Croiseur "Jeanne-d'Arc", 9 Août 1914-12 Avril 1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1918, pp. viii, 286).

Among the most interesting novelties of the war literature are the memoirs of the aviators, of which recent publications are C. Delacommune, *L'Escadrille des Éperviers, Impressions Vécus de Guerre Aérienne* (Paris, Plon, 1918); Lieutenant Marc, *Notes d'un Pilote Disparu, 1916-1917* (Paris, Hachette, 1918); B. Lafont, *Au Ciel de Verdun, Notes d'un Aviateur* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. xii, 202); and J. Mortane and J. Daçay, *La Guerre des Nues racontée par ses Morts* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1918).

S. Grumbach, author of the well-known book on *Das Annexionistische Deutschland*, has a volume on *Brest-Litovsk* (Lausanne, Payot).

Summaries of the peace treaties made by the Central Powers with Russia, Ukrainia, Finland, and Rumania may be found in the *American Political Science Review* for November, pp. 706-715. Their complete texts seem not to have been published otherwise than in European newspapers, but translations of the essential parts are in no. 128 of *International Conciliation*, and the treaties with Russia and Finland are in *Current History* for April and June.

Messrs. C. D. Snow and J. J. Kral of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce have prepared for the Department of Commerce, and issued as Miscellaneous Series, no. 65, of their bureau, a monograph

entitled *German Trade and the War* (pp. 236), which is in large part a history of German economic life in war-time, with information on administration, organization, manufacture, transportation, and labor conditions.

Dr. Daniel J. McCarthy, who inspected a large number of the German prison camps on behalf of the American embassy, in 1916, has prepared a temperate general account of the whole system in *The Prisoner of War in Germany: the Care and Treatment of the Prisoner of War, with a History of the Development of the Principle of Neutral Inspection and Control* (London, Skeffington). A special aspect of the system, revealing some of its worst features, is set forth in *Dans les Camps de Représailles* (Paris, Hachette), by Jean-Jules Dufour, an artist who was one of 2000 Frenchmen selected for imprisonment and hard labor in the unhealthy swamps of Soltau, in reprisal for the detention in Dahomey of Germans captured in the Cameroons. The French government has published the *Rapports des Délégués du Gouvernement Espagnol sur leurs Visites dans les Camps de Prisonniers Français en Allemagne, 1914-1917* (Paris, Hachette, 1918). G. Arvengas has related his experiences *Entre les Fils de Fer, Carnet d'un Prisonnier de Guerre, 1914-1917* (Paris, Jouve, 1918, pp. 252). In *Kultured Kaptivity* (Bobbs Merrill, pp. 244) records the prison experiences of Ivan Rossiter, of the Canadian Mounted Rifles, who was captured at Sanctuary Wood.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Madelin, *Les Batailles de l'Aisne*, I.-II. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 1, 15); G. Hanotaux, *La Bataille de Guise-Saint-Quentin*, 28-30 Août 1914 (*ibid.*, September 1, 15); R. Maurice, *L'Évolution des Méthodes d'Offensive de 1915 à 1918* (*Mercure de France*, September 16, October 16); J. Reinach, *Le Dégagement de Verdun* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, June 15); A. Fribourg, *Les Paysans d'Alsace-Lorraine devant les Conseils de Guerre Allemands* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 1); J. Chopin, *Les Yougoslaves et l'Entente* (*Mercure de France*, October 1); C. Spellanzon, *La Guerre Européenne dans les Balkans* (*Revue des Nations Latines*, July 16); *id.*, *Les Balkans et la Guerre Européenne* (*ibid.*, August 1); *id.*, *La Politique Internationale: l'Expédition de Salonique* (*ibid.*, September 1); *id.*, *La Politique Internationale: la Roumanie et la Guerre Européenne* (*ibid.*, September 16); Maj. T. E. Compton, *The Rumanian Campaign, 1916-17* (*Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, August); A. Gérard, *Le Front d'Asie et la Tâche des Alliés* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15); R. Pichon, *Une Nouvelle Anabase, la Campagne des Tchéco-Slovaques en Sibérie* (*ibid.*, September 1); R. La Bruyère, *L'Échec de la Guerre Sous-Marine*, I. (*ibid.*, October 1); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *Sur la Côte Mourmane* (*ibid.*, August 15).

(See also pp. 336, 337.)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In its sixpenny series of *Texts for Students*, as no. 5, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has published *A Translation of the Latin Writings of St. Patrick*, by Canon Newport White, professor in the University of Dublin. No. 4 was the Latin texts of the same; no. 3 a body of *Selections from Giraldus Cambrensis* (pp. 64); no. 2, of *Selections from Matthew Paris* (pp. 64). The same society has also just published a third and revised edition of *Roman Roads in Britain*, by Thomas Codrington, member of the Institute of Civil Engineers.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for 26 Henry III., 1241-1242, edited by Professor Henry L. Cannon of Stanford University, is announced for publication by the Yale University Press.

A. M. Samuel has written a volume on the curious and interesting subject of *The Herring, its Effect on the History of Britain* (London, Murray, 1918, pp. xx, 199). The study is brought down to the twentieth century and is accompanied by a bibliography.

The latest issued among the *Cambridge Historical Essays* is a volume on *The Navy of the Restoration from the Death of Cromwell to the Treaty of Breda: its Work, Growth, and Influence*, by Arthur W. Tedder of Magdalene College.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir Edward Hutton's *Brief History of the King's Royal Rifle Corps, 1755 to 1915* (Winchester, Warren and Son, 1917, pp. 84) gives a summary of all its campaigns and achievements from the time when it was raised in North America just after Braddock's defeat till after the completion of rather more than a year of the recent war. Naturally that conflict and the Boer War preceding occupy the major portion of its space, but episodes in our French and Indian War, in the Peninsular War, in the Red River Expedition of 1870, in Egypt, and in India have also their place, all being treated with laudable care and restraint.

Two volumes of *Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy, 1763-1917* (London, Humphrey Milford), edited by Mr. A. B. Keith, in the *World's Classics* series, are intended to exhibit the extension of the system of responsible government, and other aspects of the development of the British Empire.

The French Revolution in English History, studied in various aspects, of event and of thought, is the work of Philip Anthony Brown, a young English scholar killed at the battle-front in November, 1915, before he had effected the complete revision of his book. Edited by Mr. J. L. Hammond, it has been published by Crosby Lockwood.

No. 8 of the *University of Chicago War Papers* is *Democracy and Social Progress in England*, by Miss Edith Abbott, lecturer in sociology at the University.

Much interesting matter concerning military and Egyptian history is to be found in Dr. Stanley Lane Poole's *Watson Pasha* (London, Murray), a memoir of Colonel Sir Charles Moore Watson, K. C. M. G.

In the *Scottish Historical Review* for October the first article, by Dr. George Neilson, entitled "*Brus vs. Balliol, 1291-1292: the Model for Edward I.'s Tribunal*", endeavors to connect that court with the *centumviri* of the Roman jurisprudence; Mr. J. Storer Clouston, under the title, "*Two Features of the Orkney Earldom*," discourses of the constant dividing of their realm by the Norse jarls and of their goethings, or vassal nobility; Miss Aubrey Cunningham, of the Revolution Government in the Highlands; Mr. R. K. Hannay of the General Register House, Edinburgh, of the feuing of the Church lands at the Reformation.

Upon the basis of the standard *History of Dumbartonshire*, by Mr. Joseph Irving, published in 1859, his son, John Irving, has brought out, as part I. of a revised history of the county, *Dumbarton Castle: its Place in the General History of Scotland* (Dumbarton, Bennett and Thomson, pp. viii, 147).

Louis Tréguiz has furnished a comprehensive account of *L'Irlande dans la Crise Universelle, 3 Août 1914-21 Juillet 1917* (Paris, Alcan, 1918), including such topics as Home Rule and the war; the Sinn Féin; the rebellion of 1916; and the constitutional efforts.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. M. Stenton, *The Supremacy of the Mercian Kings* (English Historical Review, October); J. H. Round, "*Barons*" and "*Peers*" (*ibid.*); Capt. C. S. Goldingham, *The Navy under Henry VII.* (*ibid.*); W. Jenkinson, *London Colleges, Hospitals, and Schools in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Literature* (Church Quarterly Review, October).

FRANCE

The John Crerar Library has published *A Catalogue of French Economic Documents from the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (Chicago, 1918, pp. viii, 104) for a collection of acts, ordinances, documents, and pamphlets which it acquired from a Leipzig bookseller in 1904. The collection contains 1471 pieces, arranged as in the list, and bound in twenty-five volumes. It is surmised that the collection was formed by a French official who emigrated at the outbreak of the Revolution. The publication of the catalogue places this rich collection at the command of investigators throughout the country.

Paul Piazza has presented to the Paris faculty of law as his doctoral thesis an *Étude Historique et Critique sur l'Organisation et la Fonctionnement des Tribunaux de Commerce en France* (Paris, Rousseau, 1918, pp. vii, 496).

Some interesting studies in the development of French national character have recently appeared. René Lote has written of *Les Intellectuels dans la Société Française, de l'Ancien Régime à la Démocratie, Ouvrage suivi d'une Étude sur Félix Le Dantec* (Paris, Alcan, 1918, pp. vi, 215); and E. Levy, of *La Révélation Française, Essai sur le Génie de la France Nouvelle* (Paris, Perrin, 1918).

Gontier Col (?1354-?1418) was a secretary and diplomatic agent of Charles VI. and somewhat of a figure in the history of the preliminary renaissance of his period. In a series of articles in the *Romanic Review*, now gathered together in a pamphlet or volume entitled *Gontier Col and the French Pre-Renaissance* (pp. 103), Miss Alma Le Duc, instructor in Barnard College, has amply stated all that is known of his official and his literary career.

No. 4 of vol. XXXVI. of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies* is an historical dissertation on *French Protestantism, 1559-1562* (pp. viii, 185) by Caleb G. Kelly.

A very interesting and very important chapter in the history of applied science is treated with great learning and lucidity in a work recently *couronné* by the French Academy of Science, *Histoire de la Longitude à la Mer, au XVIII^e Siècle, en France* (Paris, Challamel, 1917, pp. xii, 332), by Lieutenant-de-vaisseau Marguet.

G. Bourgin has prepared *Les Papiers des Assemblées de la Révolution aux Archives Nationales, Inventaire de la Sous-Série F¹⁰* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française, 1918, pp. xxv, 358). The Abbé J. Charonnot is the author of an extensive study of *Mgr. de la Luzerne et les Serments pendant la Révolution* (Paris, Picard, 1918, pp. xv, 536).

The former editor of the *Figaro*, A. Périvier, is the author of a volume on *Napoléon Journaliste* (Paris, Plon, 1918, pp. iii, 434) which is rather disappointing in its failure to handle facts with care, accuracy, and critical insight. B. Aletrino has written *Napoleons Laatste Levensjaren* (Amsterdam, van Holkema, 1916, pp. 366). A recent addition to the list of Napoleonic military memoirs is the *Souvenirs du Major Le Roy, 1767-1851* (Dijon, Berthier, 1914, pp. x, 326), edited by G. Dumay.

Les Précurseurs, Histoire de la Révolution de 1848 (Paris, Delagrave, 1918, pp. 450), by G. Bouniols, is not so much an account of events as an attempt to trace the origin of certain current social and political movements and tendencies.

Attempts to describe and analyze the conditions in France during the progress of the war have been made by A. Albert-Petit in *La France de la Guerre* (vol. I., Paris, Bossard, 1918); by G. Alphaud in *La France pendant la Guerre, 1914-1918* (vol. II., Paris, Hachette, 1918); by Marc Helys in *Les Provinces Françaises pendant la Guerre* (Paris,

Perrin, 1918); and by F. Tardif, *Un Département pendant la Guerre* (La Roche-sur-Yon, Vendée, Guigné-Hurtaud, 1917, pp. 285). More purely descriptive and narrative are Cunisset-Carnot, *La Vie aux Champs pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Flammarion, 1917); H. Galli, *La Guerre à Paris* (Paris, Garnier, 1917, pp. 458); A. Fage, *Lille sous la Griffe Allemande* (Paris, Perrin, 1918); and E. Basly, *Le Martyre de Lens, Trois Années de Captivité* (Paris, Plon, 1918).

Le Livre ou Cartulaire de la Nation de Normandie de l'Université de Paris (Rouen, Lainé, 1918, pp. 108) has been edited by H. Omont, and Dr. G. Panel has edited for the Société de l'Histoire de Normandie the first volume (1224-1630) of *Documents concernant les Pauvres de Rouen, Extraits des Archives de l'Hotel de Ville* (Paris, Picard, 1917, pp. xlix, 257).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Mathorez, *Les Éléments de Population Orientale en France: les Russes en France du XI^e au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); K. Glaser, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Politischen Literatur Frankreichs in der Zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, III. (Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur, XLV. 1); Paul Van Dyke, *Les Prétendus Mémoires de Jeanne d'Albret* (Revue Historique, September-October); Frank Puaux, *Origines, Causes et Conséquences de la Guerre des Camisards* (*ibid.*, September-October); *id.*, *Les Mémoires de Cavalier sur la Guerre des Cévennes* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, January); E. Durkheim, "Le Contrat Social de Rousseau": *Histoire du Livre*, I. (Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale, January); M. Marion, *La Question du Papier-Monnaie en 1790: les Premières Fautes* (Revue Historique, September-October); L. Dubreuil, *L'Idée Régionaliste sous la Révolution*, IV. *Les Municipalités des Villes et des Campagnes avant 1798* (Annales Révolutionnaires, July); A. Mathiez, *Les Notes de Robespierre contre les Dantonistes: Essai d'Édition Critique* (*ibid.*).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Two volumes have appeared of a new history of *Il Risorgimento Italiano* (Florence, Sansoni, 1918) by Masi.

Several authors have collaborated in the writing of *L'Ultima Dominazione Austriaca e la Liberazione del Veneto nel 1866* (Chioggia, Vianelli, 1916, pp. 430).

The modern history of Italian legislation can be followed by means of Signori A. Capozio and U. Maculan's *Indice Sistematico Cronologico della Legislazione Italiana, 1861-1917* (Rome, Bertero, pp. 455, xxxiv).

The Harvard University Press announces for early publication *The Mesta: a Study in Spanish Economic History*, by Dr. Julius Klein.

The February issue of the *Revue Hispanique* is entirely given up to a *Bibliographie Hispanique Extra-péninsulaire, Seizième et Dix-Septième Siècles*, compiled by H. Vaganay. Some twelve hundred items are listed, the order being by years of publication.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Rodocanachi, *L'Attitude des Autorités Civiles et Religieuses à l'Égard de la Réformation en Piémont au XVI^e Siècle* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, April); G. Salvemini, *La Politique Étrangère de Francesco Crispi* (Revue des Nations Latines, May 1, 16, June 1, 16); H. Bergmann, *La Crise du Socialisme Italien* (*ibid.*, July 16).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

A Gesellschaft für Kirchengeschichte of comprehensive interest and membership is being organized, which will take over as its organ the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes). It is proposed that the fee shall not exceed twenty marks.

Die Germanen, eine Erklärung der Ueberlieferung über Bedeutung und Herkunft des Völkernamens (Munich, Beck, 1918) is presented with much detail by Birt; Professor T. Arldt has published two monographs on *Germanische Völkerwellen und ihre Bedeutung in der Bevölkerungsgeschichte von Europa* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1917, pp. xii, 226), and on *Die Völker Mitteleuropas und ihre Staatenbildungen* (*ibid.*, pp. vii, 136).

Among the most notable historical publications produced in connection with the quatercentenary of the Reformation is undoubtedly the volume of *Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation* (Weimar, Böhlau, 1918) published by the editors of the Weimar edition of Luther's works. Of the more extended monographs notice may be called to the *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1918) written by Friedensburg; *Die Erfurter Lutherstätten nach ihrer Geschichtlichen Beglaubigung* (Erfurt, Villaret, 1918) by Biereye; and *Die Konstanzer Bischöfe Hugo von Landenberg, Balthasar Merklin, Johann von Lupfen, 1496-1537, und die Glaubensspaltung* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1918) by Willburger.

A curious by-product of the war has been the attention given in Prussian reviews to the Hohenzollern claims to Silesia with the purpose of justifying the burglarious act of Frederick the Great. *Friedrich Wilhelm I. und die Preussischen Erbansprüche auf Schlesien* (Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte, XXX. 1) by G. B. Volz and *Preussisch-Oesterreichische Anleiheverhandlungen im Jahre 1703* (Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens, LI.) by V. Loewe may be specially cited.

W. Windelband has taken the date 1771, that of the union of Baden-Baden and Baden-Durlach, as the basis for his study of *Die Verwaltung der Markgrafschaft Baden zur Zeit Karl Friedrichs* (Leipzig, Quelle

and Meyer, 1917), which is a valuable addition to the notable group of works published in recent years on the enlightened despotism and economic policy of Baden's most famous ruler.

The period of the French Revolution and of Napoleon is covered in the first volume of W. Weisweiler's *Geschichte des Rheinpreussischen Notariates* (Essen, Baedeker, 1916, pp. xxiii, 306), so that it forms an important contribution to the history of the penetration of French ideas and methods into Germany in that epoch.

Peculiar interest attaches to *Preussen und Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1918) by Professor F. Meinecke, and to *Bayern und Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich, Franz, 1918) by Professor M. Doeberl, as careful surveys of these relationships by historical scholars of the highest competence.

G. Lacour-Gayet has produced a biography of *Bismarck* (Paris, Hachette, 1918), and a pseudonymous Ysiad is the author of *L'Allemagne et son Enfant Terrible, Maximilien Harden* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. viii, 105). W. M. Salter's analytical study of *Nietzsche the Thinker* (New York, Holt, 1917, pp. x, 539) will be of some interest to those who search for evidences of this philosopher's influence upon recent German thought and action.

The author of *J'Accuse* has completed his more elaborate exposition and denunciation of the German part in the war with the issue of the third volume of *Das Verbrechen*, or in the French edition *Le Crime* (Paris, Payot, 1918, pp. 304).

Albert Pingaud has compiled much interesting material in *La Guerre vue par les Combattants Allemands* (Paris, Perrin, 1918, pp. vi, 330).

A translation of Naumann's *Central Europe*, with an introduction by Professor W. J. Ashley, is published in London by P. S. King and Son.

Wilhelm Bauer is the chief editor of the *Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* (Vienna, Seidel) which began to appear in October, 1917. The review will take as its special field the whole group of Austro-Hungarian dominions, and will be somewhat popular in character.

Ein Biographisches Denkmal für das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs I. by A. Bettelheim, which originally appeared in the *Kriegs-Almanach, 1914-1916*, serves as herald of a definite programme for a *Neue Oesterreichische Biographie* to supplement Wurzbach's monumental work for the period from the Congress of Vienna to the death of Francis Joseph.

The first volume of the famous *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten* series to appear under the editorship of Professor H. Oncken in succession to the late Professor Karl Lamprecht is the fifth volume of J. Dierauer's *Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft* (Gotha, Perthes, 1917, pp. xxxvi, 807) which relates to the half-century from

1798 to 1848. Professor Oncken has added an inaugural preface of significant content.

La Suisse et les Traités de 1815 (Geneva, Atar, 1918) is an excellent little volume by Chapuisat.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Scholz, *Die Reformation und der Deutsche Geist* (Preussische Jahrbücher, CLXX. 1); A. von Harnack, *Die Reformation* (Internationale Monatsschrift, XI. 11); E. Troeltsch, *Luther und der Protestantismus* (Neue Rundschau, October, 1917); F. X. Keißl, *Martin Luthers Religiöse Psyche* (Hochland, XV. 1); Commandant Weil, *La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric d'après sa Correspondance* [conclusion] (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXII. 3); H. Grappin, *Le Centenaire de Kosciuszko en Pologne Prussienne* (Revue de Paris, April 15); E. Brandenburg, *Zum Aelteren Deutschen Parteiwesen; eine Erwiderung* [to F. Meinecke, Historische Zeitschrift, CXVIII.] (Historische Zeitschrift, CXIX. 1); J. Jastrow, *Why the Germans have deemed themselves Superior* [Gobineau] (Outlook, November 20); P. Louis, *Les Courants Politiques en Allemagne* (Mercure de France, September 16); A. Fortescue, *A Slav Bishop: Joseph George Strossmayer, 1815-1905* (Dublin Review, October).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The house of Martinus Nijhoff (the Hague) has begun a series of historical *Handboeken* with an important *Handboek tot de Nederlandsche Letterkundige Geschiedenis* (pp. 756), by Dr. J. Prinsen J. Lzn., and a *Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Christelijke Kunst* (pp. xii, 284), by Professor F. Pijper of Leyden. They are to be followed by a general treatise upon the constitutional history of the Netherlands (in a broad sense, taking due account of political and other history) by Professor I. H. Gosses of Groningen and Dr. N. Japikse of the Rijksarchief at the Hague.

Dr. K. Heeringa, archivist of Zeeland, has printed in two volumes the minutes of the states of his province and of their guiding committee, from the change of system in 1578 to the end of 1579, *Notulen van de Staten van Zeeland en van hunne Gecommitteerde Raden, 1578-1579* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1916, 1917, pp. 688, 650).

Comte Louis de Lichtervelde has furnished another narrative of the thrilling parliamentary session in which Belgium resolved to fight in defense of its neutrality, under the title *Heures d'Histoire, le 4 Août 1914 au Parlement Belge* (Paris, Van Oest, 1918, pp. 64). F. Neuray has depicted the war-time conditions in Belgium in *La Belgique Nouvelle, à travers Quatre Ans de Guerre, 1914-1918* (Paris, Plon, 1918, 2 vols.). J. Mélot has collected several narratives of *Les Évasions de Belgique* (Paris, Perrin, 1918).

In *The Secret Press in Belgium* (Dutton) M. Jean Massart gives an account of those clever and mysterious publications of the last four years, of which *La Libre Belgique* is the most famous example.

Back from Belgium (New York, Fly, pp. 268), by Father Jean B. DeVille, a delegate of Cardinal Mercier, records the author's observations on deportations, atrocities, and pillage made during his journeys over Belgium during the past three years. The book also contains translations from *La Libre Belgique* and other papers clandestinely printed.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Lamy, *L'Université de Louvain* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Under the title of *Dansk Historisk Bibliografi* (Copenhagen, Gad) Messrs. B. V. A. Erichsen and Alfred Krarup have begun the publication of a most useful manual in three volumes. Vol. III., comprising biographical books, in alphabetical order of the persons to whom they relate, appeared in 1917. The first part of vol. I. (1913) begins the more strictly historical bibliography, and carries it to 1808.

Professor Robert J. Kerner, of the University of Missouri, has prepared under the title *Slavic Europe* a selected bibliography of writings in the western European languages covering the whole field of Slavic history, languages, and literatures; it will shortly be published by the Harvard University Press.

The Jewish Publication Society has just issued the second volume of its translation of Dubnow's *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, covering the period from the death of Alexander I. to that of Alexander III. (1825-1894).

Russia in war-time and the antecedents of the Russian revolution are depicted by Ossip-Lourie in *La Russie en 1914-1917* (Paris, Alcan, 1918, pp. 277) and by John Pollock in *War and Revolution in Russia, Sketches and Studies* (London, Constable, 1918, pp. xviii, 280). The events of the revolution are recorded by G. Domergue in *Du Plaisir, de la Boue, du Sang; la Russie Rouge; la Dictature, la Terreur Bolcheviste, la Trahison, le Réveil* (Paris, Perrin, 1918); and in *Huit Mois de Révolution Russe, Juin 1917-Janvier 1918* (Paris, Hachette, 1918) by R. Herval.

The fourth volume of A. Gauvain's *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Bossard, 1918) deals with the first Balkan war. Professor J. Cvijić of the University of Belgrade has made an extensive contribution to the historical ethnography of the Balkan peninsula in *La Péninsule Balkanique, Géographie Humaine* (Paris, Colin, 1918, pp. viii, 530). The more recent history and political problems of Serbia are treated by G. Y. Devas in *La Nouvelle Serbie, Origines et Bases Sociales et Politiques, la Renaissance de l'État et son Développement Historique, Dynastie Na-*

tionale et Revendications Libératrices (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. xiv, 471).

Montenegro in History, Politics and War (London, Fisher Unwin, pp. 140), by Alexander Devine, contains in a brief and popular form some account of this country, past and present, its participation in the war, and its present situation. A bibliography of Montenegrin literature is appended.

The firm of Wilhelm Greve in Berlin has made an important contribution to the means of understanding Bulgarian history by publishing an atlas of forty maps, with text in German, English, French, and Bulgarian, of which the English title is *The Bulgarians in their Historical, Ethnographical, and Political Frontiers*. Roughly speaking, a third of the maps exhibit medieval Bulgaria at various periods, a third are reproductions of ethnological maps of dates from 1842 to 1912, originally published by persons of different nationalities, while the remainder exhibit Bulgarian boundary-history since 1870. The authors are Professors A. Ishirkoff and V. Zlatarski of Sofia. The text, and the long introduction by the Bulgarian minister at Berlin, are of course not without *Tendenz*, but since the original authors of the ethnological maps were of varying prepossessions some corrective is supplied from that fact.

From Berlin to Bagdad (Harper, pp. 370), by George A. Schreiner, tells the story of the Dardanelles, and the deportation horrors in Armenia; and gives a description of an overland journey to Damascus for the purpose of interviewing the survivors of the *Edmen*.

Persecutions of the Greeks in Turkey since the beginning of the European war, translated from official Greek documents, is published for the American-Hellenic Society by the Oxford University Press (pp. 72).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. D. S., *Ansgar the Apostle of the North*, *A. D. 801-865* (American Catholic Quarterly, April); A. Amato, *L'Armée et la Marine en Russie sous Pierre I. et Élisabeth* (Revue des Nations Latines, September 1); A. Långfors, *La Révolution Rouge en Finlande, Janvier-Mai 1918* (Mercure de France, August 1); I. Grinenko, *La Question de l'Ukraine, ses Origines* (Revue des Nations Latines, July 16, August 1); L. Leger, *La République de Raguse, son Rôle dans l'Histoire des Slaves Méridionaux* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August 15); Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, VI.-IX. [concl.] (World's Work, October-January).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

Mr. S. Couling, compiler of the *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, hopes to issue a new *Sinological Review* at Shanghai beginning in February next. It

will contain papers on the art, archaeology, history, religion, literature, language, etc., of China, and contributions have already been promised by some of the foremost writers on these subjects in Europe, America, and China. Publication, which will be either monthly or bi-monthly, will depend upon the receipt of a sufficient number of subscriptions at 30 sh. sterling. Promises to subscribe should be sent to Mr. S. Couling, Shanghai, China.

Georges Maspero of the French civil service in Indo-China is the author of an excellent volume on *La Chine* (Paris, Delagrave, 1918) in the series, *Bibliothèque d'Histoire et de Politique*.

Among the autumn publications of Macmillan and Company (London) is an historical work on *Russia, Mongolia, China, A. D. 1224-1676*, by Mr. John F. Baddeley, of which a limited edition, in two volumes, with maps and illustrations, is issued.

A volume supplementary to the edition of 1908 of the *Treaties, Conventions, etc., between China and Foreign States* has been published by order of the Chinese government (New York, Stechert).

The Far Eastern aspects of the Great War are clearly set forth by A. Gérard in *Nos Alliés d'Extrême-Orient* (Paris, Payot, 1918, pp. 251).

A new field is opened by Frederic Coleman in *Japan or Germany, the Inside Story of the Struggle in Siberia* (New York, Doran, 1918, pp. 232).

Under the title *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century* (Longmans, pp. xvi, 187), Mr. L. F. Rushbrook-Williams presents a summary account of the career of Baber, in university lectures issued as publications of the department of modern Indian history in the University of Allahabad.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Gérard, *Les Traités de Commerce et de Navigation du Japon avec l'Occident; la Révision de 1911 et la Conclusion des Nouveaux Traités* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August 15).

AFRICA

The history of modern Egypt is told from the two opposing sides by Hasenclever in *Geschichte Aegyptens im 19. Jahrhundert, 1798-1914* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1918) and by the late Albert Métin in *La Transformation d'Égypte* (Paris, Alcan, 1918).

Dr. Victor Demontes has published two extremely thorough and important studies of French policy in Algeria during the period of conquest. They are *Les Préventions du Général Berthezène contre la Colonisation de l'Algérie* (Paris, Larose, 1918, pp. 318) and *La Colonisation Militaire sous Bugeaud* (*ibid.*, 1916, pp. ii, 658). For a more recent period and of even greater importance is *Le Gouvernement de l'Algérie, 1891-1897* (Paris, Champion, 1918, pp. xxiv, 448) by Jules Cambon.

The development and position of French power in North Africa is set forth in *Notre Expansion Coloniale en Afrique de 1870 à nos Jours* (Paris, Alcan, 1918) by P. Gaffarel; in *Le Prince de Bismarck et l'Expansion de la France en Afrique* (Paris, Pedone, 1918, pp. 45); in *L'Afrique du Nord et la Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1918) by P. Pérreau-Pradier and M. Besson; and in *Le Maroc de 1918* (Paris, Payot, 1918) by H. Dugard.

E. Payen's *Belgique et Congo* (Paris, Bossard, 1917) and Captain P. Daye's *Les Conquêtes Africaines des Belges* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918) are brief surveys of Belgium's colonial interests and activities in Central Africa.

Mr. C. Graham Botha, who since 1912 has had charge of the archives of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, has issued, in an interesting volume of eighty-four pages, *A Brief Guide to the Various Classes of Documents in the Cape Archives for the Period 1652-1806*, in which are described the voluminous records of the Council of Policy, of the Court of Justice, and of the Orphan Chamber, of the Dutch period, and the papers emanating, in the period 1795-1806, from the government departments during the time of the first British occupation and of the Batavian Republic. Detailed lists and a few facsimiles are given. The total mass of the archives, of which the present description covers the earlier portion, amounts to nearly 25,000 manuscript volumes.

Miss Dorothea Fairbridge's *History of South Africa* (Oxford University Press) is a brief but vivid, well-written, and well-illustrated book, much to be recommended to those seeking a small book on the subject.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Dieulafoy, *Le Maroc et les Croisades* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, January); G. Regelsperger, *L'Oeuvre Française au Togo et au Cameroun Conquis* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August 15).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

"War-work" has by no means suspended, though it has impeded, the ordinary work of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Specially noteworthy progress has been made in the undertakings relative to the history of the negro and of slavery in America. Miss Donnan's volume of documents on the African slave-trade has been greatly advanced toward completion, through her own labors and through assistance received during the summer from Professor J. S. Bassett, but work in London archives will be requisite on her part before the book can be completed. Meanwhile Mrs. R. C. H. Catterall, a member of the Boston bar, is preparing from the

judicial reports of the slave states a body of material designed to exhibit slavery as an institution through the presentation of a multitude of actual cases. Other volumes of this series are in contemplation. The Institution has turned over to its historical department the preparation for publication of the mass of transcripts from the Archives of the Indies at Seville, chiefly relating to the history of the Pueblo Indians and of New Mexico, which were obtained for it by the late Dr. Adolph Bandelier and his widow, and these are being edited, with translations, by Dr. Charles W. Hackett.

After unexpected delays in printing, *Writings on American History, 1916*, the annual bibliography prepared by Miss Grace G. Griffin, is nearly ready for publication by the Yale University Press. Meantime Miss Griffin has nearly finished the manuscript of *Writings on American History, 1917*.

Ten volumes of the interesting and important series, *The Chronicles of America*, edited by Professor Allen Johnson, have thus far appeared: *Elizabethan Sea-Dogs*, by William Wood; *Crusaders of New France*, by Professor W. B. Munro; *Pioneers of the Old South*, by Miss Mary Johnston; *The Conquest of New France*, by Professor G. M. Wrong; *The Eve of the Revolution*, by Professor Carl Becker; *Washington and his Colleagues*, by Professor H. J. Ford; *The Forty-niners*, by Stewart Edward White; *The Passing of the Frontier*, by Emerson Hough; *Abraham Lincoln and the Union*, by Professor N. W. Stephenson; and *The American Spirit in Literature*, by Professor Bliss Perry. These are simply the first ten ready, of a series of fifty volumes; subscriptions will be received only for the complete series, on which the publishers, the Yale University Press, are expending, in respect to make-up and illustrations, an amount of pains evidently intended to make it the most-prized history of America for the general reader.

An announcement of importance to all historical students whose work lies in American history prior to 1801 is that of the publication of *A Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island*, prepared by Mr. Worthington C. Ford. The intention is to complete the work in ten numbers, two per annum, of which the first is now ready. Orders may be sent to the library. The collection, practically confined to works relating to the history of America printed before 1801, makes so near an approach to completeness within its field that the catalogue is sure to be one of the most serviceable tools of the historical student.

The first three volumes of a *Historia de América desde los Tiempos más Remotas hasta nuestros Dias* (Madrid, Perlado, 1917) have been issued by J. Ortega y Rubió.

Dr. James Brown Scott has in the press *Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union*, a compilation contain-

ing the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in all cases between our states. Primarily intended as a help toward showing that what can be done among forty-eight states of the American Union can be done among a similar number of national states in the world at large, through an international tribunal, the work can also be of much use to college teachers of American history.

A very useful pamphlet (Washington, Government Printing Office, pp. 206) is the Bureau of Education's recent *Guide to United States Government Publications*, compiled by Walter I. Swanton, and serving as a conspectus (highly serviceable in these days of frequent administrative changes) of all the governmental offices in Washington, as well as of the publications of each of them.

Source Problems in United States History, by Professor A. C. McLaughlin and others, is brought out by Harper and Brothers.

Mr. H. Nelson Gay has undertaken the editing of a series of biographical sketches of *Americani Illustri* (Florence, Bemporad) of which the first two volumes are on Lincoln, by himself, and on Jefferson, by Thomas Nelson Page. These little volumes written in clear, popular style should render a real service not only in enlightening the people of Italy concerning the eminent figures in the history of American politics, literature, and art, but also should be invaluable aids in training the Italian immigrants to the United States in the ideals of American citizenship.

Two recent numbers (214 and 215) of the *Old South Leaflets* embody extracts from the writings of Lincoln. They are: *Abraham Lincoln on War and Peace, 1860-1864*, and *Letters and Miscellaneous Writings of Abraham Lincoln, 1850-1864*, both edited by Lawrence V. Roth. Two other numbers pertain to Walt Whitman, the one (no. 216) being *Poems of Walt Whitman*, the other (no. 217) being *Selections from Walt Whitman's Specimen Days in the Civil War, 1861-1865*.

The history of Franco-American relations has recently attracted much attention. Among the evidences from the French side are *Lafayette et les États-Unis* (Paris, Figuière, 1918) by H. Margoy; *La France et la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine, 1776-1783* (Paris, Alcan, 1918, pp. 202) by Captain J. Merlant; and for the current period *France-Amérique* (Paris, Helleu, 1918) which is mainly a collection of national documents including President Wilson's more important state papers, collected by J. H. Woods and P. Loyson; and *Amis de la France, le Service de Campagne de l'Ambulance Américaine décrit par ses Membres* (Paris, Plon, 1917).

The October number of the *Catholic Historical Review* has articles on Stephen Girard (with respect to his relations to Christianity and Catholicism), by Mgr. Hugh T. Henry; on the Catholic Church in

British Honduras, 1851-1918, by Right Rev. Dr. Frederick C. Hopkins, S. J., vicar apostolic of the province; and on the Aglipay Schism in the Philippines, by Dr. James A. Robertson. There is also a body of learned notes on the bishops of Porto Rico, from 1513 to the present time, translated from the *Sinodo Diocesano* of 1917. The installment in this number of the provisional diocesan bibliography covers the provinces of San Francisco, Boston, and Philadelphia.

A Century of Negro Migration, by C. G. Woodson, deals with the exodus of negroes from the South (Washington, *Journal of Negro History*).

The volume by D. H. Van Doren, *Workmen's Compensation and Insurance* (Moffat, Yard, and Company), one of the prize essays of the department of political science of Williams College, contains a chapter devoted to the history of workmen's compensation.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Our European Ancestors: an Introduction to United States History, by Eva March Tappan, comes from the press of Houghton Mifflin Company.

Mr. Charles K. Bolton, librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, is both author and publisher of a novel work in two handsome volumes, entitled *The Founders*, and containing 150 photogravure reproductions of original portraits of persons who came to the North American colonies before 1701, with an introduction on the portraiture of the period, biographical sketches of the subjects, and comments on the portraits, many of which have never been reproduced before.

The Macmillan Company has brought out a volume by Professor Roland G. Usher entitled *The Pilgrims and their History*.

An additional volume of the *Yale Historical Publications*, announced by the Yale University Press, is a treatise on *The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies*, by Professor Beverley W. Bond, jr., of Purdue University.

Professor Charles F. Himes, of the Dickinson School of Law, upon the basis of long-continued and interesting researches, in Carlisle and elsewhere, has published, in a pamphlet of 70 pages, *Life and Times of Judge Thomas Cooper, Jurist, Scientist, Educator, Author, and Publicist* (the author, Carlisle, 1918) in which the reader will find both learning and entertainment.

J. M. Stahl is the author of two studies of the War of 1812: *The Battle of Plattsburg* and *The Invasion of the City of Washington*. The latter volume is especially designed to point out the disastrous consequences of unpreparedness (Argos, Indiana, Van Trump).

Volume III., number 4, of the *Smith College Studies in History* is a pamphlet of some sixty pages, on Northern Opinion of Approaching Secession, in which a valuable mass of material is brought to bear upon the history of political opinion in the period from John Brown's insurrection to the secession of South Carolina.

The Arguments and Speeches of William Maxwell Evarts, in three volumes, edited, with an introduction, by his son, Sherman Evarts, of the New York bar, has been published by the Macmillan Company. The work includes the arguments in the Lemmon Slave Case, in the impeachment trial of President Johnson, in the case of the Alabama Claims, and many speeches of a political or patriotic character.

Messrs. Lippincott have included in their *Trail Blazers* series *General Crook and the Fighting Apaches* [etc.], by E. L. Sabin.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

From Isolation to Leadership: a Review of American Foreign Policy, by Professor J. H. Latané, is from the press of Doubleday, Page, and Company.

America in France, by Maj. Frederick Palmer, the noted war correspondent (Dodd, Mead, and Company), gives an account of what each American division in France has been doing in the war.

No. 18 in the *War Information Series* published by the Committee on Public Information is a *Regimental History of the United States Regular Army, Chronological Outline, 1866-1918* (pp. 48) prepared by the Adjutant General's Office. As no. 19 the committee has issued *Lieber and Schurz: Two Loyal Americans of German Birth*, by Professor Evarts B. Greene, and, as no. 21, *America's War Aims and Peace Program*, by Professor Carl Becker, a full and careful statement of the successive moves toward peace, with appendixes containing useful material on a League of Nations and like topics. It is announced that the remaining stock of the committee's valuable publications has been taken over by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, to which requests for copies should be addressed.

A College Man in Khaki (Doran, pp. 234) contains the letters of Wainwright Merrill giving an account of his training experiences in England and of fighting in Flanders until his death at Ypres, May, 1917.

More than ordinary literary excellence marks the letters of Jack Wright, first lieutenant of American aviation in France, April, 1917-January, 1918, published under the title, *A Poet of the Air* (Houghton Mifflin, pp. 246).

With the Help of God and a Few Marines, by Brig.-Gen. A. W. Catlin, which will be published in January by Doubleday, Page, and Company, is the story of the American marines up to and including the

engagements of Belleau Wood and Château Thierry. The author was the colonel of the Fifth Regiment of Marines until promotion after Belleau Wood.

The work of our navy in its various activities is described by Lawrence Perry in *Our Navy in the War* (Scribner's, pp. 279).

French Strother, managing editor of *The World's Work*, has brought together in book form his series of articles in that magazine entitled *Fighting Germany's Spies: a Revelation of German Intrigues in America*. (See also pp. 317-321)

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Through the generosity of Hon. James Phinney Baxter, president of the Maine Historical Society, a transcript, in four large volumes, has been made of the miscellaneous records of the courts of the province of Maine, now in the office of the county clerk of York county, and has been deposited in the society's library. Mr. Baxter has also deposited with the society twenty-one volumes of transcripts relating to the early history of Maine, copied from originals in various repositories. Among these is a volume of rare maps and plans.

A small volume of brief biographies of the early settlers of the Magalloway region in Maine and New Hampshire, entitled *Pioneers of the Magalloway from 1820 to 1904*, by G. P. Wilson, is brought out in Old Orchard, Maine, by the author.

The *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for the years 1916-1917 (the title page has "1915-1916"), just published, contains a paper by Hon. Lyman S. Hayes on the Navigation of the Connecticut River, an historical address delivered before the society in January, 1917.

A paper by Dr. Ralph V. Harlow on Economic Conditions in Massachusetts during the American Revolution is reprinted, in advance, from volume XX. of the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*.

In the October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* Sidney Perley writes concerning the Plains: Part of Salem in 1700; Francis B. C. Bradlee continues his history of the Boston and Lowell, Nashua and Lowell, and Salem and Lowell railroads.

The vital records, to 1850, of the Massachusetts towns of Carlisle, Shirley, and West Newbury have been published by the usual state and local agencies.

A History of New Bedford, in three volumes, edited by Z. W. Pease, is put forth by the Lewis Publishing Company.

The Centennial History of the Harvard Law School, 1817-1917, written and compiled by the faculty with assistance of graduates, is published by the Harvard Law School Association.

A Brief History of the Massachusetts Agricultural College (1867-1917), by L. B. Caswell, is no. 1 of the *Semicentennial Publications* (Springfield, Bassette). No. 2 is a *Bibliography* of the college, prepared by the librarian, Mr. Charles R. Green. The bibliography is in two parts, "The Institution" and "The Men". Part 2 is in preparation (Amherst, the college).

The April issue of the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* contains a first section (to 1758) of a chronological check-list of maps of Rhode Island in the society's library.

The Connecticut Historical Society has received, as a gift from its president, Charles E. Gross, a selection of the correspondence (aggregating about 3000 letters of the period 1834-1860) of Colonel Samuel Colt of Hartford, inventor and manufacturer of firearms. The society has also received considerable bodies of materials of value for genealogy and local history, including about 75 volumes of transcripts compiled by the late Julius Gray of Farmington, presented to the society by his widow.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The division of archives and history in the University of the State of New York presents, in a pamphlet of forty-eight pages, a detailed and excellent *Historical Account and Inventory of Records of the City of Kingston*.

The Lutherans of New York: their Story and their Problems, by Rev. G. U. Wenner, has been published in New York by the Petersfield Press.

A History and Description of the Manufacture and Mining of Salt in New York State, by C. J. Werner (pp. 144), is published at Huntington, N. Y., by the author.

The New York Public Library has received from the Governors of the Society of the New York Hospital the original journal of William M. Clarke, surgeon's mate on board the *President* and the *Argus* in 1812 and 1813. The library's *Bulletin* continues in the June-October numbers the census of fifteenth-century books owned in America, and also the lists of recent accessions pertaining to the European war.

The Story of the "Sun", 1833-1918, by Frank M. O'Brien (Doran), is a useful contribution to the not-too-edifying history of New York journalism.

In the January issue of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society is a paper by Katharine M. Beekman, "A Colonial Capital",

describing life in old Perth Amboy. In the same issue is a letter of Governor William Franklin, written September 15, 1777, from Litchfield jail, in Connecticut, where he was confined by the orders of the Continental Congress.

The *Acts and Proceedings* of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies for its thirteenth annual meeting (January, 1918, pp. 87) contains the usual detailed account of activities on the part of a multitude of societies in the state.

In the last January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* are the beginnings of two series of interest. The one is a History of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike, said to be the first long turnpike in the United States. The article is by Hon. Charles I. Landis and is accompanied by a map. The other is a series of letters of Edward Burd, prothonotary of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, 1778-1805. These letters (the earliest was written in 1765) are from the originals in the Pennsylvania State Library and are not found in the *Burd Papers* (ed. Lewis Burd Walker). They are edited by Thomas L. Montgomery. Both these series are continued in the April number of the *Magazine*. In the January number are also found some colonial and Revolutionary letters. In the April number is a paper, by Henry Budd, on Thomas Sully, the painter.

The contents of the September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* include, besides continued articles hitherto mentioned, an Historical Sketch of the Diocese of Harrisburg, by Right Rev. Monsignor M. M. Hassett.

In the September number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* an article by Rev. E. Y. Hill, entitled Some Leaders of the General Synod, sketches the careers of some of the principal Presbyterian divines of the eighteenth century in Philadelphia and New Jersey.

The principal content of the October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* is a paper, by Charles W. Dahlinger, on Old Allegheny.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Maryland Historical Society has received from Mrs. Mary H. Sumwalt, a member of the society, a copy (pp. 226) of the records of marriages solemnized by ministers of the Methodist Episcopal churches of Baltimore, 1807-1866.

The article of chief interest in the June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is a study of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney: his Career at the Frederick Bar, by Edward S. Delaplaine. The *Magazine* prints a number of Taney letters, principally letters to him from prominent men, ranging over the years from 1825 to 1871. It is not apparent why the letters should not have been inserted in chronological order. There is

also a study of Daniel Dulany the Younger (1722-1797), by Richard H. Spencer.

Volume X. of the *Bulletin* of the Virginia State Library, the volume for 1917, consists entirely of part II. of Mr. Earl G. Swem's *Bibliography of Virginia* (pp. x, 1404), embracing the titles of the official publications of the commonwealth from 1776 through 1916, arranged in chronological order and recorded with exemplary care. It is announced that part III. will contain a selection of the most important United States documents which relate to Virginia.

There have recently been brought to light in the Virginia State Library twenty-five bound volumes of original manuscript muster- and pay-rolls of the War of 1812 estimated to contain about two hundred thousand names. The library has received through Mrs. Olaf Axell Ljungstedt a detailed card-index of the earlier records of Isle of Wight County. Among the papers recently transferred to the library from the auditor's office was found a considerable body of the correspondence of Colonel William Preston. Several volumes of Preston papers are in the Draper Collection in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and a calendar of them was issued by the society in 1915 (*The Preston and Virginia Papers*; see this *Review*, XXI. 416). Of those in the Virginia State Library a selection is being printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, the first installment (1774-1780) appearing in the October number.

The principal article in the October number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* is a paper concerning Fredericksburg in Revolutionary Days, to which are appended numerous documents, many of them drawn from the executive papers, etc., in the Virginia State Library.

The *North Carolina Booklet* for July contains the second part, running from 1780 to 1783, of Professor Archibald Henderson's biographical account of Isaac Shelby.

The *Official and Statistical Register* of the state of Mississippi, centennial edition, 1917, in addition to a variety of historical matter usually contained in such publications, presents, from a state census taken in 1816, the names of all the heads of families in the counties then existing.

The principal content of the *Publications* of the Mississippi Historical Society, Centenary Series, vol. II. (pp. 604), is a study of War and Reconstruction in Mississippi, 1863-1890, by J. S. McNeily; rather the present monograph is a completion of the author's history of reconstruction, of which studies of separate phases have appeared in earlier volumes of the society. Lesser papers in this volume are: a somewhat detailed history of the Noxubee Squadron of the First Mississippi Cavalry, 1861-1865, by J. G. Deupree; Did DeSoto discover the Mississippi

River in Tunica County, Mississippi? by Dr. Dunbar Rowland; and the Eleventh Mississippi Regiment at Gettysburg, by Baxter McFarland.

WESTERN STATES

In the *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for 1916-1917, published as an extra number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, there are three papers of importance. Professor J. A. James, in an excellent piece of historical criticism, discusses the Value of the Memoir of George Rogers Clark as an Historical Document; Professor W. W. Sweet presents an excellent general survey of the processes and results involved in the Coming of the Circuit Rider across the Mountains; and Mr. Wayne E. Stevens writes of the general history of the Fur-Trade Companies in the Northwest, 1760-1816.

In the September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* Dr. L. B. Shippee of the University of Minnesota has a paper on the First Railroad between the Mississippi and Lake Superior; Mr. Logan Esarey of the University of Indiana, one on the Literary Spirit among the Early Ohio Valley Settlers; Professor James E. Winston of Mississippi, on the "Lost Commission", meaning the commission by the governor of that state, in 1844, appointing Jacob Thompson as senator in succession to Robert J. Walker but withheld by the latter; and a general survey of Historical Activities in Canada, 1917-1918, by Mr. James F. Kenney of the Canadian Archives. Professor Archibald Henderson has a note on the Mecklenburg Declaration, setting forth new evidence of considerable importance.

A conference of the directors of historical activities in the north-western states has been called to meet in Chicago, December 7, to consider problems connected with the continuance of co-operative work in Washington, and also to consider the feasibility of co-operating with the Historical Branch of the General Staff of the United States Army in the collection and preservation of material relating to the Great War.

The Historical Commission of Ohio, appointed by the governor in February, 1918, as the official agency of the state for the collection and preservation of records and materials pertaining to Ohio's part in the present war, has effected a co-operative arrangement with the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society whereby the facilities of the society's building are placed at the disposal of the commission and the collections of the commission are to be deposited in the society's library. The commission, of which Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger of the Ohio State University is chairman, has made commendable progress both in the organization of county branches of the commission and in the collection of materials of many sorts, pictorial, printed, written, emblematical, relics, etc. The Illinois Council of Defense has lately established a similar commission.

The *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* prints in the July-September number the eighth of the Selections from the Torrence Papers. Those in this issue are miscellaneous military papers of the years 1787-1812.

The issue of the *Indiana Magazine of History* for September consists entirely of a single monograph of 104 pages, by Mr. Mayo Fesler, on Secret Political Societies in the North during the Civil War, a thoroughgoing study of the Knights of the Golden Circle, Sons of Liberty, and Northwest Confederacy, of the treason trials in Indiana resulting from their activity, and of the Camp Douglas conspiracy. Mr. Fesler has not only gathered together his materials with much industry but has constructed a very interesting narrative and expressed sane judgments regarding the whole movement.

The State Historical Library of Illinois has lately sent to press a volume devoted to the papers of Governor Edward Coles.

The present status of the *Centennial History of Illinois*, planned to commemorate the admission of Illinois as a state in 1818, may be described as follows: vol. II., *The Frontier States*, 1818-1848, by Lieutenant Pease, and vol. III., *The Era of Transition*, 1848-1870, by Professor Cole, are printed and bound; vol. IV., *The Industrial State*, 1870-1893, by Professors Bogart and Thompson, is in galley-proof; vol. V., *The Modern Commonwealth*, 1893-1918, by Professors Bogart and Mathews, is in page-proof but is waiting for the completion of the general index; vol. I., *District and Territory*, 1673-1818, by Professor Alvord, has been seriously delayed by illness on his part, but is practically ready for the press.

The Chicago Historical Society has received during the past year a portion of the collection of autograph letters relating to the period of the Revolution formed by the late Henry C. Van Schaack, chiefly from papers of members of the Van Schaack family; also five account-books, 1831-1847, of the sutlers of Fort Dearborn.

The first two numbers of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* make an exceedingly creditable beginning of its career. The three principal papers, each of them appearing in installments in both numbers, are careful and well-supported articles on Early Catholicity in Chicago, by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., on the Early Missions, by the editor, Mr. Joseph J. Thompson, and on Father Pierre Gibault by the same writer. Professor C. W. Alvord has a brief paper on the Sources of Catholic History in Illinois. Miss Catherine Schaefer contributes to both numbers the beginnings of a chronology of missions and churches in the state. In the October number there is a narrative of Catholic transactions in Kaskaskia, written in 1838 by Father Benedict Roux, pastor of that parish. The *Annals* of the Leopoldine Association are drawn upon for other documents. The new journal evidently intends to maintain a high standard, and is deserving of cordial support.

In the September number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* A. C. Quisenberry writes concerning the Battles of Big Hill and Richmond, Kentucky, September, 1862.

The June number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* includes an account, by R. S. Cotterill, of the Memphis Railroad Convention of 1849, Some Suggestions as to the Equipment needed in the Teaching of History, by Professor St. George L. Sioussat, and a continuation of A. V. Goodpasture's narratives of Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest.

The July number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains a report on the archives in the department of state at the state capitol, Lansing; a paper on Indian Place Names in the Upper Peninsula and their Interpretation, by Rev. William F. Gagnieur, S. J.; and one on County Organization in Michigan, by William H. Hathaway. The October number contains a short paper by John A. Lemmer on Father Allouez; two of the prize essays in the Michigan Historical Commission's contest on the subject Why the United States is at War, by Mahlon H. Buell and Miss Etta Kinch; and an article by Professor R. M. Wenley concerning the part which the University of Michigan has taken in the war (the "First Phase").

Nos. 7 and 8 of Mr. Burton's *Manuscripts from the Burton Historical Collection* (pp. 273-401) continue Harrison's despatches of 1811 and 1812 to Secretary Eustis; but the chief element in the former is a series of letters, 1786-1809, from Rev. John Heckewelder and Rev. Gottlieb Senseman to John Askin, with other Askin correspondence, relating to the various settlements of the Moravians from Gnadenhütten in places under British authority near Detroit. In the latter number there is a series of Sandusky letters of 1782 and 1783 relating to local trade.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* prints in the September issue a journal of St. Clair's campaign in 1791, kept by Capt. Samuel Newman of Boston, commanding the Second U. S. Regiment. The journal begins July 30, when the regiment left Philadelphia for Pittsburgh, and ends October 23, twelve days before the disaster which overtook St. Clair's expedition, in which the diarist was slain. In the same number of the *Magazine* Miss Louise P. Kellogg discusses the Bennett law in Wisconsin, a law which aimed to require the teaching of English in the schools and compulsory attendance. The discussion is prefaced by an examination into the history and character of the German settlers in Wisconsin.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has published (*Bulletin* no. 93, pp. 91) a *Supplementary Catalogue of Newspaper Files* in its library, listing the papers acquired during the years 1911-1917.

A group of essays on the causes and issues of the war, by members of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, has been published under the title *War Book of the University of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1918, pp. 266).

The Public Safety Commission of Minnesota has established a War Records Commission consisting of a director and twelve members appointed by the governor. Franklin F. Holbrook is director, and Solon J. Buck is chairman.

The Minnesota Historical Society has acquired, partly as a gift, partly as a loan, a collection of the papers of the late Gen. William Le Duc, who served in the quartermaster's department in the Civil War and was commissioner of agriculture under President Hayes, 1877-1881.

In the August number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* Mr. Chessley J. Posey discusses the Influence of Geographic Factors in the Development of Minnesota.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has brought out *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, by Thomas Teakle. The massacre of the white settlers in the region of Lake Okoboji and Spirit Lake in March, 1857, is one of the most notable episodes in the early history of Iowa, and the story has been frequently told. Mr. Teakle has gone carefully through all the sources of information concerning the massacre and has not only produced an interesting and authoritative narrative of the affair, but, examining into its underlying causes, has not spared the white race from criticism.

The latest issues of *Iowa and War* relate to the World War. They are: First, Second, and Third Liberty Loans in Iowa, by Nathaniel R. Whitney, and Social Work at Camp Dodge, drawn largely from a study by Dr. F. E. Haynes.

The Missouri Historical Society has recently received from the son and daughters of the late James O. Broadhead the original manuscripts of his political, historical, and professional writings, many of which are unpublished. The gift included also a large quantity of private letters, covering a period of about fifty years; the letters being written by Edward Bates, Frank P. Blair, Montgomery Blair, Samuel T. Glover, John B. Henderson, James S. Rollins, John W. Henry, with occasional letters from nearly every prominent man of the day. The more important of the letters relate to events in Missouri in 1860-1865.

The April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains an account of the proceedings of Missouri's First Centennial Day (January 8, 1918) and the second of H. A. Trexler's articles on Missouri-Montana Highways. In the July number appears an account, by R. S. Cotterill, of the National Railroad Convention in St. Louis, 1849. In the same number Professor E. M. Violette comes forward again with his sketches

of Missourians Abroad, the subject of this sketch being Provost Marshal General E. H. Crowder. In the October number the subject is Edward R. Stettinius. Floyd C. Shoemaker's articles concerning Missouri and the War are continued through the three numbers, as is also Gottfried Duden's Report. In the October number is also found an article, by David W. Eaton, on How Missouri Counties, Towns, and Streams were named.

A North Dakota War History Commission has been appointed by the governor to collect materials relating to the Great War and ultimately to publish a history of North Dakota's participation in the war. The commission is composed of Professor O. G. Libby of the University of North Dakota, chairman, Mrs. Charles F. Amidon of Fargo, and Dr. Melvin R. Gilmore of Bismarck.

In the June number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* appear two chapters of a study of the Federal Relations of Oregon, by Dr. L. B. Shippee. The first of these sets forth the situation of Oregon in 1819; the second discusses Congress and Oregon, 1819-1829.

A *History of Imperial County, California*, edited by F. C. Farr, has been brought out in Berkeley (Elms Publishing Company).

CANADA

The Public Archives of Canada have recently acquired a long-lost volume containing the original observations drawn up by the judges of Quebec after the investigation of 1787, respecting the administration of justice in the province.

Bulletin no. 28 of the departments of history and political science in Queen's University is a pamphlet on Sir George Arthur and his Administration of Upper Canada, by Walter Sage. No. 29 completes Mr. O. D. Skelton's paper, begun in no. 16, on Canadian Federal Finance.

To his standard volume listing political appointments in Canada from 1867 to 1895, published in 1896, N. O. Coté has added a second volume, *Political Appointments, Parliaments, and the Judicial Bench of the Dominion of Canada, 1896 to 1917*.

Messrs. Morang and Company are preparing a co-operative history in six volumes, *Canada in the Great World War*. The first volume, which has already appeared, is devoted entirely to military history, from its beginning to the outbreak of the war.

An *Almanach du Centenaire, 1816-1916, Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon* (Paris, Renaudie, 1918, pp. 359) has been compiled by D. Gauvain. This little colony was finally restored to France in 1816.

Hon. J. S. McLennan, a Canadian senator, has prepared a comprehensive quarto on *Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall* (Macmillan).

The Abbé Gosselin has published the second part of *L'Église du Canada après la Conquête* (Imprimerie Laflamme) covering the years from 1775 to 1789.

M. Pierre-Georges Roy has begun the publication of a catalogue of the provincial archives of Québec. The first two volumes have been published, containing the *Inventaire d'une Collection de Pièces Judiciaires, Notariales, etc., conservées aux Archives Judiciaires de Québec*.

The Centenary of the Bank of Montreal, 1817-1917 (Montreal, the Bank, pp. 107), is a carefully prepared and illustrated account, in annalistic form, of the oldest bank in British North America.

The thirteenth *Report* of the Ontario Bureau of Archives contains a translation of that portion of the travels of the Duke of La Rochefoucault-Liancourt relating to Upper Canada in 1795-1797, and an extended contemporary critique of those chapters by David W. Smith, speaker of the legislative assembly of Upper Canada. The volume is edited by Hon. W. R. Riddell of the High Court of Justice.

The late J. Ross Robertson of Toronto left to the Public Reference Library in that city a collection of over 3700 pictures relating to the history of Canada. The library has published a list entitled *Guide to the J. Ross Robertson Historical Collection*.

The *Papers and Records*, vol. XV., of the Ontario Historical Society contains the address, Canadian History as a Subject of Research, delivered in June, 1916, by President Clarence M. Warner.

The *Papers and Records* of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society, vol. IX., contains a calendar, with extensive extracts, of the Canniff collection of documents relating to the Bay of Quinte district in the period 1770-1834.

Part IX. of the *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex Historical Society has an article, by Fred Landon, on the history of the Wilberforce colony of colored refugees from the United States, established in Middlesex in 1829-1830.

No. 29 of the *Publications* of the Niagara Historical Society contains a body of correspondence regarding affairs on the Niagara frontier during the rebellion of 1837-1838.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The August number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* opens with two important articles, by Professors William S. Robertson and William R. Shepherd, the former on the Recognition of the Hispanic American Nations by the United States, the latter on Bolívar and the United States. The editor presents text and translation of three letters from the Archives of the Indies, dated in 1776, 1777, and 1778,

throwing light on the relations between Spain and the American Revolution; one of them is from Governor Unzaga to José de Galvez, the other two are from Governor Bernardo de Galvez to the same. The bibliographical section continues Dr. Chapman's description of certain *legajos* in the Archives of the Indies.

The Cortes Society has been formed in New York for the purpose of publishing documents and narratives concerning the discovery and conquest and settlement of Latin America, with suitable introductions and notes. It will be the policy of the society to publish English translations of original sources, material which has never before appeared in English being chosen. The officers of the society are: president, F. W. Hodge; vice-president, Gen. Hugh L. Scott; secretary-treasurer, Marshall H. Saville (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City). The council consists of these officers and also of Messrs. George P. Winship and Philip A. Means. The two volumes already published are: the *Narrative of the Conquest of Mexico* by the Anonymous Conqueror (translated by Mr. Saville) and the *Relation of the Conquest of Peru* by Pedro Sancho (translated by Mr. Means). During the next twelvemonth three or more equally important translations will appear. Membership entails the payment of no regular dues, the only obligation resting upon members being that of buying the volumes, which are issued at cost. Communications should be addressed to the secretary-treasurer, whose address appears above.

A Syllabus of Latin-American History, prepared by Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., of the University of North Carolina, though designed primarily for the use of students in that institution, may be of much value elsewhere; it is intended toward a comprehensive study of the whole history of Latin-American civilization.

The Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, at Harvard University, has published, as vol. VII. of its *Papers* (pp. xv, 206), *The History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatan and the Itzas*, by Mr. Philip A. Means.

Inter-America reprints in the November issue, with the title *La Real Hacienda en los Primeros Tiempos del Coloniaje Español*, Professor Clarence H. Haring's article, the Early Spanish Colonial Exchequer, in the July number of the *Review*.

In the March-June number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* is found a further account, with facsimiles, of Cuban periodicals of the first half of the nineteenth century (see this journal, XXII. 761, 955). Among the documents are two papers, variants of each other, giving an extended account of conditions, principally economic and agricultural, in Cuba in 1800. Both papers, it appears, are from the pen of Don Antonio del Valle Hernández. Two other groups of documents of interest are these: "Expediente sobre la publicación de un artículo inserto en la

Heraldo de New York, en que se difama la conducta del Gobierno y autoridades" (1842-1843); and "Sucesos ocurridos con motivo de la esplosion ocurrida en el barco Americano *Maine* surto en bahia". The latter documents are dated February 16 to 19, 1898.

Señor Francisco José Urrutia has published at Bogotá (Imprenta Nacional) an historical work on *Los Estados Unidos de América y las Repúblicas Hispanoamericanas de 1810 a 1830*.

G. Arboleda, vice-president of the National Academy of History, has published the first volume of a *Historia Contemporánea de Colombia desde la Disolución de la Antigua República de ese Nombre hasta la Época Presente* (Bogotá, Camacho, Roldan, and Tamayo, 1918, pp. 490). The volume treats of the period from 1829 to 1841 and claims to be impartial, critical, and national, but it is apparently based only on secondary material.

The Hakluyt Society expects before long to print an English translation of the *Memorias Antiguas é Historiales* of Fernando Montesinos (relating to Peru), prepared by Mr. Philip A. Means.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. Hannay, *Spanish Trade with the Indies* (Edinburgh Review, October); A. M. de Poncheville, *L'Amitié d'Amérique et de France* (Mercure de France, July 16); F. P. Renaut, *Le Gouvernement Portugais à Rio-de-Janeiro, 1808-1821*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXII. 3); E. S. Delaplaine, *Chief Justice Roger B. Taney: His Career as a Lawyer* (American Law Review, July-August); L. N. Feipel, *The Navy and Filibustering in the Fifties* [concluded] (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, September); C. A. Post, *A Diary of the Blockade in 1863* (*ibid.*, October); R. de Cardenas, *La Política de los Estados Unidos en el Continente Americano*, III.-VII. (Cuba Contemporánea, May-October); T. H. S. Escott, *The American Embassy* [London] (Contemporary Review, October); George MacAdam, *The Life of General Pershing* (World's Work, November); G. Deschamps, *Sous le Drapeau Étoilé* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1); A. T. Vollweiler, *Roosevelt's Ranch Life in North Dakota* (Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota, October); G. L. Burr, *Andrew Dickson White* (The Nation, November 16); C. N. Hitchcock, *The War Industries Board: its Development, Organization, and Functions* (Journal of Political Economy, June).

The
American Historical Review

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1919

MEMBERS of the American Historical Association expect to find at the beginning of the April number of this journal an account of the transactions of the annual meeting of the Association, customarily held in the last days of December preceding, and with it certain items of formal matter relating to the meeting, such as the text of important votes passed by the Association or the Executive Council, a summary of the treasurer's report, an exhibit of the budget or estimated receipts and expenditures or appropriations, and a list of the officers of the Association and of the various committees appointed by the Executive Council. The thirty-fourth annual meeting, which was to have taken place at Cleveland on December 27 and 28, was indefinitely postponed on account of a strong recommendation, received from the health officer of that city a few days before the date on which the meeting should have taken place, that it should be omitted because of the epidemic of influenza then prevailing in Cleveland. Yet, though there is no annual meeting to chronicle in these pages, it will be convenient to members that the formal matter spoken of above should be found in its customary place. Moreover, though no meeting of the Association has taken place, there was a meeting of the Executive Council held in New York on January 31 and February 1, 1919, some of the transactions of which, analogous to those of the Association in its annual business meeting, may here for convenience be described. In a few cases the text of votes passed is printed in an appendix to the present article.

The Council met at Columbia University, with the president, Mr. William R. Thayer, in the chair. Three ex-presidents of the Association, Andrew D. White, Henry Adams, and Theodore Roosevelt, and A. Howard Clark who for thirty years had served the Association in the successive offices of assistant secretary, secretary,

and curator, having died since the last meeting of the Council, memorials and resolutions commemorating them and their services to historical scholarship and to the Association were read and adopted.

Resolutions of sympathetic congratulation to Professors Paul Fredericq and Henri Pirenne, on the occasion of their return to the University of Ghent after thirty-two months of unjustifiable and cruel exile and detention in Germany, enforced upon them by the late German government, were passed, with expressions of cordial good wishes for the future.

The annual report of the secretary, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, showed a total membership on December 1, 1918, of 2519, as against an enrollment of 2654 on December 19, 1917, and of 2739 on the same date in 1916. A summary of the annual report of the treasurer, Mr. Charles Moore, is presented in an appendix to these pages.

Invitations from Cleveland and Minneapolis for the annual meeting of 1919 were before the Council. It voted, on account of the special conditions resulting from the war, which seemed to make a central meeting-place desirable, to hold the meeting in Cleveland in the concluding days of December, 1919. No action was taken respecting the place of meeting for 1920.

The omission of the annual meeting in 1918 does not carry with it the omission of the annual report for that year. The act of incorporation requiring the presentation of an annual report to the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, provision was made for a volume which will contain the usual formal records of the Association, or so many of them as have been made, together with materials supplied by some of the various commissions and committees. The Historical Manuscripts Commission, which reported through its chairman, Dr. Justin H. Smith, purposes to print in that report a body of correspondence of Santa Anna, of the period of the war between the United States and Mexico. It is planned that the annual report for 1919 shall contain a large selection, edited for the commission by Professor Robert P. Brooks of the University of Georgia, from the letters to John C. Calhoun preserved among his papers at Clemson College. After this, the commission expects to print a large selection, probably three volumes, of the papers of Stephen F. Austin, edited by Professor Eugene C. Barker. These proposals were authorized by the Council.

In the case of the Public Archives Commission, which has nearly completed its round of activities in connection with the

archives of the several states, provision was made for deliberation by Mr. Paltsits and his associates upon a new programme of work. The committee on bibliography, Professor George M. Dutcher, chairman, reported that the Bibliography of American Travel is nearly ready for publication; this committee was charged also with the preparation, in conjunction with the American Library Association, of a manual serving the same purposes, *mutatis mutandis*, which C. K. Adams's *Manual of Historical Literature* was designed to serve in its generation. The report of the board of editors of the *American Historical Review* was presented by its chairman, Professor Edward P. Cheyney, who at a later point in the proceedings was re-elected a member of the board for the period of six years now beginning. The Justin Winsor Prize, under the new rules which admit printed as well as manuscript essays to the competition, was awarded to Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger of the Ohio State University for his essay entitled *The Colonial Merchants in the American Revolution, 1763-1776*, printed as volume LXXVIII. of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

The committee appointed a year ago on the representation of the Association in the historical congress to be held in Rio de Janeiro in 1922 was authorized to take appropriate measures to secure governmental recognition and a Congressional appropriation sufficient to insure for the United States adequate representation at the congress.

Provision was made for reconsidering the relations between the Association and the journal conducted by Professor A. E. McKinley, hitherto known as the *History Teacher's Magazine*, but now called the *Historical Outlook*; and for considering any method that it may be practicable to adopt for continuing in time of peace, as far as is possible, the services now performed to the government and the public by the National Board for Historical Service.

One particular activity of that board was immediately taken over by the Association, namely its effort to prepare a report on the study of history in all schools of less than college grade, which shall result in the better adaptation of curricula and methods, both in respect to history and in respect to education for citizenship, to the exigencies brought upon the country by the Great War. American experience of that conflict has brought home forcibly to many minds the need of better adjustment of the school work in these lines to the changed conditions of the nation and the world. Historical training, with its ability to induce open-mindedness, patient

inquiry, and sound judgment respecting human relations, its emphasis on the idea of social development, its power of evoking loyalty to principles and institutions by revealing the cost at which the elements of civilization have been secured, offers the best means by which the school can achieve that better adjustment, can equip the young American citizen with fuller knowledge and understanding of the nation's and the world's affairs.

Educators generally recognize that the war has definitely established recent and contemporaneous history as indispensable features in the history courses of the future, and that the curriculum needs to be remade in order that time may be found for these new and compelling interests. Upon request by the National Education Association, the National Board for Historical Service had in December appointed five gentlemen, Messrs. S. B. Harding, W. C. Bagley, F. S. Bogardus, J. A. C. Chandler, and D. C. Knowlton, a committee to prepare a report on the subject. Upon report of these proceedings and upon request by the Board, the Council voted to substitute for its committee on history in schools a special committee consisting of the five members already named, together with Professors G. S. Ford, A. C. McLaughlin, and Joseph Schafer, and to instruct this committee to prepare as soon as possible a report on the changes and readjustments which should be made in the study and teaching of history and civics in all schools, elementary, secondary, rural, vocational, etc., below the grade of college. Mr. Schafer has since become chairman of this important committee and invites correspondence (1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.) from teachers and others interested in its problems and endeavors.

After preliminary meetings in Washington and New York, this Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools held a meeting in Chicago on February 28, supplemented by a helpful conference with a representative group of educators of the Middle West. It hopes to make such supplementary conferences a constant or frequent accompaniment to its meetings.

As its most urgent problem, the committee will study the question of the history courses in the high school, and it will prepare a careful report on a first year of history and a second year of history in the high school, the former to be a course in modern history, the latter a course in the history of the United States.

In respect to historical work in the common schools, the committee accepts the report of the former Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association as a basis, but expects to study

that report with a view to adjusting its recommendations to the new situation which would result from a recasting of the high-school work, and with a view to making other improvements which may seem advisable and practicable. One suggested change is to strengthen the sixth-grade history, devoted to the European background of American history, in order to make it serve as an introduction to the modern history course in the high school as well as to the course in American history given in the seventh and eighth grades; and to dignify it by making it a basis of promotion, as is the history of the upper two years.

In the outlining of courses, the committee will seek to avoid the evils that flow from repetition in one course of material already traversed in a course preceding. In their forthcoming report, which they hope to complete by June, they expect to consider methods of teaching and not merely curricula, to present specimen lessons, and to lay greater emphasis than has heretofore been customary upon significant ideas and interpretations as opposed to a multiplicity of unrelated facts.

Perhaps the only other transaction of the Council of general interest to the members of the Association (apart from those items whose text is given below) was a vote authorizing the Council committee on finance to associate with itself seven additional members for the specific purpose of increasing the endowment fund of the Association. This work, begun by Mr. Bowen in the last months of his treasurership, but suspended on account of the entrance of the United States into the war, is now expected to be actively resumed; it is to be earnestly hoped that it will meet with great success and that members of the Association will interest themselves warmly both in contributing and in securing contributions.

Every historical student, every friend of learning in America, ought to bear constantly in mind the peculiar position, with respect to the support of the higher sort of studies, in which the United States is left at the close of the Great War. While every European nation has suffered enormous pecuniary losses, the plain fact is, though it is not a fact of which we need be proud, that America has suffered very little, no more at any rate than in a brief period will be overbalanced by the energizing of our economic methods and of a million or more of our young men. Relatively to that of Europe, our situation is one of affluence. Surely this brings its duties. The springs from which European public enterprises of science and of high scholarship have been fed have been largely dried up. It will for a long time be utterly impossible for European governments to

spend as much money in sustaining learned publications and researches as they have spent in the past. It is for America to step into the breach.

It is not necessary for us to claim a primacy in scholarship which we have not yet achieved, though we ought to do our best to achieve it; but we may well seek a primacy in expenditure for learned undertakings both international and national, may well resolve to take a far larger part in sustaining the world's scholarship than we have hitherto taken, may well make our best endeavors that the American Historical Association, our chief organization for the furtherance of historical learning, may have ample means for the support and conduct of a wide variety of laudable enterprises, both those which will specially advance historical scholarship in America and those which will be useful alike to us and to the historians of burdened Europe.

Have the elder races halted?

Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied, over there beyond the seas?

We take up the task eternal, and the burden, and the lesson,

Pioneers! O pioneers!

VOTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Voted, That any person who was a member of the Association on July 1, 1914, or who has since become a member, and who has since that date been in the active military service of the United States or of the powers associated with the United States, or who, if a citizen of the United States, has been engaged in an officially recognized war activity overseas, may, upon his or her request, be continued until September 1, 1919, on the roll of members of the Association without the payment of annual dues for such period as said member may have been engaged in said service; and the secretary of the Association is hereby authorized and directed to supply said members, upon their request, with such copies of the *American Historical Review* as they may have failed to receive by reason of said service, at the nominal price of twenty-five cents per copy.

Voted, That a special committee of three be appointed which shall be and hereby is instructed to present to the Council at its next meeting nominations, not to exceed nine in number, for corresponding and honorary membership in the Association. Messrs. G. B. Adams, J. F. Jamieson, and A. C. McLaughlin were named as members of this committee.

Voted, That the treasurer be authorized to send to members, with the annual bills for 1919, a request for additional voluntary contributions of one dollar for a deficit fund.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1917	\$ 2,424.35	
Receipts to date		
Annual dues	\$6,365.81	
Life membership dues	150.00	
Dividends on bank stock	260.00	
Interest on bond and mortgage	900.00	
Sale of publications	199.24	
Royalties	60.82	
Gifts:		
Historical Manuscripts Commission	150.00	
London Headquarters	106.20	
Writings on American History	240.20	
Registration fees	183.50	
Deficit fund	1,298.00	
Miscellaneous	44.34	9,958.11
		<u>\$12,382.46</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Office of secretary and treasurer	\$1,896.41	
Committee on Nominations	33.75	
Committee on Programme, 1918	84.75	
Committee on Publications	1,486.52	
Editorial services	146.05	
General Index	250.00	
American Historical Review	4,541.85	
Historical Manuscripts Commission	14.75	
Winsor Prize Committee	100.00	
Writings on American History	240.20	
London Headquarters	156.20	
Invested funds	150.00	
Bills payable December 1, 1918	28.70	
Total disbursements		\$ 9,129.18
Balance on hand December 1, 1918		3,253.28
		<u>\$12,382.46</u>

BUDGET FOR 1919

APPROPRIATIONS

Offices of secretary and treasurer	\$2,000
Executive Council	300
Committee on Nominations	25
Pacific Coast Branch	50
Programme Committee	150
Publication and editorial	500
American Historical Review	4,615
Historical Manuscripts Commission	100
Adams Prize, 1917	200
Winsor Prize, 1918	200

London Headquarters	150
Plate for London Headquarters	50
Committee on History in Schools	400
Rio Janeiro Congress	25
Committee on Policy	25
Writings on American History	200
Committee on Bibliography	50
	<hr/> \$9,040

DISBURSEMENTS SINCE DECEMBER 1, 1918

For Cleveland meeting, and withdrawal of same	\$ 166.33
Miscellaneous	97.74

ESTIMATED INCOME

Annual dues	\$6,990
Publications	300
Royalties	110
Interest and dividends	1,100
Gifts and miscellaneous	250
	<hr/> \$8,750

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, William R. Thayer, Cambridge.

First Vice-President, Edward Channing, Cambridge.

Second Vice-President, Jean Jules Jusserand, Washington.

Secretary, Waldo G. Leland, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

Treasurer, Charles Moore, Detroit.¹

Secretary of the Council, Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers) :

James Schouler, ²	H. Morse Stephens,
James Ford Rhodes,	George L. Burr,
John B. McMaster,	Worthington C. Ford, ²
Simeon E. Baldwin,	Herbert E. Bolton,
J. Franklin Jameson,	Henry E. Bourne,
George B. Adams,	William E. Dodd,
Albert Bushnell Hart,	Walter L. Fleming,
Frederick J. Turner,	Samuel B. Harding,
William M. Sloane,	William E. Lingelbach,
William A. Dunning,	Lucy M. Salmon,
Andrew C. McLaughlin,	George M. Wrong.

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Thirty-Fifth Annual Meeting:

Elbert J. Benton, Western Reserve University, chairman; A. E. R. Boak, Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, Dana C. Munro.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Myron T. Herrick, chairman; Wallace H. Cathcart, vice-chairman; Samuel B. Platner, secretary, 1961 Ford Drive, Cleveland; Elroy M. Avery, Elbert J.

¹ For the present, and for purposes of routine business at all times, the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

² The names from that of Mr. Schouler to that of Mr. Ford are those of ex-presidents.

- Benton, C. W. Bingham, Henry E. Bourne, A. S. Chisholm, Arthur H. Clark, James R. Garfield, Frank M. Gregg, Ralph King, Samuel Mather, William P. Palmer, Frank F. Prentiss, Charles F. Thwing, J. H. Wade.
- Committee on Nominations:* Charles H. Ambler, University of West Virginia, chairman; Christopher B. Coleman, Carl R. Fish, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Victor H. Paltsits.
- Editors of the American Historical Review:* Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carl Becker, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.
- Historical Manuscripts Commission:* Justin H. Smith, 270 Beacon Street, Boston, chairman; Dice R. Anderson, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt, Charles H. Lincoln, Milo M. Quaife.
- Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize:* Frederic L. Paxson, Army War College, Washington, chairman; Arthur C. Cole, Edward S. Corwin, Frank H. Hodder, Ida M. Tarbell.
- Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize:* Ruth Putnam, 2025 O Street, N. W., Washington, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Charles D. Hazen, Conyers Read, Bernadotte E. Schmitt.
- Public Archives Commission:* Victor H. Paltsits, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hills Gardens, L. I., New York, chairman; Herman V. Ames, Eugene C. Barker, Solon J. Buck, R. D. W. Connor, John C. Fitzpatrick, George N. Fuller, Peter Guilday.
- Committee on Bibliography:* George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, chairman. Other members of the committee to be added on nomination of the chairman.
- Committee on Publications:* H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George M. Dutcher, Evarts B. Greene, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Frederic L. Paxson, Ruth Putnam, Justin H. Smith.
- Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools:* Joseph Schafer, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, chairman; William C. Bagley, Frank S. Bogardus, Julian A. C. Chandler, Guy S. Ford, Samuel B. Harding, Daniel C. Knowlton, Andrew C. McLaughlin.
- Conference of Historical Societies:* Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, secretary.
- Advisory Board of the Historical Outlook:* Henry Johnson, Teachers College, Columbia University, chairman; Frederic Duncalf, Fred M. Fling, Margaret McGill, James Sullivan, Oscar H. Williams.
- Special Committee on Policy:* Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, chairman; Carl Becker, William E. Dodd, Guy S. Ford, Dana C. Munro.
- Special Committee on the Historical Congress at Rio de Janeiro:* Bernard Moses, University of California, chairman; Julius Klein, 1824 Belmont Road, Washington, secretary; Charles L. Chandler, Charles H. Cunningham, Percy A. Martin.
- Special Committee on American Educational and Scientific Enterprises in the Ottoman Empire:* Edward C. Moore, Harvard University, chairman; James H. Breasted, Albert H. Lybyer.

THE PRUSSIAN PEASANTRY BEFORE 1807¹

ONE of the things which contributed to the tragedy of 1914 was the fact that Prussians had written and studied their own history overmuch and the rest of the world had studied and described it far too little. The world outside the Hohenzollern monarchy knew something of Bismarck and Frederick the Great and their military and political triumphs, but very little of the consistent political-military, social, and economic organization of the state they typified. A complete picture of this anomalous, semi-modernized, medieval creation as it was preserved and projected into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has yet to be written in any language other than German.

The following article attempts nothing more than a description of agricultural conditions in Prussia at the opening of the nineteenth century. Its value lies less in its being the first attempt to do this in English than in the fact that the feudal agriculturalism it presents remained a persistent force in the social and political organization of the Prussia which in the last fifty years entered into the larger field of German and then of European and world history. Its essential preservation far into the democratized age of the Industrial Revolution is basic to an understanding of the political philosophy of a dominant Prussian feudal agrarian caste devoted to militarism and monarchy by divine grace.

The task of describing accurately the condition of the peasantry in Brandenburg-Prussia before 1809 is a difficult one. The land we call Prussia was a patchwork of many territorial conquests and inheritances.² Some of the provinces had but recently come under Hohenzollern rule. Each territorial unit had a long historic past differing perhaps from that of every other accretion. It is not surprising therefore if variety, rather than uniformity, is the rule in agrarian tenures and conditions. Few general statements will cover accurately the areas east and west of the Elbe, and apply with equal force to the Rhine provinces, Westphalia, Silesia, the Mark of Brandenburg, Prussia, and the Polish annexations, and to the

¹ This paper was prepared, essentially as it is, before the existence of war between the United States and Germany, as part of a larger study of Prussian conditions during the Reform Period.

² The official designation until after the Reform Period was not Prussia but "all the provinces and lands of his royal majesty", the King of Prussia.

peasants in all areas whether on private estates or the royal domains. Such generalizations if correct are not only few in number, but must be carefully worded.

The peasantry in Brandenburg-Prussia were either free or servile.³ The number of free peasants was very small and many of these migrated into the cities. Of the free peasants still remaining on the land, the most considerable class was that of the so-called *Cölmer*, chiefly in East Prussia. They were descendants or successors of peasant farmers brought in as settlers by the Teutonic Knights, or of colonists introduced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and given special privileges as free, non-noble landowners under the law of the city of Culm.⁴ Similar small groups in other parts of the monarchy under different names⁵ formed striking exceptions to the great mass of the peasantry, who were in some way attached to the soil and burdened with services that originally sprang from the agricultural tenures and customs and inhered in the land but threatened frequently to become personal obligations. If thus transformed and increased at the will of the lord they would reduce the peasant to something like the slavery found in Russia under Catherine II.

The characteristic and predominant condition was the division of the land into large holdings called estates. Their size varied. Those in the east and northeast were usually larger than those west of the Elbe, exceeding in some cases ten thousand acres. These estates or large farms were of two kinds: 1, the private estates, owned chiefly by nobles, including also those held by corporations, ecclesiastical foundations, and municipalities, and, 2, those formed by leasing the land in the royal domains. These domain lands comprised about one-fifth of the entire area of the kingdom and were

³ General summaries with bibliographies will be found under the titles *Bauern*, *Bauernbefreiung*, etc., in L. Elster, ed., *Wörterbuch der Volkswirtschaft* (second ed., Jena, 1906), and in *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (Jena, 1891 ff.). The best brief account is K. J. Fuchs, *Die Epochen der Deutschen Agrargeschichte und Agrarpolitik* (Jena, 1898). This address is translated with moderate success in T. N. Carver, *Selected Readings in Rural Economics* (Boston, 1916), pp. 223-253. An excellent review of the literature up to 1900 is given in Conrad's *Jahrbücher*, LXXV. 337-368, 478-514.

⁴ W. von Brünneck contends that the development into an allodial holding was gradual and was finished by 1685. *Zur Geschichte des Grundeigentums in Ost- und Westpreussen*, pt. I., *Die Kölmischen Güter* (Berlin, 1891). It is well to remember that the *Cölmer*, though they could sell their land, had to have the consent of the lord when their holding lay within his estate. Cf. Hans Plehn in *Forschungen zur Brand.-Preuss. Geschichte*, XVII. 111 ff.

⁵ *Cölmer* was, however, the usual name applied to all free peasants by whatever right the status was obtained.

leased out for long terms. The general conditions upon them conformed to the customs of the region as to services and payments from the peasant, but were subject to modification by the terms laid down in the lease by the royal will. These royal domains were so entirely in the king's control that up to 1807 the chief efforts at reform by royal decree had been in improving peasant conditions on them and trusting to the influence of such a good example on the neighboring private noble landowners, but with little practical result.

The lands in these two types of estates were divided between the small holdings of various kinds assigned to the peasants and the land retained directly by the lord and cultivated for him, chiefly by the forced labor of these same peasants. These labor services were of two kinds: farm labor in tilling the fields and gathering the crops, and compulsory domestic service, which was often extended to include agricultural day labor. This so-called domestic service was exacted of the minor children of the peasants, usually for a period of three years, but the term was generally extensible to the time when they married and settled down. There was frequently a small payment that might be called wages, but the institution was justifiable only as a sort of apprentice training in the tasks the younger peasants might have to perform later for themselves. As the obligation to render up the young men and women for this service sprang from obligations attaching to the soil, it might even be required by one peasant of another in certain cases, or the superfluous services of this type would be assigned by the lord to some peasant who could utilize them. The evident advantage of this system was that it held the minor children to the estate at the age when they were most likely to break away. This was a real gain to the landlord in an agricultural state, where the problem of farm labor is always uppermost, and it served also the purposes of a military state which under the "canton system" assigned a certain number of households as the recruiting ground for a royal regiment.⁶ It may be added that this particular institution of forced domestic service (*Gesinde Dienst*) as it existed in Brandenburg-Prussia was of comparatively recent origin, having developed, evidently, since the end of the Thirty Years' War.

This assigning to the lord the services of the most capable of the peasant's half-grown children was often a subject of just and bitter complaint. The small wages, not sufficient to clothe the housemaid,

⁶ For an interesting study of this institution in the Mark of Brandenburg, cf. E. Lennhoff, *Das Ländliche Gesindewesen in der Kurmark Brandenburg vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Breslau, 1906—Heft 79 in Gierke's *Untersuchungen*, etc.).

the usual complaints as to the relation of low wages to morals, the insufficient food, the long delays invented by the lord to prevent the marriage and migration of domestics whose services were valuable, thus holding them sometimes, as in Polish Upper Silesia, for periods of from six to ten years, show the darker side of the picture.⁷

The forced domestic service for minor peasant children selected by the lord was similar to his rights over the peasant parents and their labor. The great mass of the peasantry in Brandenburg-Prussia were in a condition of hereditary subjection. The general designation for their status in the eighteenth century was *Leibeigenschaft* and the other terms used, such as *Erbunterthänigkeit* and *Gutsunterthänigkeit* in the east, and *Eigenbehörigkeit* in the west, although in theory and historical origin different, meant in practice essentially the same thing, *i. e.*, that the peasant was bound to the soil, that he could not escape from the class into which he was born, that he must perform certain services and make certain payments and, as we have seen, render up his minor children for menial service. In return for this he usually had possessory rights in a piece of land to be cultivated to his own account. Now the amount of the land and the character of the tenure, two exceptionally variable things when taken alone, were combined to create a multiplicity of peasant classes; one summary for the Mark gives the servile dues of fourteen kinds of peasants. Add to this the fact that the same class and service and holding had a different name in the main areas of Brandenburg-Prussia, and the danger of discussions which arise only from differences of terminology is evident.

The only really necessary consideration of geographical variations demanded in this account is the general difference prevailing between conditions east of the Elbe and those to the west, a division line, it may well be noted, which corresponds to that separating the older, thoroughly German, area in the west from the region east of the Elbe which had been conquered from the Slavs. The Elbe divided also the western regions of advance and profitable agriculture from those to the east which had more recently become profitable when farmed upon a capitalistic scale. There was, of course, an intermediate area partaking in part of the characteristics of both east- and west-Elbe systems of land-tenure (Lauenburg, the Old Mark west of the Elbe, the northeastern part of the present Prussian province of Saxony, and the present kingdom of Saxony). The general rule, however, was that the condition of the peasant grew

⁷ G. Knapp, *Die Bauernbefreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Teilen Preussens* (Leipzig, 1887), I. 67-68.

more hopeless the farther east one went, till it reached practical slavery in large parts of Russia in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and better the farther west one went toward the Dutch frontier. An east-and-west line drawn within Prussian territory showed conditions at the extreme southeast, in the Polish parts of Upper Silesia, and in the northeast, near Swedish Pomerania and Mecklenburg, worse than they were in the central Mark of Brandenburg.

West of the Elbe, in the older regions, serfdom had constantly grown better and milder as the lord had gradually divested himself of his rights in return for payments yielding a cash income or by mere lapse, and the peasant had arisen to a condition resembling freedom and farming on shares. The remnants of the old duties, now often exacted by some one other than the lord, still remained to annoy and to make the peasant's position under several patrons more complicated, even if less oppressed, than that of his fellows east of the Elbe. In the general region known as Westphalia the rights once concentrated in the hands of one lord had passed into several hands. The peasant might owe to one lord for his landholding, to another for the administration of justice, and be obliged to pay to a third and fourth some remnant of a medieval obligation, all of which annoyed and confused him in proportion as he rose nearer the condition of freedom. The Westphalian peasant's loud complaints, his ability and willingness to petition for redress, and the presence of men even from his own class who could voice his complaints, must be taken not as testimony of a situation intolerable in itself, but such only by comparison with what his Dutch or Hanoverian neighbor had attained and what he felt he might easily attain himself.

In Cleves and the county of Mark the peasant was practically free so far as his personal status was concerned. The condition in Minden, Ravensberg, Tecklenburg, Münster, and Paderborn was far less satisfactory, for the peasant in these provinces, especially Minden, labored under heavy burdens.

Five things distinguish, however, the position and life of the whole peasant class in the Westphalian region. They did not dwell in hamlets on the estate but apart on their individual holdings. The little village from which the peasant went forth each morning to perform his day's labor for himself or the lord was the exception here as it was the rule in the east. In the second place he was here a citizen of the state, or rather a subject of the king and not of the lord. Indeed he might, and more frequently than in the east-Elbe

area did, have a non-noble landlord. There was here the same prohibition of the sale of noble lands to burghers except by royal consent, but the western noble was not so class-conscious or strictly punctilious in observing the Frederickian rule in this matter. Indeed his greater readiness to convert land or feudal rights into cash, that he might live where he chose, explains the complication of several masters alluded to above. It is this complex of archaic manorial rights and masters which distinguishes the western agrarian system (*Grundherrschaft*) from the simpler, more modern, eastern concentration of all manorial rights together with agricultural and political sovereignty in the hands of one noble landowner (*Gutsherrschaft*). Thirdly, the Westphalian peasant, by whatever name he was called,⁸ is practically a renter paying in services and in kind, or in cash, or both. He generally held his land hereditarily, by a tenure that is fully exemplified in the neighboring Hanover under what was called *Meierrecht*. There are here, as elsewhere, the definite obligations which had sprung from the soil and persisted as assured means of securing labor for its cultivation. The peasant cannot leave his holding; his marriage rights and those of his children are in a degree subject to the lord's will; there is forced domestic service; and he gives unpaid labor on the lord's land for a number of days not to exceed three per week. But these, although they remove him from the class suggested to our minds by the word "renter", differ from the same services in the east, in what in this summary constitutes the fourth distinction between east and west, namely, that these services or obligations are in general fixed by law or by the terms of the peasant's tenure. To use the German phrase, they are "*bemessene Dienste*". The peasant cannot be held to work for the lord except the stipulated number of days. If his children are forced into domestic service, it is for a period frequently no longer than six months. If the lord has justiciary and police control over him, it is only when this concession has been given him by the king. In general, the Westphalian landed noble is, throughout the eighteenth century, less and less a dominant figure in the agricultural and social economy. His own holding in his estate to be worked by peasant labor was but a small fraction of the land which was held and tilled by the peasants on their own account. He could not dispossess them except for good and legally demonstrable reasons, and, it must be added, they in their turn could not transfer their holdings or mortgage them without his consent. The peasant holding was indivisible, and the heir paid his brothers and

⁸ *Eigenbehöriger* is a common term.

sisters some kind of an indemnity when he entered into possession. Lastly, the peasant in the Westphalian provinces was much freer to carry on some industry in his home. The artificial concentration of all forms of manufacture in the towns, which was characteristic of the east-Elbe region, was one of the Procrustean regulations which the Berlin officials had attempted in vain to force on Westphalia when it was under Stein's control.

There were three payments that constituted the real distinguishing marks between the peasant who was essentially a renter by *Meierrecht* and those remnants of a servile peasantry known as the *Eigenbehörige*. These three payments were the so-called "*unge-
wisse Gefälle*". The first was exacted when the peasant or the son who was his heir (in some provinces the youngest son, in others the eldest) married. As under the Westphalian law the wife acquired rights in the husband's estate, the lord had made this the basis for his consent to the peasant's marriage and for demanding a money payment (*Weinkauf*) from the bride. Sometimes this was so exorbitant as to prevent the marriage, but if the resulting postponement lasted longer than two years the peasant could demand a legal adjudication, and the amount would be fixed at a reasonable sum. The second was the so-called "*Freikauf*" demanded by the lord when a peasant's child married off the estate and the lord lost its domestic service. The third, and the one most bitterly condemned by the peasants, was the *Sterbefall* or death due. At the death of a peasant or his wife the lord stepped in and claimed one-half of the movable property. The heir and the lord were supposed to arrange by mutual agreement what should be the payment and whether in kind or money. As a result, the peasant was not allowed to make a will or bequeath his property *mortis causa*, although when in health and strength he might give away not more than one-half of his movable goods. These payments were a very heavy burden upon the peasant, and the chief agitation among the Westphalian peasants was directed toward securing their abolition.⁹ Stein gave the movement his hearty support, but the slow course of affairs in Berlin brought the first measures of relief for the western provinces in 1805, after eight years of consideration. In the meantime, the

⁹ The last two payments are found chiefly in Minden and Ravensberg. They are mentioned but not fixed in amount in the *Eigentumsordnung* of 1741 for these provinces. Cf. Brünneck in *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung*, XI. 103 ff. *Sterbefall* and limitation on testamentary disposal of private property did not obtain east of the Elbe and the *Allgemeines Landrecht* of 1794, section 267, abolished all limitations on testamentary disposal. Quoted by Brünneck, *op. cit.*, XI. 143.

private peasant had seen his neighbor on the royal domain lands advance to fixed services, then to fixed tenure, and ultimately to real ownership of his holding. As the noble landlords felt no necessity of following the royal example, and the domain lands were, moreover, small and scattered in the west, the conditions among the private peasantry here were not affected until the regulatory act of 1816. The Edict of Emancipation in 1807 would have had little significance for the Westphalian peasants in any case, and when it was issued they were under the French rule and enjoying such freedom and advantageous tenure of their land as they had not been able to obtain while under Prussian rulers.¹⁰

The peasants' status in the eastern provinces was a devolution since the middle of the sixteenth century from a condition more distinctly one of independence and untrammelled possession of land to something for which the courts, the pamphleteers, and the reformers of the eighteenth century had revived the hateful old German word *Leibeigenschaft* (slavery). The condition which it covered, even if as harsh and exacting as slavery, was certainly not legalized slavery. In the east, then, it was a newer condition tending to grow worse through the combination of all powers over the peasant in the hands of an active noble who directed his own estates and, stimulated by the profits of larger capitalistic agriculture, stretched every claim into a right, exacted every right, and seized every opportunity to absorb peasant holdings into his own estate. This exploitation of the peasant, this tendency to pry him loose from the holdings by reason of which he performed certain labor or paid certain dues, threatened to produce real slavery and give the lord what he desired, a landless and utterly dependent labor supply.^{10a} It was here that the monarchy stepped in to preserve the peasantry as a class with rights in the soil. Many an edict of the eighteenth century, especially after the important one of 1749, forbade the absorption by the lord of the peasant's holdings. The very frequency of these edicts to prevent the expropriation of the peasant class (*Bauernlegen, Einziehen*) is quite as much an evidence of the inability of the monarchy to control it wholly as it is proof of the king's interest in the peasants as a class. The royal interest was not so much benevolent as it was military. The peasantry, as a

¹⁰ The three payments discussed above were not abolished even under the French régime. Cf. E. Meier, *Französische Einflüsse auf die Staats- und Rechtsentwicklung Preussens im 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1908), II. 289-290.

^{10a} There are rare but authenticated cases of the sale of servile peasants in the Mark. It was common in the neighboring Swedish Pomerania. Cf. Conrad's *Jahrbücher*, LXXV. 365-367.

class, must be preserved from utter degradation if they were to make acceptable soldiers.

Parallel with these efforts of the monarchy are the decrees improving conditions on the royal domain. Before discussing the very considerable reforms here effected, it is necessary to consider the condition east of the Elbe of the "private peasants", as they were called, those whose holdings were part of some great manor or estate.

The central fact in the whole social and economic structure of the great eastern agricultural provinces of Brandenburg-Prussia was the estate of the noble landowner, with its subject peasant classes bound to the soil and dwelling in little villages of one hundred to two hundred or more souls. Usually the estates, especially in Brandenburg, were not so large that they could not be managed from one centre, the modest manor house, which looked like anything but our picturesque conception of a castle, and sometimes could hardly be distinguished from a peasant cottage. In the Prussian provinces farther east the estates ran much larger, with a score or more of hamlets on one estate, which for better management would be divided into several large farms.

The rule was that all who were born into the peasant class remained peasants for life. The right to purchase freedom was generally limited to the domestic service class, at the price of a year's wages, five thalers for a maid and ten for a man. The possibility of saving this amount from a like yearly wage was so remote that only those attained freedom whose families were able to contribute to the necessary funds. The great mass lived and died as they were born. None of them escaped some obligation to a landed estate and its noble owner. Even the few free peasants were subject to him in matters of justice and religion. Those who were only day-laborers did not work when and how they chose. The lord, or possibly some fellow-peasant with a holding in the estate, had the first claim to their services, at a wage fixed by custom. They were dwellers in the little manorial village, sometimes in huts of their own, sometimes in quarters near the so-called castle, and frequently in the cottages of their social betters, the landholding peasants. This was quite as effective for the purpose of attaching them to the soil and incorporating them into the life, customs, and duties of the hamlet or estate as though they had held a farm by some form of servile tenure. Their wages were a few *groschen* a day, ten for men and six for women. It is certain that on some estates the number of these day-laborers (*Insten*, *Einlieger*, etc.) was equal to that

of the landholding peasants, and their families quite as numerous. Their condition, especially in the case of those who had a cottage and a garden for their own vegetables, was, on the whole, more satisfactory than that of the peasants who held land by uncertain tenure and rendered heavy labor dues to the lord. Yet it was the mistaken ambition of many of these cotters to rise in the social scale by taking a peasant holding with all its disadvantages. Many by painful saving were able to equip themselves to do this. Then their struggles, their final failure with loss of their savings, their drunkenness bred of despair, and their final return to their old status or a lower one as wholly propertyless day-laborers, is one of the tragedies too frequently chronicled in the records of the eastern provinces.

The prevalent system of agriculture was the medieval three-field and strip system, with a marked tendency in the east to deviate from the latter system toward consolidated holdings in the three fields. The arable area was divided roughly into three fields, one for a winter crop, one for a fall crop, and one to lie fallow, with a certain rotation of cropping and lying fallow from one field to the other. In each of these fields there was land of two kinds, that held by the lord for operation on his own account but cultivated by the forced labor of the peasants, and the land assigned to the peasants by various tenures.¹¹ When this land—landlord's and peasant's alike—was in scattered strips, the cultivation of any single holding might take the peasant to a score or more of different strips scattered in the two fields under cultivation. Besides this there was the forest and pasture-land, in which the peasant had rights of pasturage and of gathering faggots and firewood, rights fixed by custom or by the character of his holdings in the arable land. It must be added that the simplicity of this complexity was undergoing marked modification in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The improvement of agricultural methods, the beginnings of modern scientific agriculture, and the increased profitableness of the grain-trade were making it more and more evident to the lord that he, at least, would gain by increasing his holdings and concentrating them where they

¹¹ Krug, the most careful statistician of that day, estimates that in 1797, *i. e.*, at the beginning of the reign of Frederick William III., two-thirds of all the land in the Prussian state was in the hands of the peasants. Quoted by Stadelmann, *Publicationen aus dem Königlich Preussischen Staatsarchiven*, XXX. 26, foot-note. Hans Goldschmidt, *Die Grundbesitzverteilung* (Berlin, 1910), p. 133, estimates that in the Mark east of the Elbe, the Neu Mark, and Hinterpommern the distribution was 6,774,000 *Morgen* of noble land and 9,346,000 of peasant land.

had hitherto been scattered.¹² He was using his power and superior economic position to bring this about, and on many estates the consolidation into one mass of the lord's farm-land, and into another of the strips held by the peasant, was far advanced. The four-field system was replacing the three, and on the manors in the less fertile, sandy area, where land had to lie fallow five or six years or even eight before it could produce a crop, there was inevitably the necessary modification of the usual three-field rotation.

All the peasantry in the east-Elbe area were the subjects of the lord directly and took the oath of allegiance to him. They were not citizens of the state so much as they were citizens of a particular landed estate. This estate they could not leave, for they were *adscripti glebae*, "*an die Scholle gebunden*", as the German phrase had it. Death, the purchase of freedom, or successful flight were the only avenues of emancipation from the peasant status for them or their children. Their marriage was subject to the lord's consent, and he required proof that the wife was one whose dowry, health, or power to labor would add something to the resources of her husband. No peasant could learn a trade except by his patron's consent. Even if he had served in the army he returned to his peasant status unless—unthinkable thing—he had become an officer. If he became a corporal or sergeant he could not be denied emancipation, but the lord's formal consent was still necessary. If he fled, he could be brought back. He could be whipped, mildly the regulations said, or imprisoned for a few days, or put in the stocks for a few hours for disobedience, laziness, or drunkenness. That the letter of the law regarding these punishments did not always bind the lord is most evident in Upper Silesia, where a debased and brutalized Polish peasantry could only be held to their heavy tasks by flogging. They were by general testimony the most helpless and hopeless peasantry of the whole kingdom, "little better than animals" is one careful student's descriptive phrase. The peasantry were subject to the lord's justice, and this was both a source of revenue to him and the sum and evidence of the completeness of his control over them. They usually could not start a suit without his consent, and their differences with him came before the petty officials who owed their appointment to him. These officers were expected to meet certain minimum qualifications in the matter of

¹² Goldschmidt in his study of landholding in the central provinces makes it clear that the proportion of noble holdings, as compared with peasant, had increased despite a considerable amount of colonization by royal support and in the face of a succession of edicts against *Bauernlegen*. Cf. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

intelligence and legal knowledge, but this state requirement could have signified little. The pastor of the church was also the appointee of the lord, as all rights of advowson rested in the latter.

There were no adequate provisions for the education of the peasantry. The teacher was almost uniformly some one of the artisans in the village, to whom teaching was subordinate to the pursuit of his trade. One case is reported where he was forbidden to tan sheep's hides in the school-room because the stink was quite too much for the children to stand. Frequently what little attempt at teaching there might be was by the wife, and the husband was thus left undisturbed in his labors. Often he was an old soldier or state pensioner, who, having served his country once at the risk of his head, did not feel called upon to subject it to any further strain. The wages were pitiful. A few thalers from the school fund, a few more from the peasants and from the lord made up a total yearly wage of about ten to twenty or thirty dollars. In some regions the schoolmaster had the right to a cottage, a garden, and the pasturage of a cow and a couple of sheep, hogs, and geese, and was always exempt from taxes and labor dues. In other cases he moved around from house to house and from hamlet to hamlet, for usually the services of one teacher sufficed for several villages. There was no special school-room. The artisan's workshop or home, or a room in some peasant home where the teacher was quartered was all that could be expected. The school term was limited to a few months in winter. Attendance was irregular, for boys did not enter in some cases until about ten years of age and girls not until twelve, and at these ages they were available for the labor dues their parents must render. The educational results were almost *nil*, for the teachers themselves were usually woefully ignorant, nor did anybody in power seem interested in improving the rural educational situation. The lords felt that an ignorant labor supply was less likely to seek to better its condition by demands upon them, and the state was able to control such a peasantry in the army by a brutal discipline that could be applied to natives who were neither free nor intelligent citizens quite as easily as it could to the foreign mercenaries.

What has been said so far relates largely to the personal status and social condition of the peasantry. Their economic status and relation to the land they tilled remains for consideration. Disregarding the few free peasants, it may be said that the peasant of whatever type was never a landowner on private estates. He was simply a possessor. He enjoyed the usufruct of a certain part of

the manor. From this landholding, however various its forms, arose inherent obligations to be met with labor and payments in money and kind. No change in the peasant's social status by emancipation would modify in any way his legal status as a tenant or possessor of land, nor lessen his dues or make his tenure any more secure. It is extremely important to keep this in mind, for the following paragraphs describing briefly the peasant tenure, and services arising from them, deal with matters which though important in completing the picture, and vital to an understanding of Prussian eighteenth-century agricultural economy, are not matters directly affected by the Edict of Emancipation most closely associated with the name of Baron Stein.

The east-Elbe peasantry may be divided into classes according to the size of the holding. The range is from the landless and utterly dependent servile day-laborer to the "full peasant" farming on his own account an area sufficient to support several peasant families, as much as eighty acres or occasionally twice that amount, and showing a considerable degree of prosperity.¹³

The essential grouping in the east, from the standpoint of the agrarian reforms inaugurated by Hardenberg in 1811 and 1816, is based, not on the size of the holding but on the form and security of the peasant tenure. Omitting again the free peasantry or *Cölmer*,¹⁴ the tenure ranged from a subject peasantry, who might be warned off at six months' notice and were held to labor on the lord's land for any number of days per week, to the renter for a term of years with all conditions fixed in a formal lease that gave him practically a life tenure with hereditary rights for his children. This latter class, although rendering some labor service to the lord in addition to their money rent, was considered to be in such a satisfactory condition that no legislation affecting it was approved until 1850.

¹³ Meier, quoting from Lehndorff, describes the wedding celebration in 1763 of a servile peasant not far from Magdeburg. The three hundred guests present were fed carp to the amount of fifteen hundred thalers, brandy costing one hundred and fifty thalers, with forty-two capons for bouillon, and fourteen calves. The bridal furnishings cost three hundred thalers, and the dowry amounted to fourteen thousand thalers. *Französische Einflüsse*, II. 40. This case is such an undoubted exception that it may be disregarded historically.

¹⁴ By the eighteenth century the holdings of the *Cölmer* had become so interwoven with and enclaved by the manorial estates that they did not escape some dues to the lord of the village in which they dwelt side by side with his peasantry. As their ownership was rarely documented they were in constant danger of becoming serfs and thus losing the right to migrate or dispose of their lands. In the diminishing number of cases where this type of free, non-noble landowners still dwelt together in villages this danger was much less threatening.

On the basis of tenure the great mass of the landholding peasants fell in the class called *Lassiten*. This group might in a very restricted sense be called copyholders. They had only the usufruct of their holding, on terms governed chiefly by custom. The lord's commanding economic and social position enabled him to introduce conditions into the customary tenure which made it increasingly burdensome to the peasant. Unlike his analogue in the west-Elbe region, the *Lassit* made but a small payment. His chief obligation was the labor services. The most favored of the class had an hereditary right to their holding. The others constituted a non-hereditary group who might be expelled for cause. Economically, and aside from the permanency of their tenure, they were divided into those who were held to hand-labor alone and those who gave labor with horses and oxen.¹⁵

The condition of this bond peasantry is revealed more clearly by a statement of their servile obligations than by any attempt to describe them in misleading terms of English forms of land tenure.¹⁶

East of the Elbe the estates were large, most of them above a thousand acres in the Mark and much larger in Prussia.¹⁷ All the labor for the cultivation of these estates was performed by the peasants. A considerable part of this labor, at least half on many estates, was furnished by the landless day-laborer or the cottager who

¹⁵ It is fairly clear that a very considerable proportion of the *Lassiten* were held to labor with draft animals, *i. e.*, they were *spannfähig*. It may be well to recall also that the decrees of 1811 and 1816, which really determined peasant conditions until after the revolutionary movements of 1848, dealt chiefly with the *Lassiten*. The provisions made in these edicts for transforming possession into ownership distinguish between the two classes named above.

¹⁶ No travels of an Arthur Young, no body of documents such as the French parish *cahiers* of 1789 are at hand to use in sketching such a picture of the Prussian peasantry. An occasional unofficial phrase, such as that of Stein when he described the estate of a Mecklenburg noble as reminding him of "the cave of some beast of prey who desolates everything round about and surrounds himself with the quiet of the grave", may throw a flood of light on one part of the Germany of that day but cannot safely be made the basis of a picture of rural life in the neighboring Prussia. The chief material used by investigators is contained in the accounts of a few private estates, the official reports on the administration of the domain lands, royal reforming decrees that were more honored in the breach than in the observance, the reports of commissioners and officials, and last of all the Prussian code of 1794, in which, with grandiloquent phrases, non-existent slavery is abolished and the chains of serfdom are riveted on the subject peasantry on private estates.

¹⁷ G. Cavaignac, *La Formation de la Prusse Contemporaine*, I. 84-85; Max Lehmann, *Freiherr vom Stein*, I. 88. K. Böhme, *Gutsherrliche-bauerliche Verhältnisse in Ostpreussen . . . von 1770 bis 1830* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 2-3, is an investigation of four estates whose size he gives as 1976, 33,605, 11,342, and 27,304 acres respectively.

had no more than a garden to farm on his own account. Both of these latter groups worked for a small customary wage.

The laboring peasants gathered in the evening during working-season to receive from the lord or his steward directions for the next day's labor, which under the three-field and strip system had to be of the same kind on the same crops, chiefly barley, rye, and wheat. The next day, armed with the same tools, they gathered and after time-consuming delays, waiting for the laggards or the distant peasants who might have miles to come, they went forth to cultivate the lord's land. If since the previous directions the weather had changed, a messenger had to be despatched to reorder the day's programme. The time left over from laboring for the lord might be put in on their own scattered holdings, but this available time was limited and variable. In the west the maximum time given the lord was approximately three days in every week; in the east this was the minimum. In some eastern regions, by the prevailing tenure, six days per week on the noble's land were exacted, leaving the peasant serf but Sundays and moonlight nights to labor on his own tract. Sometimes, as has been pointed out, this day's work was simply manual labor, but more often it was an obligation to supply horses and oxen with the necessary one or two men to drive them. There seem to have been not infrequent cases where the peasant, either because he was prosperous enough to hire labor or because he had sons, was able to meet his labor obligations and be free himself to work his own land. The accounts of several estates in East Prussia have been preserved. They were evidently large and well managed, and conditions upon them were much better than they were in Upper Silesia or the Polish annexations. One hamlet on one of these estates, containing six peasants, furnished annually (in forty-eight weeks counting out holidays) ninety-six days with horses and 288 days of manual labor; another hamlet, with fourteen peasants, 208 days with horses and 120 days of manual labor.¹⁸ The labor with horses meant in these cases four horses, or two horses and two oxen, with two persons to work them. In the next ten years following 1790, the amount of this labor decreased, but the money payment, which is rarely wanting at any time, rose from between six and ten thalers to from twenty to sixty thalers. Besides this, grain had to be hauled to Königsberg once or twice dur-

¹⁸ Böhme, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13, 25. I have given only the number of *Bauern*. The list of inhabitants shows also hand-workers and day-laborers, but my inference is that they did not share in those obligations because they were not land-holders.

ing the winter, a journey of from four to eight days over wretched roads. Building material had to be transported by the peasant, and one or two cords of firewood cut, and six building timbers hewn and delivered. All these tasks, and not the size of the peasant's own holding, explain why one finds more than one-third of the subject peasants east of the Elbe keeping from two to as many as eight draft animals.¹⁹ Additional labor in the lord's mill, brewery, and distillery are mentioned. The payment of two hens, one or two geese, and one to four bushels of grain, some yarn, flax, straw, etc., is common, but these payments in kind seem nowhere to have been burdensome or subjects of serious complaint. The advantage of the peasants on the estate cited was that the amount of their labor was fixed, and that there were also here an equal body of landless day-laborers working at a few pence per day. These were equally bound to the soil and had to offer their labor first to the lord and accept conditions that were largely of his making.

Nor are we at the end of the catalogue of the peasant's obligations, for there was the necessity he was under of accepting a peasant holding if offered him by the lord on the same conditions exacted of the last tenant, and government regulation constantly

¹⁹ An inventory of the possessions of the better class of peasant on the estates mentioned shows that he owned four or five work-horses, worth in 1800 about eleven thalers each, two work-oxen worth about ten thalers each, two cows, two sheep (less frequent), a few chickens and geese, and rarely some ducks. In addition he had a *Puffwagen*, two harrows, one or two *Zochen*, one or two sledges, forks, spades, axes, etc. The total money value of the inventory is estimated as having been fifty thalers in 1770 and seventy-five thalers in 1800. Cf. Böhme, pp. 3, 9-11; and for a similar inventory of live-stock, cf. Knapp, II. 270. The value of the labor outfit of lesser peasants (*Kossäthen*) is estimated at about one-half the above figures. On the estates for which this inventory is typical, the "peasants" had holdings of from twenty-one to eighty-four acres; 64 per cent. of the 271 peasant holdings in twenty-eight villages were between fifty and seventy-seven acres, the normal size for this group being sixty-three acres. Thirty-four per cent. had eighty-four acres each. Böhme, p. 8. Goldschmidt, pp. 53-55, estimates the average size of a peasant holding, *i. e.*, of the better class, in the Electoral Mark, at about 115 acres. The *Kossäthen* had less, but most of them in the New and Electoral Mark were *spannfähig*, but only a minority in *Hinterpommern*. The *Kossäthen* or *Kothsassen* seldom had horses but used oxen or cows, and their holding was about one-fourth of a "peasant's". M. F. von Bassewitz, *Die Kurmark Brandenburg . . . vor dem Ausbruche des Krieges 1806* (Leipzig, 1847), p. 21. Knapp insists that the *Kossäth*, although he might be *spannfähig* and his holding as large as that of a "quarter peasant", never had it located in the general tilled area (*Flur*), but in the field-garden (*Wurthe*) between the masses of cultivated land (*Gewannen*) or in the fallow fields often used for vegetable or forage crops. He stood lower in the social scale than the *Bauer*, and paid no land tax (*Contribution*). There were also half and quarter *Kossäthen*, etc. Knapp, I. 12.

sought to prevent increases of peasant obligations, but without uniform success. He must use the lord's mill, and, sometimes to the peasant's own moral and physical undoing, he must purchase a fixed quantum from the lord's brewery or distillery. The payment of the government land tax (*Contribution*), from which the lord was almost wholly exempt, fell upon peasant holdings alone, and meant five or six thalers annually out of a painfully limited income. Then, as a further service to the state, in addition to the labor for the lord, the peasant and his draft animals were subject to army transport duty or to furnish relays for the king on his journeys. The former task was burdensome during manoeuvres or actual war, and the latter subject to abuses when indifferent officials ordered relays days before the king arrived, and thus wasted the peasant's time.

The reference already made to the existence in the Mark, particularly, and in East Prussia of estates worked in part or even wholly by day-laborers does not prove that peasant conditions were improving on the private estates. On the contrary, the evidence seems clear that life and labor on such manors was an increasing burden since the close of the Seven Years' War. Agriculture was developing, and the beginnings of scientific agriculture under such men as Thaer and the high level of prices for grain in Prussia during the period of neutrality following 1795 were stimulants to the owners, whose land advanced in price between 1780 and 1800 from 100 to 140 per cent. over the prices prevailing in the Seven Years' War.²⁰ The picture of conditions on the private estates east of the Elbe is that of an advancing, increasingly profitable, large-scale, capitalistic agriculture with an economically and socially declining agricultural laboring class. The land-owning lord was more exacting, more ready to expel a peasant upon charges of negligence, more ready to transfer an efficient and prosperous peasant to a

²⁰ Böhme, *op. cit.*, quotes Krug as bearing testimony to the same thing, and says that the land after this advance was valued at about twenty-six to thirty thalers per *Culmischer Morgen*. As this land measure was about two and one-fourth times the size of the Prussian *Morgen* the price quoted would be that for about one and one-third acres. In 1804 Thaer purchased an estate in the Middle Mark on poor, sandy soil. He paid for 1044 Prussian *Morgen* and another and more fertile farm (acreage not given) what he considered was the high price of 70,000 thalers. Cf. T. von der Goltz, *Geschichte der Deutschen Landwirtschaft*, II. 15. There was a tremendous decline in prices, due to the devastations of the French, Russian, and Prussian armies in the years 1806-1815, and to the much increased burden of taxation. Wages fell to almost nothing, and many peasants and domestic and agricultural laborers were willing to work for food and shelter. It was requests for governmental aid to relieve this situation which led the Immediate Commission to take up the question of emancipation. Details and statistics on this agrarian crisis may be found in Böhme, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-68.

poorer holding which absorbed the peasant's savings and employed his energies in raising it to a higher level of production for the lord's profit. The marked effort to consolidate at least the strips owned by the lord had its darker side for such peasants as found themselves manoeuvred onto less fertile areas. Wherever the lord could reduce the number of peasant holdings and increase the amount of lands farmed to his account, it meant increased burdens of labor for the remaining peasantry and the keeping of more draft animals. This fact and the want of adequate pasturage even for the work-horses and oxen meant fewer sheep and cows than well-balanced agriculture made advisable. In the regions east of the Elbe the governmental restrictions of industry to the cities prevented those forms of domestic manufacture by which the Westphalian peasant supplemented his income.

Before considering the lord's obligations to the peasant, it is well to recall the noble landowner's dominant social and economic influence, his vital position in the politico-military structure of the Prussian state, his control of the surviving provincial assemblies, the fact that the nearest state official to whom the peasant could lift protesting hands was the *Landrat*, who was selected by the king from among the three nominees of the local nobles from their own class. These facts by their mere enumeration furnish additional material in the interpretation of any description of peasant conditions in Prussia before 1806. It is true that the lord had to fill out official forms and reports for the *Landrat*, but if these showed the same number of peasant holdings or explained changes in terms of the government regulation, the lord would be left unmolested within his gates. Here the keystone of his authority over his peasantry was the fact that east of the Elbe they were his subjects, and in all provinces must submit their grievances and petty suits to his courts. Justice administered either directly or indirectly by one who might be a party to the action was at least under the suspicion of having the bandage off one eye.

The lord was responsible for the well-being of his peasantry under this patrimonial system. He could not sell them apart from the land to which they were attached, under penalty of the peasant's emancipation. He could not expel them from a holding except for legally specified and legally proved reasons. He was forbidden to increase the obligations on any holding even when he transferred it to another peasant. Where the claim was hereditary, he was equally bound to observe the rights of the heir whom he might select as most capable of working the tract. The peasant could accumulate

private property and control this to his own advantage. The building and repair of the peasant cottages was at the lord's expense, and many and bitter are the complaints of the landowners at the negligence and indifference of the peasants who let houses decay and tore timbers and boards out of them rather than cut firewood and took no precautions against fire. The more ignorant and debased the peasantry, the more evident is their neglect and the resulting wretchedness of their hovels, and the greater the despair of the lord. If the peasant had bad harvests or lost his draft animals or wanted seed, the lord must come to his rescue. Firewood and building material and sometimes the more expensive tools were furnished by the lord. If the day-laborer or landholding peasant was in want, his food and means being frequently exhausted by the end of January, the lord must find him labor, give him food, or permit him to go where he could maintain himself. As the land-tax was collected by the government from the peasant landholding and not from the peasant as a person, the peasant's failure or inability to pay must be made good by the lord. These burdens were frequently a drain on the manor's income in bad years, and yet the necessity of the peasant furnished an opportunity, not unused, to subject him to harsher terms or more uncertain tenure. The support of the aged and homeless and all the care of the incapacitated, the task of the Church in the Middle Ages and of the state in our day, was an obligation upon the lord of the manor in the Prussia of the eighteenth century.

The method and spirit of discharging these obligations was a personal and varying factor that enabled the conservatives and opponents of reform to cite excellent cases of paternal interest and care over ignorant and thriftless and dependent peasants. In such cases, and there were undoubtedly many of them, the feudal patriarchal conscience and kindness of the noble casts a kindly light upon "the good old days". In individual cases peasants could and did accumulate considerable property, and yet the authenticated average net income of the peasants in Upper Silesia, one of the worst regions, was five thalers for the year's work, with twenty thalers as a maximum return, and clothing still to be bought from this. It is not surprising that there is much complaint of theft against domestic servants and that the barns and granaries on the manor were generally well watched, especially in winter.

The peasant class as a whole in Brandenburg-Prussia, especially east of the Elbe, before 1806 was by the preponderance of testimony, private and official, so near the margin that even under the

better conditions* on the royal domain lands it was a source of wonder how they met their obligations and maintained themselves. "The evil", says Thaer, writing in 1806, of the servile peasants of the Mark, "lies deep in the present system, under which the peasant becomes constantly poorer, lazier, and more stupid. This condition will soon become unbearable as a matter of general welfare. Our servile peasant is actually an unfortunate hybrid of a slave and a free man."²¹

It must in justice be said that the nobles were not the only ones who clung to the old order. The peasants were opposed to change and agricultural development, for new crops and new distributions were feared as occasions for increasing their burdens. To plow up the pasture or clear the woodland meant not only a loss to them of rights in the common land but more labor, even if the result was increased crops. The decrease of labor dues in favor of money dues brought them nearer the position of renters with no rights in the soil, and the lord nearer the position of an owner with complete command over his estates. Much as he felt the burden of his labor dues, the peasant did not welcome the substitution of rent payments.

The discussion so far has dealt with the peasants on private estates, where the noble was a petty potentate ruling over his bond peasantry. The peasantry on the royal domain land had obtained by 1806 an economic and social independence that put them far ahead of the private peasant. This activity of the absolute monarchy in behalf of the domain peasant deserves attention, for it was in itself a reform of such importance that it ranks with the Stein-Hardenberg legislation for which it was a preparation.

The Prussian domain lands were very extensive except in Silesia and Westphalia. They were leased for a period of years to non-noble²² lessees who worked them with peasant labor. But here the king's interest in the peasant class could be made more immediately effective. The agitation for the relief of the domain peasants began under Frederick I. in 1704. Frederick William I., his successor, fulminated in his usual tone against their miserable condition and denounced as "*elendes Raisonniren*" the defenses and explanations made by his fiscal officials. Despite the royal willingness to sacrifice financial advantages to the improvement of the domain peasants, the ruthless drill-sergeant king never successfully broke through the official indifference and opposition. Fred-

²¹ Quoted by Knapp, *Bauernbefreiung*, I. 75.

²² Lehmann, *Stein*, I. 88.

erick the Great was more successful. He effectively forbade the enforced domestic labor of minor children of the domain peasants in East and West Prussia and Lithuania. Four years after his death a decree in 1790 codified the rights he had established, and the domain peasants were made hereditary tenants of their holdings. By a series of acts between 1799 and 1806 under Frederick William III. the freedom of domain peasants was practically accomplished, and the dues of those holding land, especially in return for labor with horses, were redeemed by money payments. So willing was the government to cultivate initiative in the peasants and so anxious to rid itself of the costly obligation to support them by subventions and privileges in the woodlands and pasturage, that in Pomerania and Brandenburg freedom from service was made conditional on the reluctant domain peasant's taking over the ownership of his holding. The result of this legislation before 1806 left only the remnants of forced domestic service resting on domain peasants chiefly in Brandenburg and Pomerania, while the domain peasants outside these provinces still lacked the right of becoming peasant proprietors on easy terms. In Silesia, where for some obscure reason the domain reforms following 1799 had not been applied, the legislation of 1807-1808 first modified eighteenth-century conditions.

GUY STANTON FORD.

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER IN QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

AT the close of the seventeenth century South Carolina constituted the sole southern frontier of the English colonies in America, against the Spanish, the French, and several important tribes of Indians. Though but newly established and still among the weakest of the English plantations, this colony had already given proof of unusual enterprise. Neglected by the proprietors, unsupported by the crown, the colonists, of their own initiative, had pushed the first frontier of the province (the frontier of the Indian trade and Indian alliances) further into the wilderness than English traders elsewhere had ventured. From the first settlement in 1670 the Carolinians had been engaged in conflicts with their neighbors, the Spaniards of Florida.¹ Before the end of the century, they were in contact and keen rivalry with the French in the region of the Gulf and the lower Mississippi. The obscure struggles of Indian traders and their savage partizans on the farthest frontier of the English colonies made but small stir in a world absorbed in the momentous issue of the Spanish Succession. A few men only, in the outposts of the rival empires, understood that these incidents foreshadowed a contest for the richest prize of imperial ambition in America: the heart of the continent. It was on the southern frontier, in the course of Queen Anne's War, that the conflict was first clearly joined for the control of the valley of the Mississippi.

The success of the Carolinians among the southern Indians was due to a number of factors, physical, economic, political. In the first place, the position of South Carolina was more favorable to the development of the western trade than that of any other of the English colonies, with the possible exception of New York. The Appalachian range, so long a barrier to the expansion of Virginia and Maryland and Pennsylvania, was easily avoided by all but the Cherokee traders. Yet in the matter of location Carolina was less fortunate than Florida and Louisiana. Whereas the Spanish could reach the Lower Creek towns by the Apalachicola River, and the French, once Mobile was established, had direct water communication with the Alabama, Talapoosa, and Abihka, the Carolina traders had to convey their goods on the backs of Indian burdeners or on

¹ *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, V. 169, 179, 187, 197-200.

pack-horses by an overland path which intersected nearly all the important rivers of southeastern America.² But even the possession of water-routes, and the ability which the Latins everywhere displayed in Indian diplomacy, were more than offset by another factor of crucial importance, the superiority of the English trade.

In nearly all the articles of the Indian trade the goods which the English offered were more highly esteemed by the Indians, for quality and price, than the corresponding products of their rivals. The fundamental reason for the success of the English in the tortuous politics of the wilderness was concisely expressed by the first Indian agent of South Carolina. In 1708 Thomas Nairne asserted that "the English trade for cloath always attracts and maintains the obedience and friendship of the Indians, they Effect them most who sell best cheap".³

The South Carolina trade, moreover, was actively fostered by the provincial government. Indeed, the leaders in the government and in the trade were for the most part identical. Charges of unfair and monopolistic practices were freely made against the great traders who controlled the council and the assembly. But the frontier interests of men like Joseph Blake (deputy governor, 1695-1700) and James Moore (governor, 1700-1702) had a consequence for the colony unrecognized by their critics.⁴ At the end of the seventeenth century the Indian trade was weaving a web of alliances among tribes of Indians distant many hundred miles from Charles Town. Blake and his successor, active promoters of the trade, developed a conception of the destinies of the English in that quarter of America—an *imperial vision*—notably in advance of the parochial ideas of proprietors and provincials alike; in advance, too, of the notions of policy of the imperial government itself.

When Joseph Blake became deputy governor at the end of 1695, the Indian trade of South Carolina was just entering on a phase of more than local importance. A decade before this, in 1684, the revolt of the Yamasee against the Florida government and their emigration from the province of Guale to the borders of South Carolina had turned the scale against the Spaniards in the coastal

² *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, III. 9 and note.

³ Thomas Nairne [to the Secretary of State], July 10, 1708. Public Record Office, America and West Indies, vol. 620; now C. O. 5: 383. (Transcript, Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.)

⁴ Typical charges in W. J. Rivers, *Sketch of the History of South Carolina to . . . 1719* (1856), pp. 424, 455-456. Cf. also Hewat, *Historical Account of . . . South Carolina and Georgia* (1779) in B. R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina* (1836), I. 134; and complaints by Edward Randolph against Blake in *Prince Society Publications, Randolph Papers*, VII. 554, 557.

region.⁵ Already the expulsion of the Westo from the lower Savannah had cleared the way for trade expansion southwestward, among the inland tribes. Their route protected against flank attack from St. Augustine, the Charles Town traders made rapid progress among the populous Oconee, Ocheese (Kawita and Kasihta), and Ocmulgee Indians seated on the upper Oconee and above the forks of the Altamaha.⁶ With her expanding Indian relations South Carolina became the centre of the traffic in Indian slaves, as well as in deer-skins, among the English colonies. When the early wars had exhausted the supply near the settlements the friendly Indians were encouraged to range farther afield, especially to the south, where slave-catching raids had the additional advantage of weakening the allies of the Spaniards. Timucuan Indians from the interior of Florida had long been bought from the Yamasee;⁷ and now the inland Indians found ready sale for captured Apalachee, from the province of Apalachee, which fronted the Gulf between the Suwanee and Apalachicola rivers—the richest and, strategically, the most important of the outlying Spanish provinces. The raiders were supplied with arms, incited, and even led by the traders who lived among them; retaliatory expeditions were headed by Spanish officers.⁸

Thus on the eve of the War of the Spanish Succession the relations between the colonists of South Carolina and Florida, already disturbed by disputes over title of possession, buccaneering, and runaway slaves, were further embittered by the expansion of the South Carolina Indian system. By aggressive, belligerent methods even in time of peace the Carolina traders threatened the maintenance of Spanish authority everywhere beyond the protection of a few weak and isolated garrisons. Florida was endangered, and with Florida another colony which existed as yet only in the purposes of Iberville and the French ministers: Louisiana.

⁵ Barcia, *Ensayo Chronologico para la Historia de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723), p. 287. Cf. also J. G. Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (1886), p. 178.

⁶ Later called by the English Creek, specifically, Lower Creek Indians. The name was derived by abbreviation, from Ocheese Creek Indians. Before 1715 the Kasihta and Kawita had their villages on Ocheese Creek, *i. e.*, the Ocmulgee River above the approximate site of Macon, Ga. For evidence of this derivation see *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, V. 339. The Westo and their identity are discussed in *American Anthropologist*, n. s., XX. 331.

⁷ Barcia, *loc. cit.*; *Coll. S. C. Hist. Soc.*, I. 93; Rivers, *Sketch*, pp. 410, 425.

⁸ Archdale Papers, Library of Congress, pp. 19, 24, 41, 69, 97, 110, 116; W. E. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678–1702*, in *University of Texas Bulletin*, no. 1705, p. 71; Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 459.

Throughout the last decade of the century the centre of the Carolina trade had remained at the forks of the Altamaha.⁹ Several years before the century's close, however, the bolder traders had established their factories among the Alabama, Talapoosa, and Abihkā, near the forks of the Alabama, and had laid in train an alliance with the Chickasaw, which, more than any other single factor, was destined to thwart the complete attainment of the French design in the lower Mississippi Valley. From the villages of the Choctaw, near the Tombigbee, and of the Acolapissa, at the mouth of the Pearl, to the country of the Arkansas, west of the great river, and even as far as the Illinois, the Chickasaw, now that they were supplied with arms by the English, who bought their captives as slaves, became the scourge of the defenseless western tribes.¹⁰ The Chickasaw traders, of whom the chief were Thomas Welch and Anthony Dodsworth, sought also to extend their trade among the adjacent Indians. The most notable exploit in the early history of the western trade was the journey of Welch, in 1698, from Charles Town to the Quapaw village at the mouth of the Arkansas.¹¹ Within three decades from the planting of the colony—in a little more than fifteen years from the beginning of the western advance—the Carolinians had reached and even passed the Mississippi in their trading journeys.

This achievement, without parallel in the English colonies, and rivalled only by the feats of the Canadian *coureurs de bois*, had been watched with close interest by the South Carolina government. It might have passed unnoted outside of the province, however, but for the emergence, as an international issue, of the question of the Mississippi.

To England and the English colonies rumors were borne in 1698 of the French design to discover and settle the mouth of the Mississippi. Among the counter-measures proposed, the unsuc-

⁹ Under Henry Woodward, Shaftesbury's agent in the Indian trade, the vanguard of the Carolinians had crossed the Chattahoochee (ca. 1684). This was the last instance of direct encouragement of inland exploration by the proprietors. With the passing of the proprietary monopoly of the trade with the distant Indians (undermined by the Westo war, 1681-1682), their interest in frontier policy ceased. Public Record Office, Colonial Entry Books, XX. (now C. O. 5: 286) 207 (transcript, Columbia, S. C.); Rivers, *Sketch*, p. 313; *Coll. S. C. Hist. Soc.*, I. 88; V. *passim*. Compare Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, p. 71.

¹⁰ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, IV. 362, 372, 398, 516 et seq.

¹¹ Mitchell, *Map of North America* (1755), from an anon. map ca. 1720 (based on journals of Indian agents, etc.) of which a tracing exists in the collection of the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S. C.

cessful attempt of Daniel Coxe, claimant of "Carolana" under the Heath patent, to plant an English colony to control the river, served only to hasten the French preparations.¹² Another project, put forward by Lord Bellomont of New York and Governor Nicholson of Virginia, had in view the promotion of trade with the trans-Appalachian Indians. Unfortunately Bellomont's scheme for a conference of colonial governors for co-operation in Indian affairs and western policy, which was sanctioned by the Board of Trade, also miscarried.¹³ But as a result of the discussion it was becoming clearer that if the French were to be prevented from linking their settlements in Canada with the Gulf, trade with the distant Indians must be encouraged; and secondly, that the position of South Carolina gave that colony a unique advantage as a base for western expansion.¹⁴

The alarm occasioned in the northern colonies and in England by Iberville's enterprise was even keener in South Carolina, which had thereby become a frontier against the French as well as the Spanish and the Indians; and where the knowledge of a relatively easy communication with the Gulf and the lower Mississippi awakened fears of a speedy conquest by the French, or by the French and the Spaniards combined. The more timid settlers talked of removal to a safer region should the death of Charles II. unite the two crowns.¹⁵ Not till the spring of 1700 was it definitely known by the report of the traders that the French were in possession of the coveted region.¹⁶ In the meantime Blake, who had

¹² Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV. 58, 88, 361.

¹³ Virginia Council Minutes, 1698-1700, Library of Congress, February 23, June 22, 1699; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, 1693-1696, p. 512; 1699, pp. 50, 320; 1700, p. 311 *et seq.*; *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IV. 590, 632, 699-700; *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, I. 542; *Maryland Archives*, XXIII. 501.

¹⁴ A vague appreciation of the imperial possibilities of the Carolina Indian system led the Board of Trade, in December, 1699, to summon a certain James Boyd, lately arrived in England, to advise them on "the expediency of promoting a new Trade with some Indians at the Back of Carolina". Boyd was able to inform their lordships that "the English Indian traders inhabiting there had made many Journeys through the Country westward to above 1000 or 1200 miles distance". Board of Trade Journals (transcripts in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), under dates December 8, 12, 1699.

¹⁵ Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, III. (now C. O. 5: 1258) c: 22 (Pennsylvania transcripts). In November, 1698, when Iberville's fleet was not a month out of Brest, the Commons House formally requested Governor Blake to determine whether the French were settled on the Mississippi and, if they were, to consider the best way to remove them. Journals of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C., under date November 16, 1698.

¹⁶ *Cal. of State Papers, A. and W. I.*, 1700, pp. 326-327; 1701, p. 408.

warned an officer sent from St. Augustine that he intended to make good the English title to Pensacola Bay, occupied by the Spanish in November, 1698,¹⁷ had also despatched a group of traders by way of the Cherokee country and the Tennessee River to lay claim to the Mississippi and to challenge the French control.¹⁸ Confident that the influence which he had won among the southwestern tribes must prevail, he only awaited information from his agents before transmitting to the English government definite proposals for displacing the French. His death in 1700 interrupted these activities. As deputy governor and at the same time magnate of the Indian trade he had "ingeniously laid" the design for "the Enlargement of the Dominion of the Crown of England" in accordance with the inclusive terms of the proprietary charter.¹⁹ It was left to his successor, James Moore, an adventurous explorer and trader, to formulate a scheme for the conquest of the region of the Gulf and the lower Mississippi.

By 1700 the extent and the character of the English interest among the western Indians were well understood by the French. Iberville, who had anticipated English opposition, but had not foreseen the direction of the attack, was impressed with the need of devising a comprehensive programme of resistance. In his first measures, however, he underrated the difficulties. A plan for the forcible expulsion of the English traders from among the Chickasaw soon proved impossible of execution.²⁰ The attempt of Iberville and the French ministry to persuade the Spaniards, now ruled by a Bourbon, that only the cession of Pensacola to France could check the advance of the Carolinians toward the mine-country, failed to overcome the jealous regard of government and people for the integrity of their colonial empire.²¹ In default of Pensacola, Mobile was established, avowedly as a point of support for the Indians allied with the French and the Spanish.²² The central object of Iberville's frontier policy was the promotion of a general peace among the southern Indians, based on friendship and trade with the French. Negotiations with the Chickasaw, begun by Tonti in 1700, were brought to a head only after two years. Meantime

¹⁷ Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, pp. 197-198.

¹⁸ *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, III. 12, 13.

¹⁹ John Archdale, *Description of Carolina* (1707), in Carroll, *Collections*, II. 118-119.

²⁰ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV. 406, 418.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 476, 484, 489-490, 543-575. Cf. also Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry*, pp. 206-215.

²² Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV. 578-579.

there had occurred a crucial event in the frontier history of Louisiana: the conclusion of an alliance with the Choctaw.²³ The traditional enmity between the Choctaw, the most numerous nation of southwestern Indians, and the Chickasaw, the most aggressive, which was the *raison d'être* of the alliance, proved in the event to be fatal to the success of Iberville's programme of pacification. In 1702, however, at a great council at Mobile, the Choctaw and the Chickasaw were reconciled, and were promised an ample trade from a factory to be planted in their midst. Shortly the truce was extended to include other tribes, notably the Illinois and the Alabama.²⁴

Iberville's policy was not purely defensive. It looked beyond the immediate security of Louisiana to the expansion of the French interest among the Indians "au côté du Caroline", and to co-operation with the Spanish of Florida to strike at the flank of the English advance. A grandiose scheme for the rearrangement of the southern Indians, including the Cherokee, so as to expose the southern frontier of the English colonies, was distinctly impracticable. Something, however, was actually accomplished toward co-ordinating French and Spanish policy. In January, 1702, Iberville strongly advised that the Apalachee Indians be engaged to oppose by force the progress of the English and their allies. His counsel was accepted, and as an earnest of a more aggressive strategy, an expedition of several hundred Indians and Spaniards was prepared to go against the English Indians in August. But the latter had warning of the intended attack; headed by their traders they advanced to the Flint River and routed the invaders.²⁵

More was involved in this frontier skirmish—the prelude to Queen Anne's War on the southern frontier—than in the familiar quarrels between the Carolinians and the Spanish of Florida. In effect it was the first blow struck by the English for the control of the Mississippi Valley. There was no doubt in the mind of Governor James Moore that the unity of policy which Iberville sought to attain was a fact to be reckoned with in the English programme.

In August, 1702, before the expected news of a declaration of war had reached Carolina, Governor Moore in an address to the Commons House of Assembly urged "the takeing of St. Augustin before it be strengthened with French forses". He added: "This

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 427, 429, 460; B. de La Harpe, *Journal Historique de l'Établissement des Français à la Louisiane* (Paris, 1831), p. 35, under date September 16, 1701.

²⁴ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, mars 1702, 12 mai 1702, pp. 71, 72; Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV. 507, 516-521, 531-532, 630.

²⁵ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, IV. 579, 594-595, 630; Carroll, *Collections*, II. 351. Anon. map ca. 1720 (*supra*, note 11) shows location of the battle.

wee believe will open to us an easie and plaine way to Remove the French (a no less dangerous Enemy in time of peace then warr) from their settlement on the south (*sic*) side of the Bay of Appalattia."²⁶ A hastily planned expedition was launched against St. Augustine in the fall. The town was soon reduced, but for lack of mortars the siege of the castle was prolonged until relief arrived from Havana.²⁷ In spite of the burden of debt imposed upon the province by the unsuccessful campaign of 1702, tentative plans were laid for a second expedition in co-operation with Her Majesty's naval forces. In a letter to Admiral Whetstone of January 28, 1703, the governor and assembly outlined the larger objects of their strategy.

If it Pleaseth God to Give us Success, it is a Matter of that Great Consequence that if to that Wee ad the conquest of a small Spanish Town called Pancicola, and a new french Collony. . . . Both, Sea Port Towns . . . It will make her Majestie Absolute and Sovereigne Lady of all the Maine as farr as the River Mischisipi, which if effected the Colony of Carolina will be of the Greatest Vallue to the Crown of England of any of her Majesties Plantations on the Maine except Virginia by ading a Great Revenue to the Crown, for one halfe of all the Canadian Trade for furs and Skinns must necessarily come this way, besides a vast Trade of furs and Skinns—extended as far as the above mentioned River, Mischisipi, which is now interrupted by those Two little Towns.²⁸

Five months later Colonel Robert Quarry, a colonial customs official with pronounced imperial ideas, whose former residence in South Carolina had familiarized him with the problems of the southern frontier, wrote from New York to the Board of Trade emphasizing in similar fashion the relation of the Florida campaign to the larger question of continental dominion.²⁹

²⁶ Commons House Journals, August 20, 1702.

²⁷ For a narrative see Rivers, *Sketch*, p. 197 *et seq.* Condemned by the enemies of Moore in South Carolina as a free-booting raid (John Ash, *The Present State of Affairs in Carolina* [1706?], pamphlet in Force collection, Library of Congress; repr. Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina*, p. 272), and as a slave-taking expedition (Colleton County Representation, in Rivers, *Sketch*, p. 456), and by the historians of Spanish Florida as a "mark of English provincial hatred against the Church of God" (*vide* Shea, *Catholic Church in Col. Days*, pp. 459-461), the St. Augustine expedition of 1702 has not been placed in its true setting as one of the first stages in the intercolonial contest for the control of the region of the Gulf and the Mississippi.

²⁸ Commons House Jour., January 28, 1703.

²⁹ The reduction of Florida would, he believed, "put a stop to the French designs who are endeavouring from Canada, to secure the Inland parts of the whole Maine . . . by our securing the Southern Parts, we shall prevent them, and break all their measures by securing the Indians to the Interest of England, which will be easily effected, since they must depend upon us for the supply of Indian Trade." *Docs. rel. to the Col. Hist. of N. Y.*, IV. 1048.

Quary and Moore saw farther into the future of the inter-colonial conflict than most of their contemporaries. Moore had been discredited by the St. Augustine fiasco; he was succeeded by a capable but unimaginative soldier, without the keen interest of the recent governors in frontier policy. At the beginning of his government, however, Sir Nathaniel Johnson gave his sanction to a blow at the Spanish interest which reaped a larger measure of success than any other military enterprise of the war, and which was definitely directed against Louisiana as well as Florida: the Apalachee expedition of 1704.

In 1702 and 1703 the progress which the French were making among the Alabama and Talapoosa, and more especially the potential danger to the "Coweta" (Kawita) and Yamasee, revealed by the abortive Spanish-Apalachee attack of 1702, awakened anxiety among the Carolinians for the stability of their Indian system. A general movement northward of the tribes which composed the bulwark of the province seemed imminent. Measures to protect these Indians and to confirm them in the places in which they lived repeatedly engaged the attention of the government. It was at length determined, at the solicitation of the assembly, to despatch a force of a thousand friendly Indians and fifty whites under the recent governor, James Moore, to assist the Kawita by attacking the Spanish frontier province of Apalachee.³⁰ On January 14, 1704, Moore successfully stormed the first and strongest fort, at Ayubale. The invaders then captured one post after another until the rich province with its flourishing missions was almost completely ravaged and subdued. Besides many Indians killed in battle, or carried away as slaves, three hundred men and a thousand women and children who had submitted were persuaded to remove to the neighborhood of Savannah Town to strengthen the immediate frontier of South Carolina. By this energetic proceeding Moore destroyed the chief weapon upon which the Spanish and French had relied for offensive action against Carolina, before it could be made really effective. "Before this Expedition", Moore informed the proprietors, "we were more afraid of the Spaniards of Apalatchee and their Indians in Conjunction with the French of Mississippi, and their Indians doing us Harm by Land, than of any Forces of the Enemy by Sea. This has wholly disabled them from attempting anything against Us by Land".³¹

³⁰ Commons House Jour., January 14, 1702; January 15, 16, 19, 20; February 3; September 2, 3, 6, 7, 15, 17, 1703.

³¹ "Extracts of Colo. Moore's Letter to the Lords Proprietors, 16 April 1704", in Transcripts of Correspondence with Spanish Authorities, America, British

The immediate consequence of the new security against inland assault was an increased activity of the Carolinians on the Louisiana frontier. Already the Charles Town traders, with the aid of Moore's government, had undermined the weakest support of Iberville's structure of alliances, the friendly understanding with the Alabama Indians. It had early been recognized by the English that the amity of the tribes seated at the forks of the Alabama was essential to the western expansion of their trade; and between 1701 and 1703 efforts had been put forth to counteract the advantage enjoyed by the French in their control of the water-routes. An effect had soon been produced. In May, 1703, the French traders had been waylaid and murdered by the Alabama.³² The hostilities thus begun continued nine years. Punitive expeditions from Mobile accomplished little; somewhat more effective were the attacks of the French Indians spurred on by liberal offers of reward for scalps and captives.³³ Meanwhile the Alabama war greatly facilitated the work of the South Carolina traders, who, on the farthest frontier of the English colonies, advanced hand in hand their own profit and the political interests of their province.

From 1703 to 1715 the French policy was of necessity largely defensive. That this policy was successful in its main object, though not in detail—that the new establishment was enabled to survive the assaults of the Carolinians and their allies—was due primarily to the adroit Indian management of Iberville's brother and successor, Bienville. Through French youths whom he sent to live among the Indians behind Mobile, Bienville kept in touch with the rapidly shifting currents of Indian politics. By flattery, by "caresses", he made good in part the meagreness of French presents and the insufficiency of the French trade.³⁴ Yet from time to time Bienville's

Colonies, Library of Congress, VI. 888 *et seq.*; Moore to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, of same date, *ibid.*, p. 892, also printed in *Boston News-Letter*, April 24–May 1, 1704 (*Historical Digest of the Provincial Press, Massachusetts series*, I. 64–66). Cf. also Robert Quarry to Board of Trade, May 30, 1704, in *Cal. of State Pap., A. and W. I.*, 1704–1705, p. 145. Compare with the account, based on Spanish sources, in Shea, *Catholic Church in Col. Days*, pp. 461–463.

³² Commons House Jour., August 15, 29, 1701; January 14, 20, 1702; February 3, and April 17, 1703; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 3, 24 mai 1703, pp. 77, 79.

³³ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 22 décembre 1703, 18 novembre 1704, 21 janvier 1706, 21 février 1706, novembre 1707, pp. 82, 86, 95, 96, 103, 104. Péni-caut, Relation, in Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, V. 429–432, 435, 483.

³⁴ For an appreciation of Bienville's ability as an Indian diplomat see *Mémoire de Duclos*, 25 octobre 1713, in Archives Nationales, Colonies, C¹³ A 3, p. 265 *et seq.* References here and throughout are to Louisiana transcripts, Library of Congress. Cf. also Gravier [to Pontchartrain] [1706], Arch. Nat., Col., C¹³ A 1, p. 575.

skill was severely tested. The poverty of the colony played directly into the hands of its enemies. Funds set aside for Indian presents and trade had to be used for the maintenance of the garrisons. The building of the post promised to the Chickasaw in 1702, and impatiently demanded by the Indians, was postponed. In this juncture the English, by cultivating the Chickasaw seated among the upper Creeks, and by liberal presents to their kinsmen, were imperilling the central object of the French policy, the pacification of the southwestern tribes. In 1705 hostilities occurred between the Chickasaw and the Choctaw, and in 1706 the patched-up truce was definitely broken.³⁵ Though the French for a number of years retained a party among the Chickasaw, the English re-established their control over the majority of the nation. The Chickasaw and their neighbors the Yazoo were added to the Talapoosa, the Alabama, and the other tribes which the English had been using with disastrous effect in their assaults upon the allies of the French. In the autumn of 1705, for instance, the Choctaw had been raided by three or four thousand Carolina Indians, headed by several Englishmen, their villages and fields ravaged, and many prisoners carried away. Among the weaker tribes a veritable reign of terror was now instituted. The Tohome and Mobilians north of Mobile were exposed to constant attack. In 1706 the Taensa and Tunica were compelled to remove nearer the mouth of the Mississippi.³⁶ A climax in the English offensive was reached in 1707-1708 when Pensacola town was burned, and an elaborate intrigue was set in motion for the destruction of Mobile and Louisiana.

The reduction of the Florida Indians after the Apalachee expedition had been even more thorough than the harrying of the allies of the French. The remnants of the Apalachee, with the Tawasa and the Chatta, were forced by the Creeks to flee to the protection of Mobile. In peninsular Florida only the walls of St. Augustine furnished security against the attacks of the English and their Indians.³⁷ These now made so bold as to press their slave-catching raids as far into the interior as the "broken land" of the Ever-

³⁵ Arch. Nat., Col., C¹³ A 1, pp. 387-396, 523, 575; A 2, p. 574; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 8 octobre 1704, 1 février 1705, 10 avril 1705, 9 décembre 1705, 5 mars 1706, pp. 85, 89, 91, 96; Commons House Jour., February 3, 1703.

³⁶ Arch. Nat., Col., C¹³ A 1, p. 509; A 2, pp. 95, 396, 407. La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, janvier 1706, 25 août 1706, 20 octobre 1706, pp. 95, 97-98, 100-101; Pénicaut, Relation, in Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, V. 483.

³⁷ La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 22 juillet 1704, p. 84; Pénicaut, Relation, in Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, V. 457, 460, 486. [Nairne?], *Letter from South Carolina* (London, 1710), p. 33; Mitchell, *Map of North America* (1755): "Timooquas destroy'd by the Carolinians in 1706".

glades.³⁸ Close to the Louisiana frontier the isolated outpost of Pensacola invited attack. In the summer of 1707 Pensacola town was destroyed in a surprise assault by a body of Talapoosa under English leaders, and the fort itself just escaped capture. In November Pensacola was again invested, but the siege was raised when Bienville, with characteristic promptness, headed a party of French and Indians for its relief.³⁹

In 1707 the Carolinians were aiming at a more difficult prize than Pensacola, and one more essential to their ultimate object—at Mobile, the key to the control of the eastern Gulf region and the lower Mississippi. The programme adopted by the assembly was conceived by Thomas Welch, the veteran Chickasaw trader, and by Thomas Nairne, the first official Indian agent of the province.⁴⁰ In the autumn of 1707 both Nairne and Welch urged that an attempt be made to win over the French Indians, particularly the Choctaw, as a preliminary to an attack on Mobile.⁴¹ In the assembly the proposal found support as the most practicable method to remove the French, an object regarded as “of absolute necessity”, especially since the Spanish-French sea-attack on Charles Town in 1706. Plans for an expedition to fall upon the French from the Talapoosa were made contingent upon the success of Nairne and Welch in seducing the western Indians.⁴² In the spring Nairne “ventured his life and made a peace with the Choctaws”; while Welch summoned a council at the Yazoo of the chief river tribes—Arkansas, Tourima, Taensa, Natchez, and Koroa—with similar results. Unfortunately for the larger English design, their further proposals for

³⁸ Moll, *New Map of the North Parts of America* (1720) shows the route of “an Expedition in Florida Neck, by Thirty-three Iamsee Indians Accompany'd by Capt. T. Nairn” which may have reached Lake Okechobee. Cf. also Nairne, *doc. cit. supra*, note 3.

³⁹ Arch. Nat., Col., C¹³ A 2, pp. 95–99; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, 25 août 1707, 16, 24 novembre 1707, pp. 103–104.

⁴⁰ When, after long agitation, an act was finally passed, in 1707, to regulate the abuses of the Indian trade (*Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, ed. Cooper, II. 309), the agent chosen by the assembly to control the traders and to negotiate with the Indians was a gentleman from Colleton County, on the southern border of the province, whose frontier interests, stimulated by service in the Florida campaigns, and by long experience among the Yamasee, qualified him, in peculiar degree, to continue the work of Blake and Moore. He was a leader of the popular party in the assembly in the controversy with the governor over the appointment of the public receiver (1707), and in the parallel struggle for a regulation of the Indian trade under exclusive control of the assembly through its commissioners; probably the author of the Indian act of 1707. Commons House Jour., 1702–1707 *passim*.

⁴¹ Commons House Jour., October 23, 28, November 1, 22, 1707.

⁴² *Ibid.*, November 8, 20, 1707. Nairne, *doc. cit.*

(1) assistance or neutrality in an attack on Mobile, and (2) the removal of the tribes which formed the bulwark of the French colony to the Tennessee river, in order to divert the fur-trade of the upper Mississippi to Carolina, were rejected. This partial failure of the English diplomacy (a failure which precluded an assault on Mobile) was mainly due to the energy and adroitness of Bienville, who had taken prompt measures to counteract the influence on the western Indians of English presents and arguments.⁴³

After this defeat Nairne set to work to create the necessary condition for the success of future efforts to extend "the English American empire" in the southwest—the education of the English colonial authorities in the strategy of the southern frontier. Hitherto the home government was not only without a policy for the southern frontier, but without the data upon which to construct a policy. In 1708, in a notable memorial which he accompanied by a map of the country from Virginia to the mouth of the Mississippi,⁴⁴ Nairne urged that in the expected treaty of peace due weight be given to the western claims of Carolina, based upon her ancient trade with the Indians behind Mobile. The advantages to be expected from planting a new English colony in the south or southwest he discussed in the spacious tone of a frontiersman who had "had a personall view of most of those parts". His most practical counsel was to the effect that the French design in the west could be checked "only by trading and other management"; and "that this province being a frontier, both against the French and Span'd, ought not to be Neglected".

It was not until a destructive Indian war had imperilled the results of three decades of expansion, that Nairne's arguments, repeated by others, won the ear of the home government. In the meantime Nairne, a dissenter, whose administration of the Indian act had brought him into conflict with Sir Nathaniel Johnson, had been disgraced and driven from office by the governor and the Church party.⁴⁵ For several years thereafter the frontier policy of the provincial government lacked the aggressive and imaginative qualities which Nairne, like Blake and Moore before him, had imparted to it. Under the combined strain of maladroitness, management,

⁴³ Nairne, *doc. cit.*; Arch. Nat., Col., C13 A 2, p. 168 *et seq.*, 177, 328–329, 341–348; P. de Charlevoix, *Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), IV. 41–42.

⁴⁴ Nairne, *doc. cit.*; Crisp, *Map of South Carolina* [1711?], Library of Congress, has an inset based upon Nairne's 1708 map.

⁴⁵ Commons House Jour., November, December, 1708 *et passim*. Cf. also *Coll. S. C. Hist. Soc.*, I. 202.

the licentious conduct of the traders, and the skillful diplomacy of Bienville, the South Carolina Indian system was beginning to show ominous signs of weakness. The first break occurred in 1712, when the French succeeded in making peace with the Alabama Indians.⁴⁶ But the Carolinians, alarmed by the "aparant danger . . . from the conjunction of . . . the Choctaws and Chickisaws",⁴⁷ had already resumed their western offensive. Although the province was engaged at the time in helping to suppress the troublesome Tuscarora rising in North Carolina, energy remained for an effective prosecution of the Indian trade and for a vigorous renewal of the partizan warfare which was the characteristic method of the Carolinian advance. With the reopening of the Choctaw-Chickasaw feud in 1711, the assembly equipped an expedition of thirteen hundred Creek Indians, under Captain Theophilus Hastings, which marched through the Choctaw country, burning, killing, taking prisoners. A smaller force of Chickasaw, under Welch, joined this assault on their old enemies, now the main support of the French colony.⁴⁸ The year was one of achievement for the frontier forces of Carolina. John Barnwell, reporting the success of his North Carolina expedition, in February, 1712, congratulated Governor Craven on the "hon'r and Glory of virtuous South Carolina whose armies are the same winter gathering Laurells from the Cape Florida and from the Bay of Spiritta Sancta even to the Borders of Virginia".⁴⁹

The hope voiced by Nairne in 1708 that in the terms of peace "the English American empire" in the southwest might "not be unreasonably Crampt up" was not disappointed in 1713. To be sure, the southern frontier was not specifically mentioned in the treaties of Utrecht; but the lack of defined boundaries made it possible for the English colonists to continue to assert their old inclusive claims, based on the charter and on the Indian trade. The French, at all events, found the Carolinians quite as uncomfortable neighbors in peace as in war. In vain La Mothe Cadillac invited Governor Craven to co-operate in establishing a general peace among the southern Indians, English and French alike; to withdraw his traders from the nations which had traded first with the French; and to comply with the spirit of the peace by preventing

⁴⁶ Arch. Nat., Col., C¹³ A 2, p. 576; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, mars 1712, p. 110; Indian Commissioners' Journals (MSS., Columbia, S. C.), July 9, 1712. Nairne charged that the mismanagement of his successor was "the true cause of the Albasmas deserting to Mobile". *Ibid.*, August 18, 1713.

⁴⁷ Commons House Jour., June 21, 1711.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, June 21, 22, 1711; May 24, 1712.

⁴⁹ *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, IX. 36.

those traders from instigating slave-catching raids among the French allies.⁵⁰ After 1713 there was no longer question of an attack on Mobile, but in the field of Indian politics and in partizan warfare the two years ending in 1715 marked the climax of the first English effort to displace the French in the Mississippi Valley.

Nairne had been restored to the principal Indian agency in 1712, and had promptly won the praise of the Indian commissioners for "capacity and diligence" displayed in negotiations with the western Indians. In 1713 he sent goods among the Choctaw, seeking to renew the relations he had established in 1707 with this all-important tribe.⁵¹ It was another than Nairne, however, who was made active director of the new enterprise for the conversion of all the southern Indians to the English trade and alliance. This semi-official Indian diplomat was a certain Price Hughes, Esq., "an English Gent., who had a particular fancy of rambling among the Indians"—such was the character given him by Spotswood of Virginia. By testimony of Cadillac, "il etoit ingénieur, et géographe"; and, moreover, "homme d'esprit".⁵² In 1713 and 1714-1715 he was encouraged by the provincial government to undertake highly important missions among the western tribes. His commission from Governor Craven set forth the sweeping claims of Blake and Moore and Nairne to the Mississippi, and to the country westward as far as the Spanish settlements. As a result of his efforts, in co-operation with the traders, new factories were established; a firmer league was formed with the Chickasaw; and even the Choctaw (with the exception of two loyal villages which fled to Mobile) were persuaded to desert the French alliance. Of the Mississippi River Indians, the Yazoo had long inclined toward the English; and now the Natchez as well admitted Carolina traders to their villages, and joined in raids on the weaker tribes down-stream. While the Cherokee were endeavoring to convert the Illinois to the English trade, Hughes and the Carolinians on the Mississippi were intriguing with the French *voyageurs* to the same purpose. Had Hughes succeeded in his further measures, there was a real prospect that the highway of trade and communication between Canada and Louisiana would be closed. The French authorities were informed that this enterprising "mylord Anglais" planned to visit the tribes of the Red River, and then to descend to the mouth of the

⁵⁰ Arch. Nat., Col., C13 A 3, pp. 489-492, 530.

⁵¹ Indian Comm. Jour., June 10, 1712, July 17, 1713; Commons House Jour., November 27, 1712, December 18, 1713.

⁵² *Virginia Historical Society Collections, Spotswood Letters* (1882), II. 331; Arch. Nat., Col., C13 A 4, pp. 521-522.

Mississippi, hoping to win, by presents and trade (the potent instruments of English expansion), the friendship of the Huma, the Bayougoula, the Chawasha, and the Acolapissa.⁵³

At precisely that juncture, in 1715, when the Carolina Indian system had reached its farthest extension, the ambitious structure of alliances suddenly crumbled; and in the crash which followed the province itself narrowly escaped destruction. The arrest of Hughes at Manchac by the French, his release, and his murder in the woods between Pensacola and the upper Creek country,⁵⁴ occurred simultaneously with the outbreak of the Yamasee-Creek rising—one of the most dangerous Indian attacks sustained by any of the English colonies. The Carolinians naturally saw a connection between the collapse of their western project (precipitated by the watchful activity of Bienville) and the greater calamity which spread massacre and destruction from the plantations on the Stono and the Santee to the trading factories among the distant Chickasaw; they believed that the French and the Spaniards were the instigators of the Indian war.⁵⁵ In reality the disaster was largely, if not solely, due to the long accumulating evils of an ill-regulated Indian trade.⁵⁶ But the Spanish and the French were not slow to take advantage of their neighbors' extremity. When, after two anxious years, the attacks on the settlements had been suppressed, the wavering Cherokee secured in their allegiance, communication reopened with the loyal Chickasaw, and an uncertain peace concluded with the Creeks, the situation on the southern frontier had been seriously altered in a sense unfavorable to English ambitions.

⁵³ Indian Comm. Jour., August 19, November 18, 30, 1713; Commons House Jour., June 4, 7, 8, 12, December 16, 1714; Arch. Nat., Col., C13 A 3, pp. 491-492, 518-522, 827-828; A 4, pp. 237, 522; Bibl. Nat., MSS. Fr., Nouv. Acquis., vol. 9301, f. 300-300 vo.; La Harpe, *Journal Historique*, avril 1714, 1715, pp. 115, 117 *passim*; Richebourg, *Mémoire*, in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, III. 241; Pénicaut, *Relation*, in Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, V. 507, 519; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XVI. 303, 318-319; anon. map ca. 1720, *supra*, note 11.

⁵⁴ Arch. Nat., Col., C13 A 3, pp. 827-832; Arch. Nat., Marine, B1, vol. IX., pp. 271-272.

⁵⁵ Bd. of Trade Jour., July 16, 1715; Bd. of Trade Pap., Proprieties, X. (now C. O. 5: 1265), Q: 72, Q: 95, Q: 97.

⁵⁶ The Indian Comm. Jour. were filled with complaints of the conduct of the traders in abusing and cheating the Indians. Trading without license, enslaving free Indians, sale of rum, sale of goods on credit, were practices which the commissioners and agents sought vainly to reform, and which contributed to the revolt. Cf. preamble to Indian act of March 20, 1719, in *Stat. at Large of S. C.*, II. 91; "History of the Dividing Line", *Writings of Col. William Byrd* (New York, 1901), ed. J. S. Bassett, p. 239; Bd. of Trade Pap., Proprieties, X. (C. O. 5: 1265), Q: 51.

With the desertion of the Yamasee to Florida, and the removal of the lower Creeks from the upper waters of the Altamaha to the Chattahoochee, the Spaniards, from negligible rivals, had become formidable contenders for the alliance of the Creek Indians. The French, moreover, had recovered their control of the Mississippi River tribes, and by planting Alabama Fort (Fort Toulouse) at the forks of the Alabama River, had secured the most valuable strategic position in the southern Indian country.

In one important respect, however, the position of South Carolina as the southern frontier of the English colonies was markedly improved as a result of the Indian war. The English colonial authorities had at length been forced to recognize the existence of an imperial problem in that quarter of America with which the proprietary government had been unable to cope. By slow degrees, as control of the province passed to the crown, the point of view developed by Blake and Moore and Nairne, and now set forth by the Carolina agents—that South Carolina was “a Barrier and might be made a Bulwark to all his Majesties Colonys on the South West part of the Continent”⁵⁷—was impressed upon the Board of Trade and the Privy Council. The first concrete result of outstanding importance—the culmination of a series of efforts to strengthen the southern frontier against the French as well as the Spanish—was the establishment of the march colony of Georgia.

By 1733 it had become axiomatic that the crux of the inter-colonial contest in America was the control of the Mississippi Valley, a theorem first demonstrated on the southern frontier in Queen Anne's War.

VERNER W. CRANE

⁵⁷ Boone and Berrisford, “Memorial to the Board of Trade on the importance of securing Carolina” (read June 23, 1716). Bd. of Trade Pap., Proprieties, X. (C. O. 5: 1265), Q: 76.

DIVERGING TENDENCIES IN NEW YORK DEMOCRACY IN THE PERIOD OF THE LOCOFOCOS¹

DIFFERING conceptions of democracy were expressed in two speeches which were made in the Congress of the United States in 1836 by Democratic members of the delegation from New York. The one was by Mr. Ely Moore, Tammany representative of the labor element in the city of New York.² The occasion of his speech arose in a debate over a "preparedness" measure for governmental manufacture of munitions, in the course of which Mr. Thompson of South Carolina asserted that working-men of the North might "rob by lawless insurrection, or by the equally terrible process of the ballot box". Moore, replying, observed that Thompson's assertion was based finally upon the theory of government by a minority. He deprecated raising the caste question, yet thought that raising it might "serve to establish more distinctly, and more permanently, the landmarks which distinguish the two great political parties of this country—the democracy and the aristocracy". "The line which separates the friends and enemies of equal rights", he continued, "is broad and distinct", and these classes are "utterly and eternally incompatible and antagonistical".

The people [whom he identified with the laboring classes] are neither so unwise nor so unreasonable as to either expect or desire a perfect equality of wealth. . . . The people, the democracy, contend for no measure that does not hold out to individual enterprise proper motives for exertion. All they ask is that the great principle upon which the Government is founded, the principle of equal rights, should be faithfully observed and carried out, to the exclusion of all exclusive privileges.

¹ This article is collated from a more extensive study, now in manuscript, on the history of the Locofoco party. The latter had its inception a number of years ago in a seminar of Professor Frederick J. Turner, who has continued to evince helpful interest.

² Moore, a native of New Jersey and a printer by trade, had been the first president of the New York General Trades' Union and also of the National Trades' Union. *Biographical Congressional Directory*, p. 701; Commons *et al.*, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (1910), V. 204. He was impressive in person and had oratorical power. John Quincy Adams in a vivid, though not wholly favorable description, styles him "the prince of working-men". *Memoirs*, IX. 405. See also "Glances at Congress", *Democratic Review* (1837), I. 68-81.

He defended also the formation of labor unions (a cause of alarm to many people) as "counterpoises against capital, whenever it shall attempt to exert an unlawful or undue influence".³ This speech made an unusual impression, especially upon members from the South.⁴

Another set of interests appears in the speech of Senator Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, which was delivered in the Senate on June 17, 1836. In explaining a variance with his colleague, Silas Wright, concerning a Bill to Regulate the Deposits of the Public Money, Mr. Tallmadge took occasion to set forth his views upon current conceptions of capitalism as embodied in the phrase, "the credit system"; though he did not specify precisely what was meant by the phrase. Prosperity, he first asserted, was the criterion of the system. He then proceeded to a justification of it as vitally related to liberty—but to a defined liberty:

The credit system [he declared] is the distinguishing feature between despotism and liberty; it is the offspring of free institutions; it is found to exist, and its influence is felt, in proportion to the freedom enjoyed by any people. By freedom I do not mean unregulated, unrestrained, natural liberty, but that freedom which is founded on just and equitable laws, where the rights of personal security, of private property, and religious toleration, are guaranteed to every individual; where there is a general diffusion of knowledge and the existence of public and private morality.⁵

³ *Reg. of Debates in Congress*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 3428-3439.

⁴ "A thundering Jack Cade or Wat Tyler speech", J. Q. Adams, *op. cit.* "The whole House was excited at the novelty and boldness of his democratic doctrines, not less [than] at the extraordinary manner in which he had turned aside from the current of debate, and struck fearlessly forward into a field to which few orators had before ventured to lead the attention of that body. I overheard some gentlemen from the south say, that they thought they heard the high priest of revolution singing his war song." *Democratic Review*, I. 74-76. The last sentence gains significance in the light of the great change in political theory which was at this time taking place in the South; see W. E. Dodd, "The Social Philosophy of the Old South", *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIII. 735-746.

⁵ *Cong. Globe*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., app., pp. 469-470. The relations between Tallmadge and Wright ceased to be amicable in the following winter. The latter confidentially wrote to Flagg that Tallmadge on the basis of growing differences in political matters had both affronted him publicly and had sought advantage in underhanded ways. Wright to Flagg, January 9, 1837, Flagg Correspondence, New York Public Library. In February the re-election of Wright as senator was openly or secretly opposed at Albany by individuals who sympathized with Tallmadge's views. William L. Marcy to Gen. Prosper M. Wetmore, July 20, 1837, Marcy Papers, vol. XXVIII, Library of Congress. Wright, it will be recalled, was one of the leading members of the Regency. His re-election, according to Greeley, was acceptable to the Locofocos. *The New Yorker*, February 11, 1837, p. 332.

Moore and Tallmadge were representative of two groups within the Democratic-Republican party of New York which were revealing divergent tendencies. While both groups had affiliations over the state and their antagonisms finally forced the prevailing agrarian Democracy of the state to a choice of sides, yet it was in the city that they most spontaneously developed. They reflected in fact new conditions of urbanization and industrialism which were obtaining in the rapidly growing city at the mouth of the Hudson, where massing of population, a new capitalistic domination of industry, and the emergence of a proletariat were raising imperative questions as to modes of artificial subsistence, methods of gratifying the aspirations and meeting the responsibilities of entrepreneurs, and measures of defense on the part of working-men.⁶ These problems were rendered the more pressing because of the crude and inordinate expansion of credit which was a marked feature of the finance of the period, and they were manifested concretely in conflicts over currency and banking. Abstract discussion, moreover, proceeded further to inquire into the nature of democratic society, and deep-lying antagonisms relative to the control of government were being generated. New York City, therefore, was becoming an important centre for the initiation and promulgation of political opinion.

For a decade prior to 1837 the formulation of a body of radical belief had been going on. The incitements of manhood suffrage, economic pressure upon fixed-income classes, preachments of agitators and social theorists, and the general democratic movement of the age were factors in the process of declaring afresh the principles of idealistic democracy and of applying these in concrete statements to new conditions. Working-men in particular had been in constant ferment. Burdened by rapid rise in the cost of living, remote from refuge in the public lands, and under pressure from the new "merchant-capitalism", they had plunged in 1828-1830 into a short-lived, but intense, political movement and were now in the middle thirties devoting themselves to the organization of labor unions.⁷ The working-men's activities had direct bearings upon

⁶ The population in 1835 according to a special census was 269,873. There were 5 cotton factories, 11 iron works, 9 tanneries, and 19 breweries and distilleries. *New York Times*, November 2, 1835. Organized trades alone in 1834 had in New York and Brooklyn a membership of 11,500 working-men. *Doc. Hist. of Amer. Industrial Soc.*, VI. 191. There were in the former city 43,091 voters in 1835. J. J. Lalor, *Cyclopedia of Political Science*, III. 853. This massing of voters, unequalled elsewhere in the United States, was politically potential.

⁷ J. R. Commons *et al.*, *History of Labour in the United States*, I. 231-284, 335-469.

two groups which at this time represented political radicalism in the city. These were a progressive minority within Tammany and the Locofoco party.⁸

A large portion of the progressives refused to leave the regular organization when the Locofoco mutiny occurred in the fall of 1835, and this element repeatedly showed its influence in the Young Men's General Committee of Tammany.⁹ Prominent among the progressives were Ely Moore, mentioned above, the first representative of labor in the Congress of the United States; Churchill C. Cambreleng, veteran congressman and "chancellor" of Van Buren;¹⁰ and William Leggett, associate editor of the *Evening Post*, later, editor of the *Plain Dealer*. William Cullen Bryant, the editor of the *Post*, was judiciously sympathetic with the progressive movement and gave it consistent support, and this journal was its recognized organ.

Leggett, however, was the chief inspirer of the movement. He was a prophet of idealistic democracy, who, *inter alia*, believed in extending women's rights, advocated freedom of speech for abolitionists, and championed passionately the doctrines of liberty and equality. During an absence of Bryant in Europe in 1835, Leggett was in charge of the *Post*, and his editorials were eagerly read and had a powerful influence. A writer in the *Democratic Review* in 1840 asserted that they tended to divide the party which in 1835 bore the name of Democratic into two camps: in the one were the Democrats who were interested in banking, the timid, and "the friends of whatever is established"; in the other were "the Demo-

⁸ The precise connection between Locofocoism and the labor movement is difficult to determine. That there was agreement in body of doctrine is evident, and it is likewise apparent that a number of labor union men were earnest Locofoco partisans. But, on the other hand, the fact that there were in the state certainly upwards of eleven thousand union men, while the Locofoco vote never equalled half that number, shows that a majority of the labor men did not support the party. A comparison of leaders is even more decisive. A somewhat careful enumeration of the persons mentioned by the Locofoco secretary, Byrdsall, as connected with the movement totals 145 names. This list includes all of the leaders and important men, and also most of the ward committeemen. Now, of the 145 only twenty-three are found in the searching index to the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, and not more than half of these are of more than incidental importance. In fact, only three of the leaders in the labor union movement were clearly important in the Locofoco party; these were Comerford, Slamm, and Townsend.

⁹ Notice actions of the committee, *post*, pp. 407 and 412.

¹⁰ Thus the *Times* (July 3, 1837), phrased its estimate of Cambreleng's relation to Van Buren. Cambreleng served in every Congress from the seventeenth to the twenty-fifth, inclusive. In the latter he was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. For a sketch of him see the *Democratic Rev.* (1839), VI. 144-158.

crats of stricter notions, the friends of reform, and the mass of the young men".¹¹ There was an incisiveness in this young editor's thought, a penetrating quality to his utterances which aroused and urged on his disciples and brought upon him vehement hatred of opponents. Even so cool-headed a statesman as Marcy called him crack-brained and knavish, the Peter the Hermit of a new crusade;¹² and the banking element was furious when he advocated that the Democratic party should advance beyond its warfare upon the United States bank to attack the special privileges of the state banks. On the other hand, Leggett's friends and followers gave to him an almost adoring admiration—a feeling reflected, on his death in 1839, in the well-known tribute which Bryant wrote,

. . . when the death-frost came to lie,
On Leggett's warm and mighty heart.

A more measured estimate of his character, which was made by Bryant after the lapse of many years, may be taken as fairly accurate:

He was fond of study, and delighted to trace principles to their remotest consequences, whither he was always ready to follow them. The quality of courage existed in him almost to excess, and he took a sort of pleasure in bearding public opinion. He wrote with surprising fluency, and often with eloquence, took broad views of the questions that came before him, and possessed the faculty of rapidly arranging the arguments which occurred to him, in clear order, and stating them persuasively.¹³

Though the more militant portion of the radicals acknowledged the inspiration which they received from Leggett, they nevertheless refused to heed his counsel to seek betterment of conditions from within the party, and turned resolutely to the formation of a thorough-going party of reform. The Equal Rights or Locofoco party which this faction organized, though it proved insignificant in number of adherents and in duration of existence, nevertheless has a distinct place in American political history. More uncompromisingly, perhaps, than any other of our third-party movements of protest, this represented the humanitarian view of democracy. The dominating and ever-present idea in the creed of the Locofocos was

¹¹ *Democratic Rev.*, VI. 23.

¹² Marcy to Wetmore, July 12, 1837, and January 16, 1837. Marcy Papers, vol. III.

¹³ "Reminiscences of the Evening Post", in John Bigelow's *William Cullen Bryant* (1890), app., p. 327. For an appreciative biographical notice of Leggett, see the *Democratic Rev.*, VI. 17-28.

the equality of human beings in their political relations. This equality, the Locofocos felt, was in peril from the "credit system" and its sponsors, and therefore they vehemently fought banks and "paper capitalism" as the money monopoly of their time. Monopoly of any sort, in fact, was abhorrent in their eyes. They looked upon special privileges as incompatible with democracy and claimed that constitutional government in its very essence forbade the vesting of rights in perpetuity. They were tremendously in earnest, and their utterances had carrying power. Even at the time there were observers who thought that they saw in the diminutive party potentialities for the future.¹⁴ It was in reality a nascent proletarian party, while the Democratic party of the time was essentially agrarian and the Whig commercial and capitalistic. It gathered up in a series of declarations and constitutions the formulations of the radical democracy which had been worked out in the previous decade and disseminated them.¹⁵ At a time when the South, turning its back upon Jeffersonian philosophy, was committing itself to the doctrines of social articulation and class dominance,¹⁶ and sympathizers with aristocracy were not wanting in the North,¹⁷ the Locofoco party boldly reasserted the principles of the social compact and of the Declaration of Independence, and zealously proclaimed anew the tenets of ultra-idealistic democracy.

The perception by the Locofocos of the social and political divergences of the time was expressed in one of their statements as follows:

There are two opinions abroad in the world, on the subject of social relations and the government of man. . . .

The theory of the one party is, that man, by reason of his ignorance, and of his corrupt nature, is not capable of self-government. . . . They assert that the Creator in his providence has produced a different order of intelligence among men, and intended that the most intelligent should be the governors and rulers, as well as the owners, and live by the labor of the other portions of the human family. . . .

¹⁴ Cf. Theodore Sedgwick, jr., in the *Plain Dealer*, June 10, 1837: "that most valuable vanguard of the Democrattick host, the Equal Rights Party". "The workingmen's party and the equal rights party have operated as causes producing effects that will shape the course of the two great parties of the United States and consequently the destinies of this great republic." Quoted by J. D. Hammond in *A History of Political Parties in the State of New-York* (Albany, 1842), II. 503.

¹⁵ "Resolutions" of October 29, 1835; "Declaration of Principles" by the County Convention, February 9, 1836; "Declaration of Rights", September 15, 1836; "Proposed Constitution", September 11, 1837. F. Byrdsall, *History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party* (New York, 1842), pp. 27, 39, 68, 163-167.

¹⁶ W. E. Dodd in the *Am. Jour. of Sociology*, XXIII. 735-746.

¹⁷ A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1904), I. 182-184.

The other theory referred to, is that man is a rational and moral being, "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." That by nature he is also a social being, and that on entering into society he does not give up any of his natural rights, but to secure those rights in their fullest enjoyment, "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." . . .

The governments of these United States were founded on the latter theory, and it is now to be proved by after experience, whether it is capable of being carried out in practice.¹⁸

In contrast to the idealism of the Locofocos and their sympathizers were the maxims of practical, sensible, efficient democracy which were adhered to by the conservative Republicans. A general view of the ideas of the latter may be had from excerpts from the *New York Times*, which was the organ of the group. Democracy was held by the *Times* to be "something more than a crusade against this or that evil".¹⁹ Genuine democracy is not for one class alone, but "looks to the situation and happiness of all, rich and poor alike". It is not visionary, aiming at unattainable perfection; but "has regard for the expedient and the useful, and binds the country together by ties of interest".²⁰ An orderly social life must obtain in a democracy, and landmarks of property and of interest must be established and maintained in accordance with the experience and good sense of the people.²¹ There must be, moreover, certain principles and usages by the observance of which democracy becomes disciplined,²² and these are to be administered by the wise, the intelligent, and the virtuous, in order to overcome the levelling tendencies of anarchists. The credit system is intimately connected with democracy, because the former is founded finally "upon moral capital—made up of skill, capacity, perseverance, integrity and enterprise".²³

He who would seek to understand the political struggles of the thirties needs some comprehension of the credit system, since it was regarded as central to the strategy of both of the contending divi-

¹⁸ Byrdsall, *Loco-Foco Party*, p. 72.

¹⁹ *N. Y. Times*, November 18, 1837.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, October 7, 1837.

²¹ *Ibid.*; also quotation from the *Washington Globe*, in Byrdsall, pp. 18, 19.

²² *N. Y. Times*, November 3, 1835.

²³ Letter from Hugh S. Legaré of South Carolina, *ibid.*, August 22, 1838. Letters from Legaré appeared occasionally in the *Times*, and these were in accord with its political and social principles. It is interesting to note the affiliations of the New York conservatives with some of the statesmen of the South. These affiliations are especially clear with Virginia leaders; Rives, one of the latter, was working closely with Tallmadge.

sions of the Democracy. This system may be defined as the means by which capital is brought under the control of entrepreneurs.²⁴ Men of the entrepreneur type, it may be said, dominated the democratic organization of New York City in the early thirties. They were men who somehow had to procure means for financing enterprises and for developing resources over a constantly widening area; for this was a time of rapidly enlarging markets and of increasing diversification of wants.²⁵ There was urgent need of greater facilities for exchange transactions²⁶—a need which could be met only through credit operations since the scarcity of specie practically restricted the use of gold and silver to the function of a standard of values.²⁷ Increased banking facilities were therefore requisite for expansion of currency, and banks were indispensable instrumentalities of the system. Confidence and prosperity were always concomitants of its right working.²⁸ The *raison d'être* of the system was the production of wealth, the acquisition of property, and the investiture of property with legal title. If its advocates might have disclaimed a belief that government exists primarily for human beings with property, they nevertheless insisted that business operations and the validation of property rights are a main concern of government.²⁹

The upholders of the credit system and of the traditions of conservative democracy, "the old Patriarchs and firm Friends of the ancient organization and tried usages of the Democratic-Republican party", as they described themselves,³⁰ formed a very numerous and very influential element in New York City in 1837.³¹ Among

²⁴ E. D. Howard, *Cause and Extent of the Recent Industrial Progress of Germany* (1907), pp. 25-26; quoted in F. A. Ogg's *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, p. 220.

²⁵ There is a suggestive comment on the far-ramifying changes which were taking place in industry, in a report by Levi Woodbury, secretary of the treasury. *Cong. Globe*, 26 Cong., 2 sess., p. 7. See also discussion by Professor Commons and Helen L. Sumner, *Doc. Hist.*, V. 19-37.

²⁶ This matter was ably treated in a speech of Webster, *Cong. Globe*, 25 Cong., 2 sess., app., pp. 632-641.

²⁷ Legaré, *ubi supra*, note 23.

²⁸ *N. Y. Times*, June 22, 1836.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, August 17, 1837. The *Times* even asserted that if titles to the public lands were alienated for considerations other than property, then "the covetous will attack all property".

³⁰ Thus in an address to Van Buren, September 27, 1837. Van Buren Papers, vol. XXIX., Library of Congress.

³¹ There were nearly seven hundred signers of a letter to Tallmadge endorsing his stand, "including a majority of the Old Men's General Committee (over two-thirds), and seventy-odd Democrats, directors in banks, insurance and railroad companies". Byrdsall, *Loco-Foco Party*, p. 158. Practically the same number later signed the address to Van Buren.

the foremost in zeal and masterfulness was Gideon Lee, a typical "merchant-capitalist" and an ex-mayor, who was now a member of Congress and reputed to be part owner of the *Times*.³² No one was so hated by the Locofocos as was he. Others of the leaders were Samuel Swartwout (of subsequent unsavory fame), Daniel Jackson, Benjamin Birdsall, and Prosper M. Wetmore. It is worth while remarking, in passing, that Governor Marcy was in constant and intimate correspondence with the last-named gentleman during the summer of 1837. The members of this group had grown up within the Democratic organization, many of them doubtless like Lee from obscurity and poverty. Their democracy and their interests had coincided in enthusiastic support of the Jacksonian assault upon the "monster monopoly" whose headquarters were at Philadelphia; but to their minds an attack upon banking in general and the state system in particular was a menace to their own welfare, the rights of property, and the good order of society. Their views were shared by a large portion of the Democratic-Republicans of the state,³³ and it was this wing of the party which Senator Tallmadge essayed to lead.³⁴

Between the two extremes represented on the one hand by Tallmadge and the old patriarchs of Tammany and on the other by the Locofocos was the body of the Democratic-Republican party of the state under the able leadership of Marcy and the other members of the Regency.³⁵ It is a mistake to conceive of the men of the

³² Lee was a native of Amherst, Mass., who came to New York in 1808. Engaging in the wholesale leather trade, he became one of the leading business men of the city. He and his associates were closely identified with banks and insurance companies. Biographical accounts may be found in Hunt's *Merchants' Magazine*, VIII. 57-64, and in F. W. Norcross, *A History of the New York Swamp*, pp. 51-57. See also *Cong. Globe*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., app., pp. 19-20.

³³ Conservative leanings were particularly noticeable at Albany in the activities of Beardsley, the attorney general, and of Dr. Wendell, chairman of the Albany General Committee.

³⁴ Tallmadge himself was interested in the Dutchess County Bank. He wrote to Flagg urging the support of "our friends" to make it a deposit bank. Tallmadge to Flagg, September 26, 1836. Flagg Correspondence, New York Public Library.

³⁵ The Regency group included at this time (besides Van Buren, Marcy, and Wright) Butler, attorney general of the United States; Dix, secretary of the state; Flagg, comptroller (a very important officer); Knowler, a banker and father-in-law of Marcy; and Crosswell, the veteran editor of the *Albany Argus*. An interesting suggestion of the inner relations of the group is afforded by a letter from Wright to Flagg, January 9, 1837, Flagg Correspondence. Wright wrote, "You as the senior member of the Regency, have the prior right to all public and important communications to that body, which, of course, are private and confidential as to all the rest of the world."

Regency as mere machine politicians. They were consummate politicians; but they were also men of integrity and broad-minded patriotism, and some of the group showed statesmanship of unusual merit.³⁶ These keen-sighted and experienced leaders perceived as clearly as any Locofoco the evils and dangers of the banking situation and in constructive fashion were trying to remedy them. The Safety Fund banking system of New York, which had been developed largely under the leadership of members of the Regency, though it needed the elimination of monopolistic features which had survived from an earlier period, contained the elements of a sound system, and these capable financiers were seeking to democratize it and at the same time to retain its elements of stability.³⁷

The laborious and well-controlled processes of progressive democratic evolution were cut short, however, by the financial cataclysm of the spring of 1837. Under stress of calamity the views of men who were seeking escape grew more intense and distinct, and the financial crisis urged on decisive political alignment.

One of the first steps was taken by a meeting of New York merchants who prepared an address to President Van Buren and appointed a committee to confer with him at Washington. This committee returned unsatisfied and displeased and proceeded to

³⁶ Notably, Van Buren, Wright, Dix, and Marcy. For an estimate of the last, see "A Great Secretary of State", by J. B. Moore, *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1915, pp. 377-396.

³⁷ An editorial of the *Albany Argus*, the representative of the Regency (quoted in the *Plain Dealer*, March 4, 1837), discusses the banking situation in an able manner and reveals the earnest and sensible views taken by the responsible leaders of the Democracy: "This system was adopted, not as a measure of the banks, but for the protection of the people against the evils, abuses, and failures under a previous state of things. In its general and material provisions, *viz.*, protection to the bill holder and to the community generally through a thorough supervision and the creation of a fund, it has fully answered the expectations and justified the sagacity of its projectors. . . . We say this, however, with qualification, and with the belief that the defects which experience has developed, are susceptible of being removed. These, we conceive, consist:

- 1st. In the character of exclusiveness and monopoly which belongs in some degree to the legislative corporation of individual charters.
- 2nd. The combinations and corruptions attending the applications to the legislature for specific grants of banking privileges. And,
- 3d. The evils, as well in reference to the character and sound action of the legislature, as to the moral condition of the people, of a stock distribution by commissioners.

"The remedy which has been proposed, and which we regard as adequate to the purpose, is a General Safety Fund Law . . . so framed as to obviate the complaints arising from the nature of individual grants by the legislature, and at the same time diminish in no degree the stability of the currency."

Marcy's messages as governor also contain strong presentations of the subject.

issue a long report which was in reality a Whig manifesto. We are not so much concerned with the specific statements of this document as we are with its general views of society and of class relationships, for these were very much the same as those held by the conservative Democrats. It ran as follows:

The principle upon which Mr. Van Buren has uniformly acted, and uniformly succeeded, is this, that the poor naturally hate the rich. [The rightful view, on the contrary, was held to be that the interests of the capitalistic class and of the laboring class are interdependent.] . . . avow your belief that in a great majority of cases the possession of property is the proof of merit, because in a country of free laws and equal rights, property, as a general rule, cannot be acquired without industry, skill, and economy. . . . with a firm faith that the many will follow the wise and the good, call upon the men of sound morals, of intelligence and industry, throughout the nation, to forget all the distracting topics which have agitated it, and unite in defence of the institutions without which commercial society can not exist.

It is interesting to note also that an appeal "to our brethren of the South" was included, and the promise was extended "that those who believe that the possession of property is an evidence of merit, will be the last to interfere with the rights of property of any kind".³⁸

Because of the panic two important courses were entered upon by the state administration. The first was embodied in a law suspending for one year the operation of the Safety Fund Act in laying liable to loss of charter any bank refusing to make specie payments. Though the law contained careful provisos looking to a speedy resumption of specie payments, it was bitterly denounced by the Locofocos as the sort of unconstitutional favoritism which was granted to banks, but never extended to poor men when they violated law.³⁹ Marcy's conduct in this respect was severely reprobated by them, and agitation against legalizing suspension was kept up for many years following. The second was the refusal of Marcy to call a special session of the legislature in order to repeal a law which forbade the issuance of bank-notes of more than five dollars.⁴⁰ This action was heartily endorsed by the Locofocos, but

³⁸ *Niles' Register*, LII. 165.

³⁹ Byrdsall, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁴⁰ *Niles*, LII. 355. There is a statement by J. J. Knox, *History of Banking in the United States* (New York, 1903), p. 408, that a law was passed, May 16, 1837, which allowed the use of small bills for a few years. Marcy's language in refusing to reopen the matter (June 12, 1837) clearly contradicts this statement and gives ground for supposing that Knox (or his editor) mistook the introduction of a bill to this effect for its passage. The law described by Knox was passed on February 28, 1838. *Journal of the Senate of the State of New York*, 60 sess., p. 527.

it made the governor chargeable with a law which, as Greeley said, "touched the people's pockets with daily distress" and gave poignancy to conservative arguments.⁴¹

On May 15, 1837, the President summoned Congress to meet on September 4. In the time intervening between the call and the assemblage, the divisions within the Democratic-Republican party in New York became clearly defined. Both elements claimed to represent the true democracy; both hoped for the adhesion to its views of the general body of the party in the state; and both aspired to the validation of the federal administration.⁴²

On the side of the conservatives the campaign was opened by a significant pronouncement of Senator Tallmadge. The senator had signed a call for a meeting to secure the repeal of the five-dollar law, and for this had been severely upbraided by the *New York Evening Post*. He replied in a letter to the *Albany Argus* of June 6, 1837. In this letter he advocated the repeal of the law and repeated some of the ideas which, as indicated in his speech of June, 1836, he had earlier worked out. "I am in favor of a well regulated credit system", he wrote, "and opposed to the chimerical scheme of an exclusive metallic currency", and he reiterated his favorite formula that "the credit system is the distinguishing feature between despotism and liberty".⁴³

The radical side found voice on June 13 through resolutions adopted by the Young Men's General Committee of Tammany Hall. These opposed the suspension law and attributed the pecuniary difficulties of the time to "the unwarranted increase of specially privileged institutions, which have sent swarms of bank notes among us". "All special banking incorporations", one of the resolutions ran, "are not only in opposition to the spirit of universal rights, but a hindrance to the accumulation of property by honest industry." The committee proposed to be on guard against any party which affirmed that "the possession of property is a proof of merit".⁴⁴

⁴¹ See Greeley's remarks on "The Crusade against the Small Bills", *The New Yorker*, February 18, 1837, p. 345.

⁴² It is worth while remarking the strategic positions in the national counsels which were occupied at this juncture by men from New York—the presidency, the office of attorney general, the chairmanships of the Finance Committee of the Senate (Wright) and of the Ways and Means Committee of the House (Cambreleng).

⁴³ A copy of this letter, together with comments thereon from the *Poughkeepsie Journal*, is in the Tallmadge material in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. In this material is a statement by Tallmadge that Marcy promised to back him in opposing the independent treasury.

⁴⁴ *The Plain Dealer*, June 13, 1837.

In reply the conservative portion of Tammany publicly avowed concurrence in Tallmadge's course. In a letter to him (July 4) they expressed their "entire approbation of the sentiments so laudably put forth in your letter". Quoting Tallmadge's often-used phrases, they announced their hearty approval and assured the author that they believed them "to be the sentiments of a great majority of the Republican party".⁴⁵

So simultaneously as almost to suggest concerted action there appeared an address of the Albany General Committee, which became famous as the "Albany Manifesto". In specific assertions the address formally attempted mediation; but it praised the credit system and asserted that "The Democratic party holds no spirit in common with the radical spirit which has sprung up in New York".⁴⁶ The address was written by the attorney general, Beardsley, at the instance of Dr. Wendell and others, "who have become uneasy at anti-bankism".⁴⁷ This group had worked against the re-election of Wright as senator⁴⁸ and was in alliance with Tallmadge.⁴⁹ The state of mind of Dr. Wendell is revealed in a letter which he wrote subsequently to President Van Buren. "Rest assured, my dear friend", he said, "nothing has ever so much alarmed and disturbed the peace and tranquility of the good people of this state, as the dread of loco-focoism. The cholera itself scarcely carried with it more terrors."⁵⁰

It is in connection with this address that a rift begins to be revealed in the Regency. Emanating from Albany and published in the official organ, the address was hailed all over the country as an indication that the Van Buren organization was inclining toward the conservative position; but it was soon disavowed by the *Argus* to the extent of saying that it did not represent the Regency officially. Dix wrote to Van Buren disclaiming connection on behalf of himself, Flagg, and Crosswell;⁵¹ the last, however, had conservative leanings which soon gave concern at Washington.⁵² The attitude of Marcy was of very great importance. While he had nothing to do with getting up the address and held himself aloof from the movement which it represented, yet his confidential letters show that

⁴⁵ The letter is given in full in Byrdsall, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁴⁶ *The Plain Dealer*, July 8, 1837.

⁴⁷ Dix to Van Buren, July 8, 1837. Van Buren Papers, vol. XXVIII.

⁴⁸ Marcy to Wetmore, July 20, 1837. Marcy Pap., vol. III.

⁴⁹ Cambreleng to Abraham Van Buren, July 20, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXVIII.

⁵⁰ Wendell to Van Buren, November 13, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

⁵¹ Dix to Van Buren, July 5, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXVIII.

⁵² Flagg to Van Buren, November 5, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

he viewed the former at least with favor.⁵³ He felt deeply his responsibility as leader of the party in the state, and, perceiving more clearly than any of his associates the grave character of the divisive tendencies in the party, he viewed these with much anxiety.⁵⁴ In case of necessity of a choice between these tendencies, however, his correspondence reveals his inner inclination; he draws away from "the taint or rot of radicalism", consistently reprobates the Locofocos and sneers at their leaders, and even dares to suggest that "our old hero" himself [Jackson] shows indiscreet "mania" in some recent letters and is like to violate that law of the drama which requires that the hero die in the last act if not before.⁵⁵ The almost instinctive reactions of Marcy against radicalism in the summer of 1837, in contradistinction to those of most of the other members of the Regency, initiated a lasting disaffection in that body, and indicated a beginning of the extensive divergence of the wings of the Democratic party of New York into "Hunkers" and "Barn-burners".

There was immediately impending, however, an important defection. That keen observer and vigorous exponent of sheer democracy, William Leggett, predicted at this juncture that the "*in medio tutissimus ibis* democrats" [*i. e.*, Tallmadge and associates] were about to form a distinct party or at least to withdraw from the party with which they were affiliated. So long, Leggett said, as these could obtain all sorts of exclusive privileges from the government

by wearing the unmeaning name of the republican party, they were content; but now that the people insist on the practical enforcement of the doctrine of equal rights; now that they demand that legislation shall be general, not special, and for the common good of all, not the peculiar good of a few, and require that government shall be democratick in fact as well as in name, the monopoly gentry think the time has come for them to hoist their own flag.⁵⁶

As we think over this interpretation, it is allowable to raise the question whether it was not about this time that the "Democratic-Republican" party, losing a conservative element, began to become (at least in the North) the modern Democratic party. If this be true, it may be suggested that modern industrialism in the United States and the Democratic party developed contemporaneously.

⁵³ Marcy to Wetmore, July 2, 12, 1837. Marcy Pap., vol. III.

⁵⁴ Marcy to Wetmore, July 20, 1837. *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Marcy to Wetmore, January 16, August 18, 1837. *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *The Plain Dealer*, July 15, 1837.

At any rate, the stand which was being taken by the conservatives aroused the radicals within Tammany to greater ardor for their type of democracy, and at various ward meetings they condemned the Tallmadge pronouncements and called for a reorganization of Tammany. Of special significance were the resolutions of the Eleventh, the "most powerful democratic ward" in the city. Banks, the resolutions averred, were "dangerous to the interests of the great body of the people, either as one great institution or as a number of small ones". The aim of Tallmadge as a representative of the aristocracy is "Bank, Bank, Bank, and the aim of the democracy is no longer Bank and State".

We find at this juncture evidence of direct influence upon Van Buren of the radical group in New York through Churchill C. Cambreleng. We have mentioned above the position of Cambreleng in the party counsels at this time and the closeness of his association with Van Buren.⁵⁷ All through the summer of 1837 in particular, as the Van Buren Papers show, he was in frequent correspondence with the latter. He also was in sympathetic touch with the Locofocos, and many of them had voted for him in the election of 1836.⁵⁸ The above-mentioned radical resolutions (which contain more than there is space for quoting) were passed on July 19, probably at a meeting in the evening; the next day a copy in full was transmitted by Cambreleng to the President with a strong endorsement. "There never was a crisis", the former urged, "more admirably adapted to form a pure, sound, democratic party."⁵⁹

The conservative members of Tammany continued actively to combat the radicals and just before the opening of the special session in September issued a formal address in which they heartily endorsed the principles of democracy which were set forth in *The Madisonian*, a paper recently established at Washington to represent the conservative movement.⁶⁰ These issues gave prominence to Tallmadge's letter, the Albany Manifesto, and a famous speech by Rives, of Virginia.

Such, then, was the distracted condition of the Democratic-Republican party of New York, when in the first days of September came the President's special message. The effect, Flagg wrote, was like that of an electric shock.⁶¹ Comments of New York newspapers

⁵⁷ *Ante*, p. 399.

⁵⁸ Byrdsall, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 94, 96.

⁵⁹ The resolutions and Cambreleng's comments are found in the Van Buren Papers under date of July 20, 1837. Another letter from Cambreleng of like tenor followed on August 8.

⁶⁰ *The Plain Dealer*, September 2, 1837.

⁶¹ Flagg to Van Buren, November 5, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

will give some idea of its trend. Greeley began his editorial in the *New Yorker* with, "The message toes the mark. There are no two ways about it." The *Courier*, a leading Whig paper, said that it "embodied in specious phrase and thin-veiled sophistry the most pernicious doctrines of Loco Focoism", and declared that the President "has gone the full length with the *Plain Dealer*, the *Evening Post*, the *Washington Globe*, Blair, Kendall and General Jackson". Of special interest is the opinion of the *Times*, the representative of the conservatives, which was as follows:

Our readers will have perceived, before this sheet reaches them, that the sentiments of Mr. Van Buren in relation to the establishment of Subtreasuries are in direct opposition to what we have conceived to be the views of a large majority of his political friends. While we admit that his arguments are ingenuous [ingenious] they have failed to remove the serious objections which have hitherto been urged against the system.⁶²

Marcy judged that the message "made mighty men of the leaders of the locofoco faction".⁶³

The message to the special session of the Twenty-fifth Congress, in truth, is a classical expression of the general democratic movement which so profoundly affected the political destinies of the United States in the decades prior to the Civil War. The fundamental postulate of the message was that the real duty of government—"that duty the performance of which makes a good government the most precious of human blessings—is to enact and enforce a system of general laws commensurate with, but not exceeding, the objects of its establishment, and to leave every citizen and every interest to reap under its benign protection the rewards of virtue, industry, and prudence". The main danger to fundamental equality of citizens arose from the activities of men intent on individual enterprises in manipulating public finance for the aggrandizement of their own projects—a danger to be apprehended both in the federal and the state governments. The danger centred in the control of currency by corporations whose powers were of doubtful constitutionality and whose propensities were to "stimulate extravagance of enterprise by improvidence of credit". To such improvidence the disasters of the time were traced. Distinct sympathy was shown for the "great laboring classes who are thrown suddenly out of employment, and by the failure of magnificent schemes never

⁶² Quotations from a number of journals were given in the *Plain Dealer*, September 9, 1837.

⁶³ Marcy to Van Buren, December 8, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

intended to enrich them are deprived in a moment of their only resource"; and reliance for recovery from disaster was placed upon the agricultural interest; but the commercial classes received more criticism than solace. The financial principle mainly to be relied upon for alleviation of the prevailing distress was to limit wherever possible the use of paper money and to foster the use of "legal" currency. At any rate, the credit of the federal government was no longer to be used as the basis of private issues of notes nor exposed to the vicissitudes of bank deposits, and a treasury system for the reception, safe-keeping, and disbursement of public funds was the leading specific recommendation. The message expressed in moderate but decided tone the main tenets of the Equal Rights party, though lacking some of their extravagances; and it may be looked upon as the primary manifesto of the larger Locofocoism to which the administration Democrats were henceforth committed.⁶⁴

The decision of the President resulted, presently, in the ascendancy of the radicals in the Democratic organization of the city of New York. The Locofocos promptly approved the special message, saying that it "awakens the admiration, and deserves the applause of every friend of Equal Rights, and will elicit the approbation of the whole genuine Democracy of the Union".⁶⁵ On the other hand, the General Committee and its adherents fought resolutely against "the radical and revolutionary doctrines which have swept over the land like a pestilence".⁶⁶ But the older order was gradually set aside by the younger element in Tammany; a coalition of candidates for the fall election was made with the Locofocos; and the organization was at last "purified" of monopolists. Gideon Lee joined the Whigs, and it is to be presumed that many of his associates did likewise.⁶⁷ The Locofocos came back to the Wigwam. Within the limited sphere of their direct political activities they had effected a revolution, and their work marked the close of an era in the history of Tammany.

To the watchful and apprehensive governor at Albany this change in the complexion of Tammany was very repugnant, and

⁶⁴ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, III. 324-346.

⁶⁵ Byrdsall, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

⁶⁶ The quotation is from an address which was sent to Van Buren by the Committee, September 27, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXIX.

⁶⁷ See Gustavus Myers, *History of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1917), pp. 112-116. Tallmadge also a little later became a Whig, or at least was re-elected to the Senate by Whigs. Hammond, *Hist. of Political Parties*, II. 523. In 1844 he was appointed governor of Wisconsin territory by President Tyler, serving two years.

his letters written while it was in progress are full of caustic remarks about the Locofocos. The "infusion of Slam-bangism" into the party ticket made it indeed a "precious morsel".⁶⁸ "The insolence of the locofocos who pretend they have (and for aught that appears they certainly have) a full endorsement of all their doctrines by the President is almost insufferable."⁶⁹ "We shall bye and bye have to ask these locofoco gentry where we shall go to church."⁷⁰ The banks, it would appear, are to be "surrendered to the Hideous Monster of locofocism".⁷¹ It was unreasonable to expect, the governor thought, "that the democrats of the state will range themselves under the banners of Ming, Leggett, Slam, Jaques and others of better repute at Washington".⁷²

Marcy's opinion of the message needs careful consideration. The statement in the *Calendar* of the Van Buren Papers that he approved it appears erroneous.⁷³ The best source for arriving at his real sentiments concerning it is a long letter which he wrote to Congressman Albert Gallup. "I have tried very hard", Marcy wrote to Gallup, "to like the measures of the Message but I must confess to you that I have not succeeded. My high personal regard for Mr. V. B. and my great admiration of his talents, wisdom, and discretion ought to induce me to defer to his better judgment—but still my mind will not submit." On the President's theory all of the financial transactions of the state would need to be made in specie, and "none but a mad locofoco would think of such folly". The sub-treasury project was dangerous; "the state banks have not had a fair trial and it savours of rashness to give them up". The party should not rely for success upon the destructive doctrines of the day. "Indeed the doctrines of the message", the governor sagaciously observes, "seemed to me on its first perusal to involve the reconstruction of the political parties of the country if an attempt

⁶⁸ Marcy to Wetmore, October 25, 1837. Marcy Pap., vol. III.

⁶⁹ Marcy to Gallup, September 23, 1837. *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Marcy to Wetmore, September 26, 1837. *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Marcy to Gallup, *doc. cit. supra*, note 69.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Marcy to Van Buren, September 18, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXIX. The letter is really non-committal. The portion referring to the message is as follows: "I have this morning received a copy of the Message under your frank for which I tender you my thanks.

"No one can have admired more than myself the very great ability it displays. You were doubtless prepared for some diversity of opinion among your political friends as to the policy of the measures therein recommended and I sincerely hope it will not be greater than you have anticipated."

be made to carry them out. Every thing that has since taken place has confirmed that impression."⁷⁴

The forebodings of the governor were confirmed by the startling success of the Whigs in the November elections in New York—a success precursory to subsequent victories in both the state and the nation which were the result in no small degree of the cleavages which were appearing in the Democratic party. At this time a Van Buren majority of eighty-two on joint ballot in the legislature was transformed into a Whig majority of sixty-four, a net gain of 144 members.⁷⁵ Van Buren's lieutenants attributed this reverse largely to the defection of conservative democrats to the Whigs.⁷⁶ Van Buren himself, though astounded by this political tornado, judged it but a temporary matter.⁷⁷ Not so the astute Marcy. "This blow", he wrote Wetmore, "will resound far and wide. I think it will startle the wise men at Washington. . . . You think next year will restore all. Don't be too sure of that. We have taken a mischievous partner into our concern. I mean the younger member, Locofocoism. The capital he brought in will not help us as much as his bad character will worsen our condition."⁷⁸

When, a year later, a yet more bitter defeat retired Marcy from the governorship, the *Democratic Review* (which, it will be recalled, was the intimate organ of Van Buren) criticized the leadership of the former, on the one hand, for not meeting squarely the question of the divorce of government from banking and, on the other, for catering to the conservatives. And, subsequently, it complained that the state leaders had not boldly avowed democratic principles nor overcome "their ancient timid reverence for their banks, and their credit system, and their paper money".⁷⁹

I have tried to make clear this gradual drawing apart of these two leaders of the Democratic party, based on fundamental predilections, because it seems to me to afford a clue to the right understanding of the course of New York politics for the next decade or more. Whether the question was concerning banks or canals or slavery, two groups habitually align themselves, according to their opposing

⁷⁴ Marcy to Gallup, September 23, 1837. Marcy Pap., vol. III. To any one who wishes to get at the deeper currents of the time in New York Democracy, this letter is important.

⁷⁵ Niles, LIII. 193.

⁷⁶ Flagg to Van Buren, November 9, 17, 1837; Cambreleng to Van Buren, November 9, 1837. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

⁷⁷ Van Buren to Parker, November 16?, and to Jackson, November 18. Van Buren Pap., vol. XXX.

⁷⁸ Marcy to Wetmore, November 9, 1837. Marcy Pap., vol. III.

⁷⁹ *Democratic Rev.*, V. 6, 7; VI. 506.

views of fundamental democracy.⁸⁰ The one, inclining to the philosophy of enterprise, defended the state banks, championed the extension of the canal system, and affiliated itself with the expansionists of the South; the other, holding fast the principle of distributive justice, agitated the restriction of banks, tried to restrain canal promotion, and progressed toward "free soil, free speech, free labor and free men".⁸¹ The one was the "Hunkers"; the other the "Barnburners".⁸² Personal ambitions and resentments, to be sure, entered into the political manoeuvres of these factions, but there was nevertheless between them an abiding distinction. Marcy became the most prominent leader of the former, along with Crosswell, Beardsley, Horatio Seymour, and Dickinson; while Wright, Dix, Flagg, and Cambreleng continued under the captaincy of Van Buren.⁸³ The later political career of Van Buren gains in consistency if we consider it from the point of view of the course which he chose in 1837. At bottom a Jeffersonian Democrat before that time, he then naturally and decisively affiliated himself with the renewed Jeffersonism of the Locofocos, and to this type of democracy he subsequently gave faithful adherence.⁸⁴

Moreover, during the period which lay between Van Buren's message of the autumn of 1837 and the Democratic convention of the summer of 1844 when the Democracy of expansion sprang into the saddle with the nomination of Polk—a period in which Van Buren, abetted by Wright and Benton and blessed by the old hero

⁸⁰ One catches recurring glimpses of this alignment in the engaging pages of Hammond's *Hist. of Political Parties*; and there is a succinct and suggestive statement concerning it by Alexander Johnston in Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political Science*, II. 476.

⁸¹ Contrast the address of the "regular" state convention of 1847 with the speech of John Van Buren at the Herkimer meeting. *Niles*, LXXIII. 390-392, 174-175.

⁸² The term "Hunker" appears to have been used by radicals of Tammany as an opprobrious designation of conservatives at least as early as 1835. Byrd-sall, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 17. Schouler, *History of the United States*, IV. 462, connects "Barnburner" with radicalism by a possible derivation from charges of incendiarism brought against the reformers in the Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island.

⁸³ Lalor, *Cyclopedia*, II. 476; Schouler, V. 98.

⁸⁴ "He was the same Van Buren in 1848 that he had always been; not one of the distinctly 'Locofoco' doctrines had he abjured, except, perhaps, that of the unconstitutionality of internal improvements. He had not made a single concession." T. C. Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest*, p. 146. An estimate of Van Buren which was made by Leggett is perhaps suggestive of his real character: "We consider Mr. Van Buren an exceedingly cautious man in forming his conclusions; but we look upon him as equally firm in adhering to them when once fully and carefully formed, after a careful consideration of a subject in all its aspects and bearings." *The Plain Dealer*, April 22, 1837.

of the Hermitage, was something more than titular leader of his party—Locofoco principles were in the ascendant in the Democracy of the nation. During this period, indeed, the Democratic party was quite generally called the Locofoco party by its opponents, and the appellation was no longer disavowed by faithful adherents. It was not without significance, as Professor Dodd has observed, that in the Democratic platform of 1840, "For the last time in the history of *ante-bellum* Democracy the Declaration of Independence was declared to be an item of the party faith".⁸⁵

Leggett during this period became to the national progressive Democracy a sort of political saint, who was regarded as having been martyred to the cause now so generally espoused. Was it not he, exclaimed the *Democratic Review*, who had raised the flag inscribed with the "motto of hostility to chartered monopoly" to which the Democracy of the country was now rallying? Was not he "the leader and master-spirit of that gallant crusade of reform", now honored in all parts of the Union as Locofocoism? Truly, "the vast success of that purity and sternness of principle which he had espoused in advance was infusing new strength and power into the great army of American Democracy".⁸⁶

Nor were the original Locofocos held ignoble in the eyes of the Van Buren Democracy. In truth it was considered fortunate for freedom that some ardent spirits dared to "carry their ideas to the verge of extravagance", for thus there was furnished a counter-balance to the drag of anti-liberalism. The Locofoco doctrines were generally sound, and their practice would make the world happier. Essentially, these doctrines were those of Jefferson, Taylor, and Madison—a simple emphasis on equal rights, "a clear field and no favors". The Locofocos, in fine, insisted upon "all the consequences which can fairly be educed from the principles which are at the foundation of democratic liberty".⁸⁷ They were to be honored, indeed, for having prepared "by a long process of deep agitation on fundamental principles . . . the incipient fermentation of the purifying leaven of 'Locofocoism' which is now fast leavening the whole lump".⁸⁸

The national Locofocoism identified itself with its local prototype in New York, moreover, in regarding the banking interests as then constituted in this country as a bulwark of privilege similar to that of the feudal nobility in Europe. The pith of the progressive

⁸⁵ W. E. Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, p. 110.

⁸⁶ *Democratic Rev.*, VI. 17-28.

⁸⁷ Article on "Radicalism", *ibid.*, III. 99-111.

⁸⁸ "New York City *vs.* New York State", *ibid.*, VI. 499-517.

Democracy's opposition to the credit system was the issuance by the banks of a currency not strictly redeemable in specie. The great evil was the want of a fixed measure of value, and the prime remedy was the "separation of the two distinct functions of creating and lending the currency".⁸⁹

The idealism, also, of the early protagonists of equal rights was not wanting in their national successors. Though this idealism may to some extent have been an affectation for party purposes of the hour, though its rhetoric may have been at times strained, there can be no denying its reality nor its deep-lying power of appeal to the American people. The Locofocos earnestly felt themselves charged with a mission for the future of democracy.

For Democracy is the cause of Humanity. It has faith in human nature. It believes in its essential equality and fundamental goodness. . . . Its object is to emancipate the mind of the mass of men from the degrading and disheartening fetters of social distinctions and advantages . . . by striking at their root to reform all the infinitely varied human misery which has grown out of the old and false ideas by which the world has been so long misgoverned; to dismiss the hireling soldier; to spike the cannon, and bury the bayonet; to burn the gibbet, and open the debtor's dungeon; to substitute harmony and mutual respect for the jealousies and discord now subsisting between different classes of society, as the consequence of their artificial classification. It is essentially involved in Christianity, of which it has been well said that its pervading spirit of democratic equality among men is its highest fact. . . .⁹⁰

The idealistic democracy which the Locofocos represented and propagated was an important element in that crystallization of political sentiment and experience into constitutional forms, which was going on within the various states between 1830 and 1860, but which progressed with most rapidity after 1844. During these thirty years the constitutions of practically all of the older states were recast, and those of ten new ones were formed.⁹¹ The progress of this development was surveyed from time to time by the *Democratic Review* in a series of thoughtful and optimistic articles, which

⁸⁹ *Democratic Rev.*, VI. 449-462; I. 260-262.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 1-15.

⁹¹ The movement has been sketched by McMaster in *History of the United States*, VII. 162-189, and by J. Q. Dealey under the caption of "The Period of Developing Democracy" in *The Growth of American State Constitutions*, pp. 47-55. There are informing articles by F. L. Paxson, "The Constitution of Texas, 1845", in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVIII. 386-398, and "A Constitution of Democracy—Wisconsin, 1847", in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II. 3-24.

affords one of the best sources for its study.⁹² In one of these the significance of the movement in general was sought to be interpreted. During the eighteenth century, it was asserted, some of the liberal statesmen of Europe had acknowledged that the people should have some influence in government; yet they were far from *trusting* the people with government. Likewise, in the beginnings of our own constitutional governments (notably in the Federal Convention of 1787) there had been on the part of many able men marked distrust of government by the people. Now, however, the great experiment in self-government was being moulded into abiding form by a new political science, and reform was receiving "a direction which will secure the enactment and administration of laws for the benefit of the whole people".⁹³ The reconstitution of popular government in this period, indeed, forms a chapter in the general history of democracy which perhaps has not been sufficiently appreciated by thoughtful Americans. Chevalier, surveying our democracy in the earlier part of the period and noting the significant *initiation* of our populace into the things which make for a full democratic civilization, burst out with, "This is the first time since the origin of society, that the people have fairly enjoyed the fruits of their labours, and have shown themselves worthy of the prerogatives of manhood."⁹⁴

To attempt to delineate the extent to which the divergences in the New York Democracy, which we have been studying, were reproduced in the national politics of the time and, in particular, to trace the influence of the radical element through the Van Buren Democracy upon the great movement which has just been referred to, would take us far afield and necessitate a survey for which the author's studies are immature; but some clear indications of the "leavening" process may be set forth briefly.

The influence of Locofocoism is discernible upon the constitutional convention which was held in New York in 1846. The Locofocos had begun to agitate for a reform convention as

⁹² "Constitutional Reform", XIII. 563-576; "The Progress of Constitutional Reform in the United States", XVIII. 243-256; "History of Constitutional Reform in the United States", *ibid.*, 403-420; "The New-York Constitutional Convention", XIX. 339-348; "Constitutional Governments: the Constitution of Wisconsin", XX. 195-204. The author of most, if not all, of these articles was John Bigelow. Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life* (New York, 1909), I. 70; cited by Paxson, *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, II. 13.

⁹³ *Democratic Rev.*, XX. 195.

⁹⁴ Michel Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States* (Boston, 1839), pp. 428-437.

early as 1837 when they had framed an interesting model constitution.⁹⁵ "The career of the [Equal Rights] party was ephemeral", Dougherty remarks, "but its animosity against special legislation and special privileges had its influence upon the new constitution".⁹⁶ This effect was the more direct, perhaps, because ex-Congressman Churchill C. Cambreleng was chairman of the committee on banking. This committee recommended that there should be no special bank charters and no legal suspension of specie payments, and these recommendations were embodied in the new constitution.⁹⁷ The noteworthy reform of the judiciary, which was effected, was likewise a matter which had been very earnestly pressed by the early Locofocos.⁹⁸ In general, the convention of 1846, if we may accept the opinion of Alexander, ushered in a new era in New York in government by the people—an era when property no longer "measured a man's capacity and influence".⁹⁹

The Wisconsin conventions of 1846 and 1847 show strong influences from New York. The factions and nomenclature of the New York Democracy were reproduced to a very considerable extent both within the convention halls and in political discussions in the state at large. The New York constitution of 1846 was taken as a model.¹⁰⁰ In the first convention forty-two out of 124 members were from that state; in the second, twenty-five out of sixty-nine.¹⁰¹ Locofocoism was rampant in the former. Extremely radical provisions on banking were introduced and championed by Edward G. Ryan, chairman of the committee on banking, an Irishman by birth who had come to New York City in 1830 and had been admitted to the bar there in 1836.¹⁰² Another New Yorker, a small merchant by the name of Gibson, tried to tone these down by offering a resolution allowing banks under restrictions. An old Locofoco doctrine

⁹⁵ Byrdsall, pp. 163-167.

⁹⁶ J. H. Dougherty, *Legal and Judicial History of New York*, ed. Alden Chester (New York, 1911), II. 152.

⁹⁷ Charles Z. Lincoln, *The Constitutional History of New York* (1906), II. 195-198.

⁹⁸ Byrdsall, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

⁹⁹ DeA. S. Alexander, *A Political History of the State of New York* (1906), II. 105-107.

¹⁰⁰ Paxson in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, II. 9.

¹⁰¹ Tenny and Atwood, *Memorial Record of the Fathers of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1880), pp. 20-22; *Milwaukee Volksfreund*, December 30, 1847.

¹⁰² Ryan afterwards became a prominent jurist, and an honored chief justice of the state. It is worth while noticing that a number of young men, afterwards notable, were in touch at the outset of their careers with the radical movement in New York City. Among these may be mentioned John Bigelow, Theodore Sedgwick, jr., Horace Greeley, and Samuel J. Tilden.

appeared in a motion by Mr. Crawford (a native of Vermont who had long resided in St. Lawrence County, New York) that "all laws for the collection of debts shall forever be prohibited within this state".¹⁰³ This motion failed; but so radical in general were the features of the constitution as finally reported, that it was rejected by popular vote. It is interesting to notice that ex-Governor Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, erstwhile of New York, "was considered the commander-in-chief of the anti-constitutional forces".¹⁰⁴ The second convention was more of Hunker persuasion (re-enforced by Whig influence); and the constitution as finally adopted, especially in its comparatively moderate articles on banking and exemption, reflected in the main Locofocoism as modified by Hunker sentiment, a sentiment which was becoming more pronounced because wheat-raisers on the eastern shore were feeling the need of closer business relations with New York.¹⁰⁵

The Iowa conventions of the same period showed no such predominance of men from any one state as was the case in Wisconsin, though there was a considerable sprinkling of natives of New York. Yet here also appears the usual threefold division of Whigs, moderate Democrats, and radical Democrats; here also, as usual, questions of banking and incorporation are foremost; and here also we find employed the shibboleths of the New York ultra-radicals.¹⁰⁶

The assignment of definite origins to widely held opinions involves too much risk of error to let us infer with finality, from the above indications, that the frontier democracy of the upper Mississippi Valley in making its constitutions drew some of its major conceptions from the apostles of ultraism in New York City; but, on the other hand, we may at least raise the question whether the conceptions put forth in these instruments were to so great an extent indigenous as has been maintained.¹⁰⁷ The frontier truly was a

¹⁰³ The Locofocos had urged that debts should be only debts of honor and that credit should rest merely upon individual morality. Byrdsall, p. 149. This contention was later related to legal exemption, which was one of the subjects registering democratic advance in this period.

¹⁰⁴ Louise P. Kellogg, "The Admission of Wisconsin to Statehood", in vol. I. of a *Documentary Constitutional History of Wisconsin* [in press], edited by Milo M. Quaife and associates.

¹⁰⁵ The data for this paragraph have been derived for the most part from a large collection of materials for the history referred to in the preceding note. Superintendent Quaife kindly allowed me to consult this collection.

¹⁰⁶ Note the views and expressions of John C. Hall, an attorney, whose native state was New York. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions*, pp. 72-73, 102, 188-191; also remarks of other members concerning banking, pp. 74-80.

¹⁰⁷ For example, by Professor Paxson in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, II. 3, 4.

nursery of lusty and creative democracy; but of a democracy too busy, too individualistic, to be so well fitted for the slow and subtle processes of the *formulation* of social and political creeds as were older foci of population and opinion where life was more complex and mental contacts and collisions more frequent. As Professor Shambaugh, of Iowa, expressed it recently in conversation with the author in comment upon the constitutional movement in Iowa: "The frontiersman preferred to take his formulas ready-made and to fight for them, rather than go to the trouble of making them himself."

It is certain, at any rate, that New York City in the early thirties was a centre where the impacts of transformations fundamental in modern life were being deeply felt; that these transformations were reflected in divergences which developed within the Democratic party in 1837 and thereafter, with wide-reaching effects; and that chief among these effects was the promulgation of the formulations and spirit of the Locofoco propagandists. These voiced the ultra-idealism of the age¹⁰⁸—an idealism which, permeating the North with a renewed aggressive doctrine of the equality of mankind at the time when to a large degree the South was yielding to the theory of social stratification, helped to make the United States (and therefore perhaps the world) "safe for democracy".

WILLIAM TRIMBLE.

¹⁰⁸ The expression is akin to one quoted *ibid.*, p. 4.

THE EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS¹

IN 1771, Thomas Hutchinson wrote to one of his friends, "We have not been so quiet here these five years . . . if it were not for two or three Adamses, we should do well enough." From that day to this many people have agreed with the fastidious governor. But so far, an Adams or two we have always had with us; and on the whole, although they have sometimes been exasperating, they have always been salutary. During four generations the men of this family have loved and served America as much as they have scolded her. More cannot be said, except that they have commonly given, on both counts, more than they have received. Theirs is therefore the blessing, and ours the benefit.

Among other things, we have to thank them for some diaries and autobiographies which have been notable for frank self-revelation. Henry Adams would of course have stoutly denied that any such impertinence as self-revelation was either intended or achieved in the *Education*. There is no evidence that he ever kept a diary (all things considered, the burden of proof is not on us!); but it is not to be supposed that he would have published it in any case. A man who regarded himself as of no more significance than a chance deposit on the surface of the world might indeed write down an intimate record of his soul's doings as an exercise in cosmic irony; but the idea of publishing it could hardly have lived for a moment in the lambent flame of his own sardonic humor. He could be perverse, but perversity could not well go the length of perpetrating so pointless a joke as that would come to.

No, Henry Adams would not reveal himself to the curious inspection of an unsympathetic world; but he would write a book for the purpose of exposing a dynamic theory of history, than which nothing could well be more impersonal or unrevealing. With a philosophy of history the Puritan has always been preoccupied; and it was the major interest of Henry Adams throughout the better part of his life. He never gained more than a faint idea of any intelligible philosophy, as he would himself have readily admitted; but after a lifetime of hard study and close thinking, the matter struck him thus:

¹ *The Education of Henry Adams: an Autobiography* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918, pp. 519).

Between the dynamo in the gallery of machines and the engine-house outside, the break of continuity amounted to abysmal fracture for a historian's objects. No more relation could he discover between the steam and the electric current than between the Cross and the cathedral. The forces were interchangeable if not reversible, but he could see only an absolute *fiat* in electricity as in faith.

In these two forces the secret must lie, since for centuries faith had ruled inexorably, only to be replaced by electricity which promised to rule quite as inexorably. To find the secret was difficult enough; but

any schoolboy could see that man as a force must be measured by motion, from a fixed point. Psychology helped here by suggesting a unit—the point of history when man held the highest idea of himself as a unit in a unified universe. Eight or ten years of study had led Adams to think he might use the century 1150–1250, expressed in Amiens Cathedral and the Works of Thomas Aquinas, as the unit from which he might measure motion down to his own time, without assuming anything as true or untrue except relation. . . . Setting himself to the task, he began a volume which he mentally knew as “Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres: a Study in Thirteenth-Century Unity.” From that point he proposed to fix a position for himself, which he could label: “The Education of Henry Adams: a Study in Twentieth-Century Multiplicity.” With the help of these two points of relation, he hoped to project his lines forward and backward indefinitely, subject to correction from any one who should know better. Thereupon, he sailed for home.

You are to understand, therefore, that the *Education of Henry Adams* has nothing to do really with the person Henry Adams. Since the time of Rousseau,

the Ego has steadily tended to efface itself, and, for purposes of model, to become a manikin, on which the toilet of education is to be draped in order to show the fit or misfit of the clothes. The object of study is the garment, not the figure. . . . The manikin, therefore, has the same value as any other geometrical figure of three or four dimensions, which is used for the study of relation. For that purpose it cannot be spared; it is the only measure of motion, of proportion, of human condition; it must have the air of reality; it must be taken for real; it must be treated as though it had life. Who knows? Perhaps it had.

Whether it had life or not is, however, of no importance. The manikin is to be treated impersonally; and will be indicated throughout in the third person, not as the author's ego, but as a kind of projected and animated geometrical point upon which cosmic lines of force impinge!

It turns out that the manikin had life after all—a good deal of it; with the effect that as you go on you become more concerned with the manikin than with the clothes, and at last find yourself

wholly absorbed with an ego more subtle and complex, at times more exasperating, yet upon the whole more engaging, and above all more pervasive, than you are likely to come upon in any autobiography of modern times. It is really wonderful how the clothes fall away from the manikin, how with the best effort at draping they in fact refuse to be put on at all. The reason is simple; for the constant refrain of the study is that no clothes were ever found. The manikin is therefore always in evidence for lack of covering, and ends by having to apologize for its very existence. "To the tired student, the idea that he must give it up [the search for philosophy-clothes] seemed sheer senility. As long as he could whisper, he would go on as he had begun, bluntly refusing to meet his creator with the admission that the creation had taught him nothing except that the square of the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle might for convenience be taken as equal to something else." On his own premises, the assumption that the manikin would ever meet his creator (if he indeed had one), or that his creator would be concerned with his opinion of the creation, is gratuitous. On his own premises, there is something too much of the ego here. The *Education of Henry Adams*, conceived as a study in the philosophy of history, turns out in fact to be an *Apologia pro vita sua*, one of the most self-centred and self-revealing books in the language.

The revelation is not indeed of the direct sort that springs from frank and insouciant spontaneity. Since the revelation was not intended, the process is tortuous in the extreme. It is a revelation that comes by the way, made manifest in the effort to conceal it, overlaid by all sorts of cryptic sentences and self-deprecatory phrases, half hidden by the protective coloring taken on by a sensitive mind commonly employing paradox and delighting in perverse and teasing mystification. One can never be sure what the book means; but taken at its face value the *Education* seems to be the story of a man who regarded life from the outside, as a spectator at the play, a play in which his own part as spectator was taken by a minor character. The play was amusing in its absurdity, but it touched not the spectator, Henry Adams, who was content to sit in his protected stall and laugh in his sleeve at the play and the players—and most of all at himself for laughing. Such is the implication; but I think it was not so. In the *Mont-Saint-Michel*² Adams speaks of those young people who rarely like the Romanesque. "They prefer the Gothic. . . . No doubt, they are right,

² *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*, p. 7.

since they are young: but men and women who have lived long and are tired—who want rest—who have done with aspirations and ambitions—*whose life has been a broken arch*—feel this repose and self-restraint as they feel nothing else.” The *Education* is in fact the record, tragic and pathetic underneath its genial irony, of the defeat of fine aspirations and laudable ambitions. It is the story of a life which the man himself, in his old age, looked back upon as a broken arch.

One is not surprised that a man of Henry Adams’s antecedents should take life seriously; but no sane man, looking upon his career from the outside, would call it a failure. Born into a family whose traditions were in themselves a liberal education, Henry Adams enjoyed advantages in youth such as few boys have. It was at least an unusual experience to be able, as a lad, to sit every Sunday “behind a President grandfather, and to read over his head the tablet in memory of a President great-grandfather, who had ‘pledged his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor’ to secure the independence of his country”. This to be sure might not have been an advantage if it led the lad to regard the presidency as a heritable office in the family; but it was certainly a great deal to be able to listen daily, at his father’s table, to talk as good as he was “ever likely to hear again”. This was doubtless one of the reasons why he got (or was it only that it seemed so to him in his old age?) so little from Harvard College; but at any rate he graduated with honors, and afterwards enjoyed the blessed boon of two care-free years of idling and study in Germany and Italy. For six years, as private secretary to his father on one of the most difficult and successful diplomatic missions in the history of his country, he watched history in the making, and gained an inside knowledge of English politics and society such as comes to one young man in ten thousand. Returning to America, he served for a time as editor of the *North American*, and was for seven years a professor of history in Harvard College. During the last thirty-five years of his life, he lived alternately in Washington and Paris. Relieved of official or other responsibility, he travelled all over the world, met the most interesting people of his generation, devoted himself at leisure to the study of art and literature, philosophy and science, and wrote, as an incident in a long life of serious endeavor, twelve or fifteen volumes of history which by common consent rank with the best work done in that field by American scholars.

By no common standard does such a record measure failure. Most men would have been satisfied with the life he lived apart

from the books he wrote, or with the books he wrote apart from the life he lived. Henry Adams is commonly counted with the historians; but he scarcely thought of himself as one, except in so far as he sought and failed to find a philosophy of history. It is characteristic that in the *Education* he barely mentions the *History of the United States*. The enterprise, which he undertook for lack of something better, he always regarded as negligible—an episode in his life to be chronicled like any other. But it is safe to say that most of us who call ourselves historians, with far less justification, would be well content if we could count, as the result of a lifetime of effort, such a shelf full of volumes to our credit. The average professor of history might well expect, on less showing, to be chosen president of the Historical Association; in which case the prospect of having to deliver a presidential address might lead him to speculate idly in idle moments upon the meaning of history; but the riddle of existence would not greatly trouble his sleep, nor could it be said of him, as Henry Adams said of himself, that “a historical formula that should satisfy the conditions of the stellar universe weighed heavily upon his mind”. He would live out the remnant of his days, an admired and a fêted leader in the scholar’s world, wholly unaware that his life had been a cosmic failure.

The chief question which the *Education* presents to the critic is therefore this: why did Henry Adams look back upon his life, which to other men was so enviable in itself and so notable in its achievements, as a failure? Why should he have thought of it as a broken arch? The answer may possibly be found by inquiring what he had in mind when he spoke of “education”. That he did not use the term in the narrow sense of formal education may be taken as a matter of course. He disposes of his formal education by saying that he hated it, and that it never did him any good.³ But everything, as he often says, had value for education, if one could only find out what that value was; and the reader is inclined to dismiss the question by saying that for Henry Adams education and life were identical. In a sense this is true. The careful reader will nevertheless discover that one of two rather definite, quite different, yet fundamentally related conceptions was present in Adams’s mind when he used the term education: sometimes he conceives of education as that training and knowledge which would enable a man deliberately to identify himself and his work with the

³ He says that no professor in Harvard ever mentioned Karl Marx’s *Das Kapital* in his time; which was very likely true since Adams graduated in 1858 and *Das Kapital* was not published till 1867!

main "stream of tendency" of his time; at other times he conceives of education in a wider sense, as essentially identical with a scientific explanation of the social process, so that to be educated is to possess a philosophy which will solve the mystery of life.

It is the first of these conceptions which Adams has in mind when he says,

Perhaps Henry Adams was not worth educating; most keen judges incline to think that barely one man in a hundred owns a mind capable of reacting to any purpose on the forces that surround him, and fully half of these react wrongly. The object of education for that mind should be the teaching itself how to react with vigor and economy. No doubt the world at large will always lag so far behind the active mind as to make a soft cushion of inertia to drop upon, as it did for Henry Adams; but education should try to lessen the obstacles, diminish the friction, invigorate the energy, *and should train minds to react, not at haphazard, but by choice, on the lines of force that attract their world.*

This sort of education Adams felt that he never attained. He appeared to himself to have drifted through life, to have been shunted about, by circumstances which he could neither foresee nor control, from one track to another, with the result of arriving at stations which, however attractive they may have been, it was never his intention to reach. He went to Germany to study the civil law, without any good reason for so doing; he attended one lecture (one was enough!), and idled away two years in Germany and Italy, for no reason except that he did not know what he could do if he came home. He became his father's secretary in London because his father asked him to do so and nothing better offered. He returned after six years fully determined to enter journalism as the best road to the career of a political reformer. The prospect looked good, for like every one else he had great faith in Grant; but the announcement of Grant's cabinet, "within five minutes, changed his intended future into an absurdity so laughable as to make him ashamed of it. . . . He had made another total misconception of life—another inconceivable false start." He became a professor of history, without possessing any qualifications for the position, because his family and friends urged him to accept an offer that came out of a clear sky; and afterwards wrote history because that was the thing professors of history were supposed to do. Whatever he did or accomplished in life, he did by accident and not as the result of reasoned purpose.

Not only did Adams fail of that education which would have enabled him to react "by choice, on the lines of force" that attracted his world; he was never able to determine what sort of

education would have given him this power. He observed attentively the careers of his friends and of the notable men of his generation; but the reasons for their failures or successes were not to be found; why some men, such as W. C. Whitney, should have won all the prizes the age had to offer, while others, such as his friend King, should have failed, remained a mystery to the end.

Society had failed to discover what sort of education suited it best. Wealth valued social position and classical education as highly as either of these valued wealth, and the women still tended to keep the scales even. For anything Adams could see he was himself as contented as though he had been educated; while Clarence King, whose education was exactly suited to theory, had failed; and Whitney, who was no better educated than Adams, had achieved phenomenal success.

This was one aspect of the failure, that he had never been able to do anything which he deliberately set out to do. But the chief aspect of the failure was that, having done only those things which the accident of circumstances imposed upon him, the things he had done were in no way identified with the "lines of force" that attracted his age, and were therefore of negligible importance. Henry Adams's chief reason of discontent was that he had never been able to impress himself powerfully upon his time. He knew that he had as good ability, and better ability, than most men—he was well within the "one in a hundred" who were worth educating. He knew that he had written as good history as any one was likely to write; but he was quite sincere in saying that he "worked in the dark", and that he never could see that his history was worth the doing. One reason for this was that histories as commonly written, and as he had himself written them, led nowhere and explained nothing.

Historians undertake to arrange sequences—called stories, or histories—assuming in silence a relation of cause and effect. These assumptions, hidden in the depths of dusty libraries, have been astounding, but commonly unconscious and childlike; so much so, that if the captious critic were to drag them to light, historians would probably reply, with one voice, that they had never supposed themselves required to know what they were talking about. Adams, for one, had toiled in vain to find out what he meant. He had even published a dozen volumes of American history for no other purpose than to satisfy himself whether, by the severest process of stating, with the least possible comment, such facts as seemed sure, in such order as seemed rigorously consequent, he could fix for a familiar moment a necessary sequence of human movement. The result had satisfied him as little as at Harvard College.

Later in life, when he had turned to science for an explanation

which he could not find in history, it seemed to him that, supposing Kelvin's law to be rigorously true, the professor of American history should "begin his annual course by announcing to his class that their year's work would be devoted to showing in American history 'a universal tendency to the dissipation of energy' and degradation of thought, which would soon end in making America 'improper for the habitation of man as he is now constituted.'"⁴ It must be admitted that professors of history do not commonly begin their courses in this way; but if this is indeed the proper way, Adams was quite right in supposing that his own histories were enterprises of no great significance.

But assuming that the method was good, Adams had another reason for being indifferent to his work as historian. He says that after having given ten or twelve years of serious labor to writing his history of Jefferson and Madison, he never had, so far as he could learn, more than three serious readers. No doubt this is not mathematically true; but from Adams's point of view, considering the population of the world, and the likelihood of his books ever having a decisive influence upon the course of civilization, the statement was relatively true. The point was that, whether his histories were good or bad, the world, or even America, would have been precisely what it was if the *History of the United States* had never been written. The point was that America would have been precisely what it was if Henry Adams had never lived. And Henry Adams was not content that it should be so. Henry Adams, son and grandson and great-grandson of men who had helped to shape the destiny of their country, precisely because he had had every advantage and was possessed of mental qualities that he knew to be first-rate should have been able, in any well-ordered universe with a decent regard for its needs and for the economy of its available resources, to make an adequate contribution to the sum of human achievements. With such advantages and such abilities, he should have figured as an outstanding influence, in no matter what line of endeavor—in politics, in finance, in art, in ideas. To have been merely the writer of books that gathered dust on the shelves, of books that, even if they had run to the thousandth edition, would not have made a dent on the shell of destiny—this was to be a failure, whatever the gild of professors might say. Such a man, having "shed his life-blood for the sublime truths of Sac and Soc", might well be forgotten under the epitaph: HIC JACET HOMUNCULUS

⁴ *A Letter to American Teachers of History*, p. 85.

SCRIPTOR DOCTOR BARBARICUS HENRICUS ADAMS ADAE FILIUS ET
EVAE PRIMO EXPLICUIT SOCNAM.

Another grandson of John Quincy Adams closed his life with much the same sense of futility; and he too was much concerned, in his *Autobiography*, with the failure to obtain the education which he needed. But while Charles Francis Adams lays this failure to his father, Henry Adams places the responsibility upon the cosmos. Charles Francis knew precisely the education he should have had; he ought to have done those things which his father did not require him to do, and he ought not to have done those things which his father required him to do; he ought to have learned to play games; he ought to have gone to the public school; he ought—but the list is long. Henry Adams blamed no one, not even himself. He did not know what education he should have had, and no one could have told him. To the last day of his life he did not know. The whole thing was a cosmic riddle. How indeed could men be trained “to react, not at haphazard, but by choice, on the lines of force that attract their world”, if no one knew what those lines of force were? But to determine the lines of force that attract the world is the problem of all history; and so the question of education, in the last analysis, was identified in Henry Adams’s mind with an intelligible philosophy of history, a scientific explanation of the universe.

With this problem he was occupied from an early date, and during the later years it absorbed all his energies. His study of science, into which he delved as deeply as his knowledge of mathematics enabled him to do, his preoccupation with the dynamo and the Virgin—all this was no mere dilettante dabbling in curious and recondite matters; nor can we suppose him, after life was fairly done, to have traversed the dreary wastes of scholastic philosophy as an idle stunt, or for the academic satisfaction of constructing a neat formula within which the vagrant facts of history might be comfortably and amicably enclosed. He is indeed whimsical enough about it, and besprinkles himself liberally with the light showers of wit and sarcasm and delicious humor that everywhere fall upon the just and the unjust. But all this is mostly protective coloring; he laughs at himself that no one may suppose his own withers wrung, and forestalls sympathy in others by having none on his own account. At bottom he is engaged in a desperate endeavor to unravel the riddle of his own failure, to search out the heart of that mysterious force that made all his reasoned purposes futile and all his achievements vain. He never succeeded; and in the end he re-

garded the *Education* itself as a fragment, unfinished, avowedly incomplete, which might well remain unpublished and so be forgotten. And this too was part of the general failure. Not only had he failed to impress himself upon the life of his time; he had not even redeemed that failure by solving the mystery of it.

If this interpretation is in any measure true (one can never be sure), there was an element of tragedy in the life of Henry Adams. But in any case it is well concealed in the *Education* as it was in life. It is not likely that many readers will see the tragedy of a failure that looks like success, or miss the philosophy-clothes that were never found. And indeed we may all be well content with the doings of this manikin that turns out to be so lively an ego. Henry Adams was worth a wilderness of philosophies. Perhaps we should have liked the book better if he could have taken himself more frankly, as a matter of course, for what he was—a man of wide experience, of altogether uncommon attainments, of extraordinarily incisive mental power; and if, resting on this assumption, he had told us more directly, as something we should like to know, what he had done, what people he had met and known, what events he had shared in or observed, and what he thought about it all. This he does do of course, in his own enigmatic way, in the process of explaining where and how he sought education and failed to find it; and fortunately, in the course of the leisurely journey, he takes us into many by-paths and shows us, by the easy play of his illuminating intelligence, much strange country, and many people whom we have never known, or have never known so intimately. When this happens, when the manikin forgets itself and its education-clothes, and merely describes people or types of mind or social customs, the result is wholly admirable. There are inimitable passages, and the number is large, which one cannot forget. One will not soon forget the young men of the Harvard class of '58, who were "*negative to a degree that in the end became positive and triumphant*"; or the exquisitely drawn portrait of "Madame President", all things considered the finest passage in the book; or the picture of old John Quincy Adams coming slowly down-stairs one hot summer morning and with massive and silent solemnity leading the rebellious little Henry to school against his will; or yet the reflections of the little Henry himself (or was it the reflection of an older Henry?), who recognized on this occasion "that the President, though a tool of tyranny, had done his disreputable work with a certain intelligence. He had shown no temper, no irritation, no personal feeling, and had made no display of force. Above all, he had held his tongue."

Those who have read the *Autobiography* of Charles Francis Adams will note with interest that Henry had a much higher opinion of his father than his elder brother had, which may have been due to the fact that he knew him much better. The elder Charles Francis, he says,

possessed the only perfectly balanced mind that ever existed in the name. For a hundred years, every newspaper scribbler had, with more or less obvious excuse, derided or abused the older Adamses for want of judgment. They abused Charles Francis for his judgment. . . . Charles Francis Adams was singular for mental poise—absence of self-assertion or self-consciousness—the faculty of standing apart without seeming aware that he was alone—a balance of mind and temper that neither challenged nor avoided notice, nor admitted question of superiority or inferiority, of jealousy, of personal motives, from any source, even under great pressure. This unusual poise of judgment and temper, ripened by age, became the more striking to his son Henry as he learned to measure the mental faculties themselves, which were in no way exceptional either for depth or range. Charles Francis Adams's memory was hardly above the average; his mind was not bold like his grandfather's or restless like his father's, or imaginative or oratorical—still less mathematical; but it worked with singular perfection, admirable self-restraint, and instinctive mastery of form. Within its range it was a model. . . . He stood alone. He had no master—hardly even his father. He had no scholars—hardly even his sons.

The estimate is just, the analysis penetrating. For analysis, Henry Adams had indeed a master's talent; and we are especially grateful for his dissection of the senatorial mind in general, and of the minds of such particular senators as Seward and Sumner and Lodge. But he was equally good at surprising the secret of the group mind, and of all groups the one that interested him most was the English. For studying the English he had ample opportunity; and although, according to custom, he professes never to have fathomed that peculiar people, his observations are always interesting and often profound. Even where his opportunity was limited he made the most of it. The picture of a whole judicial generation is made vivid in the chance statement that he "never set eyes on a judge except when his father took him to call on old Lord Lyndhurst, where they found old Lord Campbell, *both abusing old Lord Brougham*". Nothing interested him more than English "society". What it was, he never knew—"one wandered about in it like a maggot in cheese; it was not a hansom cab, to be got into, or out of, at dinner time." He was much perplexed by Motley's remark that the London dinner and the English country house were "the perfection of human society". But after having

studied carefully and practised painfully what seemed to be the favorite accomplishment, he came to the conclusion that

the perfection of human society required that a man should enter a drawing-room where he was a total stranger, and place himself on the hearth-rug, his back to the fire, with an air of expectant benevolence, without curiosity, much as though he had dropped in at a charity concert, kindly disposed to applaud the performers and overlook mistakes. This ideal rarely succeeded in youth, and towards thirty it took a form of modified insolence and offensive patronage; but about sixty it melted into courtesy, kindness, and even deference to the young which had extraordinary charm both in women and in men.

Upon mature reflection I cannot resist the temptation to quote the passage on being called a "begonia" by a United States senator, since it reveals Adams's genial irony at its best, as well as his opinion of senators—not by any means at its worst. Returning home from England on one occasion, he found that his article in the *North American* reviewing the last session of Congress, had been widely circulated by the Democrats as a campaign document. The inevitable reply was made by Senator Timothy Howe, of Wisconsin, who, besides refuting Adams's opinions,

did him the honor—most unusual and picturesque in a Senator's rhetoric—of likening him to a begonia. The begonia is, or then was, a plant of such senatorial qualities as to make the simile, in intention, most flattering. Far from charming in its refinement, the begonia was remarkable for curious and showy foliage; it was conspicuous; it seemed to have no useful purpose; it insisted on standing always in the most prominent positions. Adams would have greatly liked to be a begonia in Washington, for this was rather his ideal of the successful statesman, and he thought about it still more when the *Westminster Review* for October brought him his article on the Gold Conspiracy, which was also instantly pirated on a great scale. Piratical he was himself henceforth driven to be, and he asked only to be pirated, for he was sure not to be paid; but the honors of piracy resemble the colors of the begonia; they are showy but not useful. Here was a *tour de force* he had never dreamed himself equal to performing: two long, dry, quarterly, thirty or forty page articles, appearing in quick succession, and pirated for audiences running well into the hundred thousands; and not one person, man or woman, offering him so much as a congratulation, except to call him a begonia.

The number of passages one would wish to quote is legion; but one must be content to say that the book is fascinating throughout—particularly perhaps in those parts which are not concerned with the education of Henry Adams. Where this recondite and cosmic problem is touched upon, there are often qualifications to be made. The perpetual profession of ignorance and incapacity seems at times a bit disingenuous; and we have to do for the most part, not with the way things struck Adams at the time, but with the way

it seemed to him, as an old man looking back upon the "broken arch", they should have struck him. Besides, in the later chapters, in which he deals with the dynamic theory of history, the problem was so vague, even to himself, that we too often do not know what he wishes to convey. Apropos of the Chicago Fair, which like everything else in his later years linked itself to the business of the dynamo and the Virgin, he says: "Did he himself quite know what he meant? Certainly not! If he had known enough to state his problem, his education would have been completed at once." Is this the statement of a fact, or only the reflection of a perversity? We do not know. Most readers, at all events, having reached page 343, will not be inclined to dispute the assertion. Yet we must after all be grateful for this meaningless philosophy of history (the more so perhaps since it is meaningless); for without it we should never have had either the *Mont-Saint-Michel* or *The Education of Henry Adams*—"books which no gentleman's library" need contain, but which will long be read by the curious inquirer into the nature of the human heart.

Henry Adams lies buried in Rock Creek Cemetery, in Washington. The casual visitor might perhaps notice, on a slight elevation, a group of shrubs and small trees making a circular enclosure. If he should step up into this concealed spot, he would see on the opposite side a polished marble seat; and placing himself there he would find himself facing a seated figure, done in bronze, loosely wrapped in a mantle which, covering the body and the head, throws into strong relief a face of singular fascination. Whether man or woman, it would puzzle the observer to say. The eyes are half closed, in reverie rather than in sleep. The figure seems not to convey the sense either of life or death, of joy or sorrow, of hope or despair. It has lived, but life is done; it has experienced all things, but is now oblivious of all; it has questioned, but questions no more. The casual visitor will perhaps approach the figure, looking for a symbol, a name, a date—some revelation. There is none. The level ground, carpeted with dead leaves, gives no indication of a grave beneath. It may be that the puzzled visitor will step outside, walk around the enclosure, examine the marble shaft against which the figure is placed; and, finding nothing there, return to the seat and look long at the strange face. What does he make of it—this level spot, these shrubs, this figure that speaks and yet is silent? Nothing—or what he will. Such was life to Henry Adams, who lived long, and questioned seriously, and would not be content with the dishonest or the facile answer.

CARL BECKER.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

BACK TO PEACE IN 1865¹

ONE reason why so little public attention was given to human reconstruction and the social aspects of demobilization in 1865 was that the then dominant generation, blending the individualism of Jefferson, of Emerson, of Andrew Jackson, and of John Stuart Mill, believed that such problems were for individual solution. Doubtless shell-shock cases existed—we have most of us known veterans probably still suffering from the failure to treat it properly; undoubtedly there were economic and social hardships which might have been ameliorated—yet on the whole the individualistic method, modified by the humane neighborliness which equally characterized the Americans of the period, did result in the successful absorption of the veterans into civil life. No historian would, and no lay person should, however, deduce therefrom that such a system would work equally well to-day. No one can say whether our economic system is more or less elastic than it was, though the richness of the unexploited frontier of 1865 probably was a determining advantage; but at least the localization of the immediate effects of the war to our country rendered conditions strikingly different, and the distinctively war industries were less important.

Of course, no amount of individualism could prevent the government from having some policy and that policy from having some effect upon the situation. That policy was demobilization at the earliest possible time, by units, at the most convenient place for the unit as a whole. There was no attempt to pick out pivotal men, or to use the interval between peace and discharge for schooling.

¹ Professor Fish, now in London in charge of the interests there of the American University Union, sends this note with the following comment. [Ed.]

"These notes are the result of a long-continued study of the problem of the absorption of the discharged soldiers of 1865 into the life of the community, each phase of it having been at some time a leading topic of seminar treatment for at least a year. It was my purpose to have condensed the whole into an article for the *Review*. Separated as I have been from my notes, this has been impossible, but I felt that, in view of the immediate importance of the subject, it might be worth while to present at this time some conclusions even without the evidence. It will be appreciated how much I am indebted to various members of my successive seminars, some of whom I hope will produce reasoned articles on subjects here touched upon."

Minor problems similar to those of to-day were constantly arising. The semi-jocular "grousing" of the soldiers in the different Union armies alarmed timid souls who feared to bring Grant's and Sherman's men to Washington together. Grant's detention and shifting of men to meet the Mexican situation and Indian difficulties was feared by some as having militaristic intent. There was, however, little important complaint of unfairness in dealing with the different units. By train, steamer, canal boat, and coach, in the order of importance given, a tidal wave swept northward in July and August, 1865, and in diminishing volume, petering out to a thin trickle during the remainder of that year and the first half of 1866, until June saw normal military conditions almost re-established. The Confederates, turned loose, like the prisoners from some of the German camps, but into a friendly countryside, wandered home on foot and horseback—and got there first.

The Confederate, however, arrived home penniless; the Union soldier with a real "wad". There were no allowances nor maintenance grants, with strings attached, but on account of undrawn pay, partially paid bounties, and other claims, varying sums, rather substantial, were paid the soldier on discharge. The official records show that final payments averaged about two hundred and fifty dollars. The press, letters, and diaries give character to this average. Chiefly we read of sums stolen from soldiers. In August, I note soldiers robbed of the following sums: \$318, \$130, \$300, \$570, \$175, \$450, \$250. One had \$800 taken when boarding the boat for home, one left \$550 on the floor of a street-car in Milwaukee, one lost \$250 in a saloon. One man sent \$409.14 to Secretary McCulloch, "it being his father's desire he should give his services to his country".

These sums specially mentioned are nearly all above the average, and the impression they create is probably the more correct, for many soldiers saved money from bounties and pay previously received, or received additional sums later. One man received \$200, but had saved \$250; two Indians in August, 1865, had \$600, received as bounty money, substitute service, and pay.

It is apparent that in thus providing a nest-egg, the government did something to assist the working of the individualistic method, for not all such possessions were stolen or disdained. The sums were sufficient not only to tide men over a period of looking for work, but even to allow them an independent start in life. In authenticated instances, a veteran used his money to attend the University of Wisconsin, and others to buy farms. A small amount

of money in 1865 smoothed a good deal of rough road. Similar sums in the hands of Southern soldiers might have gone far to quicken the economic recovery of that section, whose brave sons received, from their states, good artificial limbs, to replace such as they might have lost, but nothing more.

The striking economic difference between the North and South, however, was in the number of new jobs awaiting the returned soldier in the former. Had they wished it, all could have had farms in the West, and the world would have consumed the products thereof. In fact, between 1865 and 1870, over two hundred thousand new farms were opened in the region of the Upper Mississippi, and nearly one hundred thousand in the valley of the Missouri. The relation of such facts to the soldier returning with money in his pocket is obvious; so obvious that it has been exaggerated. It is true that four years of out-of-door life makes indoor confinement irksome for a time, and so impels some to farming. This is, however, almost purely a physical condition that disappears. The further argument that war develops a spirit of roving and adventure is just about as true as the reverse statement. Adventure is for the adventurous, and more go to such wars as our Civil War and this Great War, than the lovers of adventure; as many react to peace and quietness and home, as to wandering. Many of these farms were opened up by soldiers, and some by those who would not have done so, had there been no war, but the number of farms opened was probably not very different from what it would have been had there been no war, nor was the personnel of the pioneers probably different in any very large measure. Equally important was the simultaneous expansion of manufacturing, which in the case of six great industries created in the same period three hundred and sixty thousand new jobs.

For tracing the actual soldier to the particular job, the censuses of neither the United States, nor of particular states, afford data. It is still possible to secure some information by personal interview, but the method that proved most profitable was based on the use of biographical material, particularly those biographies found in county histories, which, lacking the candor of the *Spoon River Anthology*, still can be relied upon for certain classes of formal facts. Such a study deals with thousands instead of millions, and to complete it would be a Herculean task; but the results are fact and not conjecture, and so some gleanings are presented as to occupations immediately before and after army service.

Of 275 cases of New Yorkers studied, 168 took up their old

business or something similar and 107 entered different businesses, but of this latter number, twenty-two had been "at home". Long service somewhat increased the tendency to shift; of those serving four or more years, fifty-four returned to their old occupations, forty-eight changed; of the three-year men, sixty-six returned and thirty-six shifted; of two-year men, twenty-nine returned and ten changed; of those who were in the army one year or less, nineteen returned to their old life, thirteen sought new fields. Of farmers and farm laborers, sixty-eight returned to the farm, twenty-two sought other occupations, this being almost a dead loss to agriculture, as only eight went into farming from another occupation. Twenty-four doctors clung to their profession, the only wanderers being five who obtained political positions. The next largest class is particularly significant; fourteen students became students again, eleven went into business, and to the fourteen were added twelve not previously listed as students, being more than went into any other single new occupation, except politics which took fourteen.

Light on perhaps a slightly different stratum of soldier-citizens is thrown by their applications for positions in the *New York Herald* for August, 1865. Of ninety-eight advertising, only six mention experience; seventeen wished to be clerks, sixteen porters, nine drivers, and so on in diminishing numbers, to one who wished to be a horn-player in a band, and one an interpreter of Italian; sixteen were willing to receive any offer.

Wisconsin, with a narrower range of industries, was more conservative. Of 361 men, 259 returned to their old occupation, 102 sought new, including ten who had not previously been employed. Here long service counted even more than in New York to wean men away from their old life. Of the four-year veterans, almost half sought new fields; of the three-year men, not quite a quarter; of the two-year men, about a fifth; of the yearlings, less than a sixth. Farming held 141, lost thirty-two, and gained thirteen. The doctors remained solid. Students again were relatively numerous and tenacious: eight continued; eight dropped systematic study; ten became students, having previously been farmers, lumbermen, teachers, harness-makers, and three "at home". Law held its own better than in New York, where twelve returned, five departed, and only one entered the profession, for in Wisconsin eleven returned and only one departed. Lumbering, always a shifting occupation, called six back, lost nine, and gained eight.

Iowa was an agricultural frontier state, one of those that attracted the discharged soldier. It afforded unusual opportunities

for study, about fifteen hundred cases being examined. These were divided into those of Iowa soldiers, about a thousand, and ex-soldiers who came to Iowa from other states, about five hundred. The former were unusually conservative, about eight in ten returning to their former occupation, one changing and one having been too young for occupation before entering service. Length of service made little difference to these men: 443 went back to farms; only forty-one farmers changed occupation; thirty-eight changed to farming, and fifty-one boys entered farming. The professions, generally undermanned in frontier states, held all their members, except that one doctor became a minister. Ninety students stuck to their books; nine became at once lawyers and doctors, seven dropped their studies, and three took up study. Twenty-one men unsettled before the war became settled; ten remained unsettled; twelve became unsettled. A significant decadence was that in teaching, which held only two, gained one, and lost eleven.

Naturally, those who came to the state were of a more changeable character; about three in five returned to their occupations, one in five changed, and one in five was too young to have had an occupation. Length of service here had something to do with the breaking of occupational habits, but not as much as in New York and Wisconsin, probably owing to the dominating importance of agriculture. About one-third of the four-year men changed, one-fourth of the three- and one-year men, and one-third of the two-year men. Farming was the great attraction, but it attracted chiefly farmers. As I remarked the other day to an Englishman who said that English farmers, unlike those of America, did not need agricultural colleges because they could learn from their fathers, the ancestors of the majority of American farmers have been of that trade, if not from the days of Adam, at least from the time agriculture began. One hundred and seventy-seven continued tillage on new farms; twenty-six farmers became bankers, merchants, book-keepers, confectioners, carpenters, coopers, ticket agents, railroad men, and so forth, while thirty-three ex-teachers, ditchers, miners, teamsters, lumbermen, merchants, engineers, and so forth, became farmers, as did sixty-one who were too young to have had previous occupation. Doctors and lawyers for the most part continued practice, but ministers on wandering became "unsettled", and teachers tended to buy farms. Carriage-makers and blacksmiths generally found employment at their old trades; forty-five students continued study; thirty-five dropped school, of whom twenty-two became doctors, lawyers, and teachers. A circus performer became a travelling

salesman; a photographer became a farmer; stone-masons, marble-cutters, carpenters, druggists, horse-dealers, and dentists, for the most part found their talents of use in meeting the obvious needs of their new community.

It was not, however, men alone who had been mobilized. All through the West, travellers in war-time had seen the sight, unfamiliar in America, of women working in the fields, and in the factory districts they had replaced men in all kinds of services, not to the extent to which they have in Great Britain in this war, but to a greater extent than they have in America. The substantial records of American opinion and conditions stride forward with fixed steps, by congresses, administrations, and decennial censuses, disregarding irregular pulsations, and so no quantitative measure, such as a census even as unreliable as that of 1870 would give, exists. That census, indeed, compared with the one in 1860, with small exceptions, knows these women not. Fortunately, statistics collected in Massachusetts and New York in 1865 give a partial memorial of their activity. A comparison of these figures with those of 1860 and 1870 shows that women for the most part dropped out of occupations previously unusual for them (with the exception of two), when the men returned. On the farms the women quietly returned to kitchen and dairy, in towns they re-established homes or swelled the ranks in the usual feminine fields. In the case of school-teaching, however, they clung to the positions formerly held by men, which they had secured, creating a familiar and characteristic American condition. For reasons less obvious, they remained in large numbers, also, in the printing shops, to which Benjamin Franklin had long before commended them.

The total effect of the war on the position of women was indeed marked, curious, and complex, but in so far as the great majority of those called suddenly into new occupations was concerned, they became demobilized with the men.

The question of children in industry is even more difficult, for no census before 1870 recorded their industrial pursuits. This might seem an evidence that the problem of child labor had assumed a new importance, but it might merely mean that the public conscience was newly aroused. Certainly we know that the problem was not altogether new, and that American children had worked, both in a wholesome way about the home and farm, and many of them in unwholesome factories. The only method of getting at comparative figures has seemed to be by comparison of proportions of school attendance in 1860 and 1870, for which statistics of vary-

ing reliability and significance exist for all the northern states. These figures are indeed striking. Only two states, Wisconsin and Vermont (or Connecticut) show increases, all the others show decreases, often startling. When one considers that the later date is 1870, when the more immediate results of the war had passed away, and when one considers also the figures which show the naturally expected deficiency in the actual number of children born in the war years, one realizes the awful cost of the war in stunting the new generation.

As to the habits, and the spiritual and the physical condition of the men demobilized, one can judge only by evidences still less direct. The men did learn to wear ready-made clothes; they did not become militaristic in their ideas. No generation has existed in the United States so fundamentally opposed to war and to territorial expansion; never before was the army brought down to so small a percentage of the population, so little attention given to the militia, and the navy allowed so rapidly to dwindle away; the military training so toilsomely acquired was used chiefly to make political processions gay. Some did become unsettled and lawless, but the attempt to proportion the amount of disorder between that resulting from frontier characteristics, and that from the war, is apparently quite futile. The overwhelming majority settled down to the quiet life of ordinary citizens, except that some greater proportion than usual felt, as did Dr. Johnson's interlocutor, that the world, or more particularly the country, owed them a living. In disregard of property-rights, and particularly of the sanctity of public property, there was, perhaps, some unusual laxity in the later career of the Civil War generation; and it is quite arguable that this may have been a result of war conditions, with the waste and plunder of government stores that was so wide-spread, and the pillaging which occasionally marked the advance of armies. Rape had been extremely uncommon, and of other such immoral practices as entailed physical degeneration, the reticence of that mid-Victorian period allowed small evidence to survive. The extent of the advertisements of venereal remedies, however, often running to nearly half the advertising space even in reputable papers, alone shows that the problem existed, while public opinion forbade effective measures for handling it. Nor was the régime of the camps such as to instill any offsetting sanitary habits of life. Bathing and real cleanliness remained matters of personal desire, and of inheritance, though a general feeling for a greater spruceness of appearance than had been characteristic of American men may be traced to

military inspection. Feeding continued to be a matter of abundance, put away in haste, with some modifications through the replacement of individual preparation by ready-to-eat concoctions, whose ingredients were to remain long unsupervised by law.

Certainly army life between 1861 and 1865 had much less relation to normal life than army life of to-day. Special services were few, and the soldierly routine was largely a matter of the manual of arms. It is as yet uncertain how effective the attempts to introduce civilian education into the camps will be, but, with the pervasive scope of modern war, a large proportion of the soldiers of to-day have had to study, have acquired the power of mental concentration, and very often have laid a practical foundation for some craft which may serve them afterwards. The boys of 1861 carried away from the army little except a certain physical responsiveness and a habit of discipline. Yet one by-product of war experience was probably not without national significance. The Civil War armies were large and the administrative problems involved in handling them developed the talent of many of those who were the instruments in transforming the United States in a single generation from a nation with an industrial life relatively very simple, to one well in the van of our modern, complex, economic civilization.

One of the tragedies of the Civil War is that the army that saved the Union retained, or, more correctly, after having been dissolved into the commonwealth for fifteen years, regained its self-consciousness chiefly through its efforts to secure what it considered an adequate reward for its services. Mild, indeed, and little menacing to the state as was its activity compared with that of many another victorious soldiery, it had an effect undeniably bad on the politics of the eighties and nineties, and it cooled, in the minds of many, the gratitude which should have warmed the last years of the veterans. That the total amount of pensions obtained was greatly in excess of the amount that the country should have paid and could afford to pay, is doubtful, but it was paid at a time when it served merely to smooth the difficulties of old age, instead of fitting for life, and it was so evenly distributed among those who needed and those who did not, that it seldom served as a strong door in cases where there was a real wolf. Much can doubtless be done to prevent a recurrence of such a situation, if the community, without waiting to be urged, adopts a generous plan, based on a broad conception of social obligation. Fundamentally, however, the best hope that the conscious influence of our new veterans may be directed along constructive lines, rests in the difference in the

public aims of the two wars. Those of the Civil War may be expressed in negative terms, that the Union should not be dissolved, and that slavery should be abolished. By 1868, at least, these objects had been attained.

The present war, at it has impressed itself on the American mind, has more resembled that of the Revolution, where the object was not only separation from Great Britain, but the founding of a new nation. As the veterans of that war found their task one that continued with scarcely abated interest their life long, so the veterans of this war, it may be hoped, will continue to throw their weight, united on the battle-field to overthrow the German imperial system, still united into the task of guarding a new world organization through its critical period.

CARL R. FISH.

DOCUMENTS

Diary and Memoranda of William L. Marcy, 1849-1851

FOR many years the papers of William Learned Marcy were in the possession of his heirs and were not open to historical investigators. Marcy was twice married. His first wife was Dolly Newell of Southbridge, Massachusetts, to whom he was married in September, 1812. She died in Troy, New York, on March 6, 1821, leaving two sons, William G. and Samuel. William L. Marcy's second wife was Cornelia Knower of Albany, whom he married about 1825. Samuel Marcy married Eliza M. Humphreys. Four children were born to them; the second child, Edith, married Charles Stillman Sperry, a lieutenant in the United States Navy, who rose to the rank of rear-admiral.

The Marcy papers were originally collected by Mr. George Newell, a brother of William L. Marcy's first wife, his intention being to write a life of his distinguished brother-in-law. Owing to Mr. Newell's death the project was never carried out. The papers passed into the hands of the Knower family and were preserved by John Knower, a brother of William L. Marcy's second wife. He kept them at his residence near the Manhattan Club in New York City. After John Knower's death, the papers passed into the keeping of his nephew, Benjamin Knower, and were taken by him to Scarborough, New York. After the death of Benjamin Knower, in 1904, the documents were sent to the wife of Rear-Admiral Charles Stillman Sperry and were kept in the vault of the War College at Newport, Rhode Island. They remained there until 1914 when Mrs. Sperry had a wooden chest and a cow-hide trunk which contained the more valuable papers sent to her at Boulder, Colorado, where she now resides with her son, Charles S. Sperry, a professor in the University of Colorado. In 1915 Mrs. Sperry and her son deposited most of these papers, as a loan, in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. For personal reasons they retained three diaries. Through their kindness the *Review* is allowed to publish the portions of these diaries which have general historical interest.

In addition to the Marcy documents in the Library of Congress and the diaries, Mrs. Sperry has informed me that a trunk contain-

ing contemporary newspapers and pamphlets collected by William L. Marcy is on deposit in a warehouse in Brooklyn. Mrs. Sperry also told me that a portrait of her grandfather hung for many years on the walls of the Clarendon Hotel in New York, the property of the proprietor. This she has not seen since 1888, and she is not certain that it is still in existence.

THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL.

[In the Marcy Papers in the Library of Congress, volume XVIII., bound at the end of the year 1850, is a memorandum, aluded to by Marcy in the Diary contributed by Professor Marshall, and bearing the title "Washington revisited". Apparently written in the spring of 1850, it is supplemented by "Further remarks on General Taylor made after his death", intended to be inserted in the memorandum preceding. It has been thought appropriate to add these two compositions to the portion of the Diary here printed.

In volume LXXVII. of the Marcy Papers in the Library of Congress are fragments of diary of the years 1831, 1833, 1835, 1836, 1839, 1843, 1844, 1849-1851, and 1857. Marcy at various places confesses to not being industrious in the matter of keeping a diary, and the sum total of all this matter, added to what Mrs. Sperry possesses, does not make anything approaching a continuous record, but still remains a series of fragments. Those in the Library of Congress relating to 1857 form something like a continuous record from March 3 to April 18 of that year, but in the main duplicate a series possessed by Mrs. Sperry, which will be presented as a second installment, in our next number. The Library fragments from 1831 to 1851, together with the portions of Mrs. Sperry's series not here extracted, relate almost entirely to personal matters, and are mostly records of Marcy's reading. Marcy was a well-educated man (A.B. Brown University 1809), and his reading was extensive and varied, though desultory. Beaumont and Fletcher, Milton and Hooker, *Hudibras* and Pope and Dryden, Thomas à Kempis and Thomas Fuller, Montesquieu, and Wordsworth's *Prelude* and *Excursion*, figure in the pages of his Diary, with critical comments which, while nowise profound nor deserving of preservation in print, are those of an attentive and appreciative reader. The comments on politics, as will be seen, were mostly written on two occasions, when leisure followed immediately upon release from laborious Cabinet posts, namely, in March, 1849, when Marcy's period of service as Secretary of War in Polk's Cabi-

net came to an end, and in March, 1857, when he ceased to be Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Pierce. It is believed that the comments on public affairs which he makes at those two periods will have a considerable interest and value to historical students.

It will be seen that Marcy was a careless writer, but it has not been deemed necessary to correct obvious errors, though small changes of punctuation, in the interest of intelligibility and uniformity, have been thought allowable. ED.]

1849, Dec. 3d. On this day assembles the *Thirty first* Congress of the U. S. and in effect now is the beginning of Genl Taylor's Administration. Though he has been in Office nine month[s], it can not be said that he has indicated clearly and responsibly the policy by which he intends his adm. shall be marked. When he was before the people for election his name and fame as a soldier awakened some enthusiasm in his favor—enough to be the cause of his Success; but it soon vanished. Two causes contributed to the sudden subsidence of the popular feeling in his favor. His military character was discovered to be in a great measure accidental and without any collateral sustaining qualities. All of him as a general is comprised in two words—*personal courage*. Of his profession he knew not more than most, and much less than some of the officers of his lineal grade, Colonel. As he had lived more than fifty years without learning much of military matters, it was not reasonable to believe that he could learn much by the experience of the favorable command which was given him in the War with Mexico. In that war he did excellently for himself and fairly well for the Country—much better than I should have anticipated if I had known him as well as I now do. I did much to give him his command and am naturally inclined to justify the judiciousness of the selection. Thus far he has shown himself destitute to a lamentable degree of the qualifications of a State[s] man; nor does it appear that he has sufficient capacity to have made one if he had had a favorable training. The shameless violation of his pledges made while he was a[i]iming at the Presidency hardly allow us in charity to regard him as an honest, yet less as an honorable, man. As his administration progresses it will probably appear more clearly what he is. Now he is considered to be in pupilage and directed, by the good luck which favored him in his military command, for he has selected or had dictated to him, a cabinet which as yet has shown no ability. There has been so much disappointment as to him and them that they will be extremely fortunate if they recover the ground they have lost. In this book I intend to note political events as they occur and make such reflections thereon as naturally and obviously arise simultaneously with their occurrence.

7th Dec. Our last news from Washington is the proceedings of yesterday rec'd by Telegraph. The house not yet organized. Of course no message yet. The trouble grows out of the slavery question, which is more threatening now than it has been at any other time.

Up to this day 13th. Decr. we have not yet heard that a Speaker is

elected yet the complexion of the latest news leads to a hope that our next information will announce that fact. . . .¹

Dec. 15. The contest for Speaker in Congress is not yet brought to a close or was not at the date of the last advices from Washington. W. J. Brown of Ind'a came within a few votes of an Election; but a discovery was made showing that he had been tampering with the Free-soilers (D. Wilmot etc.) which reflected disgrace on both.² I thought it strange that such a man as Brown who was the least likely of any man of my acquaintance in Congress to be thought on for that situation should receive such a vote as he did after his name had been brought forward. B. naturally is a fair and upright man but the prospect of the Speakership seems to have dazzled his moral vision (probably not very strong) and led him to a course which will forever tarnish his reputation. That he did not realize the position in which he placed himself by his letter to Wilmot is very certain. I regret the occurrence on account of its effect upon the character of B. but still more for the effect it is likely to have on the general interests of the democratic party. It will I fear tend to aggravate the feeling of alienation between the north and South, not only generally but among democrats. The freesoilers will lose by the steps. So far it is well.

1850, May 11. It is very strange that after such a firm resolve to continue my memoranda I should have omitted any entry in this book for nearly five months. For nearly two months previous to my departure for Washington I was employed as my Diary will show. Tho I read some every day it was casual reading and nothing occurred worth a more extended notice than that made in my Journal. About the middle of February I left home for W. where I remained until towards the first of May. I promised myself when I left home that I would note the reflections which arose in my mind on revisiting W. and accompany them with observations on the men and the events which might fall under my particular notice. The caption of the *Remarks* I have fixed on, which is "*Washington revisited*", and as yet I have done nothing more towards executing my resolution. Perhaps I never shall.³ It will be a shame to me if I do not. My object in going to W. was to assist Mr. J. H. C. in preparing some arguments to be laid before the Com'rs on Mexican claims.⁴ This engagement took up most of the time I spent there. I did not however intermit my usual course of desultory reading. . . .

¹ The Democrats had nominated Howell Cobb of Georgia, the Whigs Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts. After the thirty-ninth ballot Winthrop withdrew from the contest. W. J. Brown of Indiana, who from the thirty-second ballot on had received the largest number of Democratic votes, on the fortieth (December 12) received 112 votes, only two less than the number necessary for a choice.

² Brown's letter to Wilmot, December 10, promising that if elected Speaker he would constitute the committees on the District of Columbia, on Territories, and on the Judiciary, in such manner as would be satisfactory to Wilmot and his friends, is in the *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., p. 22.

³ The fragment found among Marcy's papers, bearing the title named, is printed at the end of this section of the Diary.

⁴ Commissioners appointed under arts. XIV. and XV. of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, pp. 1248-1286. "Mr. J. H. C." was apparently J. H. Caustin, who was counsel for many of the claimants.

Congress adjourned on 30. Sept. after a boisterous session of ten months. We have experienced the greatest political storm that ever fell upon the country and it will be an epoch in our history. Whether it is entirely passed I know not. Tho' the waves are yet tossing about I hope—I believe the agitating cause is removed. Clay and Webster have acted like patriots in this crisis and as each is near the end of his political career it may be regarded as the crowning act of their pol. life. The slavery agitation I hope is now and forever put to rest. Its recent effects upon the old party organization are worthy of consideration and ought to be traced with more fullness and particularity than I propose to do it—perhaps more so than I am able to trace them. The federalists—whigs—or whatever they are called or call themselves have been out of power in the general govt since 1801, most of the time. Their ascendancy whenever it has happened has been the result of accidental causes. It was natural in their situation that they should resort to expedients in order to prevail over their opponents; this they have done whenever a tempting occasion offered for nearly a half of a century. The southern states being mostly democratic their peculiar institution—slavery—was naturally by their political adversaries—the federalists—looked upon with disfavor. Some of the federalists rushed into the arms of abolition but as a party they stopped short of that extreme, but they ever entertained strong oppugnation to slavery and committed some aggressions on the institution. Their course secured to their party the benefit of the anti-slavery feeling in the free states—but they so adroitly managed the matter as to secure the cooperation of the opponents of the democracy in the slave states.

Acting as I fully believe under a resentful feeling arising from disappointment in failing to be nominated for Prest. in 1844, Mr. V. B.⁵ took stronger ground than even the federalists on the slavery questions which arose or were likely to arise in consequence of Mexican territorial acquisitions and thereby brought confusion and defeat upon the democratic party in this state and I think I am warranted to say in the Union. The Whigs greatly rejoiced at our divisions as well they might for they reaped a rich harvest by it.

The slavery agitation was just the thing that scheming politicians thought a source of popularity. Those of this character among the Whigs were determined to avail themselves of it and labored to their utmost to prevent the settlement of the disturbing questions which had arisen on this subject. The democrats generally went for the settlement, so did a part of the whigs.

Enough of them united with the democrats to secure the passage of the several compromise bills. The settlement of these is generally well received by the democratic party in the free states where the attempt to organize a freesoil party had failed; but it is likely to lay the foundation of a serious division among the whigs. In this state the continuance of the agitation was considered as of vital importance because it would be an obstacle to the Union of the democratic party—a measure undertaken last year and now in the progress of successful completion.

Senator Seward with a majority of the whig members of congress from this state opposed the compromise bills but thirteen of our delegates supported them and President Fillmore approved the bills and it is

⁵ Van Buren.

understood that he and his cabinet urged their passage. When the whig convention met last week⁶ it appeared there was, as it was reasonable to expect there would be, an embarrassing question before it. Fillmore and his friends in this state, which I shall call the whig adm'n, wished to have their course endorsed by the convention and if that could not be done, and as they were likely to be in the minority the[y] feared it could not, they wished the proceedings should be such as should not censure directly or impliedly the course they had taken. On the other hand Seward and Sixteen whig M. C. from this state had persisted in an ultra course on the slavery questions and their political position was perilous unless the party here stood by them. Their friends were determined to have them endorsed by the convention but this could not be done without an implied censure of the adm. party and the course of Prest. F. The Seward party had the power to carry out their policy and they did so after refusing what they ought to have regarded as a fair compromise. On the passage of resolutions distinctly approving the course of Mr. S. the Chairman of the Con[vention] Mr. Granger⁷ with several other Delegates—about forty in number—seceded, organized, proposed the call of another Whig State convention of the friends of the administration and opponents of Seward and published an address setting forth the grounds of their secession. This convention is to assemble at Utica in 17. Oct. So the matter stands at this date 2. Oct.

Oct. 24th. Though a long time has passed since I annotated I will first speak of what relates to my former closing remarks. The seceders convention met on the 17. inst. They did not, as I anticipated they would not, make a separate ticket but in fact concurred in that made at Syracuse. They have rather laid the foundation of a future division in the whig party than made one at this time. They have prepared to block the game of Seward and it appears to me they have effectually done it. By inaction only can S. and his friends avoid defeat and overthrow in this state. I think that the Whigs will not only not be injured in the approaching election by the cou[r]se of the Seceders or administration portion of them but probably come out in greater strength than if there had been no scessn among them. The ticket seems to be acceptable to both sections; particularly the candidate for Gov'r⁸ who is almost the only man on whom both sections would have cordially united. In truth he is a strong candidate. He is in favor with the Antirenters and has been adopted by them. Tho he in a very cautious and guarded manner refuses to accept their nomination, I think his refusal is so qualified as not to drive them from his support. He also stands well with the business and moneyed men in N. Y. Weed and Seward have for years been skilfully manoeuvring for the Irish votes and have succeeded quite well in their measures; undoubtedly a larger number of that class will go with the Whigs at the next election than hitherto. Mr. H. when in Congress showed somewhat of the demagogue in moving an appropriation of \$500,000, for the relief of Ireland

⁶ The Whig state convention had met at Syracuse on September 27. Barnes, *Thurlow Weed*, II. 186-187.

⁷ Francis Granger, postmaster-general under Harrison, leader of the "Silver Grays".

⁸ Washington Hunt.

some years ago when that country was in a partial state of starvation.⁹ Congress had no constitutional right to grant such relief yet pending an election it would not do to agitate that question. In consequence of that movement Mr. H. will find favor with the Irish voters to a greater extent than any other candidate that could have been selected from the Whigs.

Another matter will strengthen the whig cause in this state at the approaching Election—the excitement which has been got up on the Fugitive Slave Law. The freesoilers of our party go into this measure of agitation. Tho the whigs were in power when the law was passed, in this state they generally denounce it and it is enlisting considerable opposition, and they are ingeniously availing themselves of it to benefit their cause. The seceding section are however at war with them on this subject and to some extent that fact will neutralise the effects of the excitement. The Whigs are in my opinion in a far better state of organization than the democrats in this state and all things considered have the best chance for success. The abolitionists who are pretty numerous will generally vote the whig ticket. The whigs will have less confusion on the local tickets than I expected—perhaps less than the democrats, for in the ranks of the latter there yet remains considerable diversity of opinion and each section have evinced great anxiety to secure candidates of their own peculiar sentiments. The pressure of the election is bringing the party somewhat together yet there is and will be as much rankling [wrangling?] among them as among the whigs—So I fear the result of the coming election will show. . . .

Nov. 3, 50. Since the last entry was made—more than a week ago—I have been engaged in business in relation to the C. bank,¹⁰ and it is yet unfinished. My reading has been less in quantity and perhaps more disultory than usual. No particular subject has engaged my attention. Though an election is at hand I have written nothing for publication or rather nothing that has been published. There is a great deal of cross firing in this contest, and it is difficult to avoid topics that may do injury in some quaters. It is so difficult to determine what to say that I have said nothing.

The confusion in the Whig ranks is more apparent than it was ten days ago. There is among the two sections deep seated hostility which is partially kept under for the present but it will break forth after the election, be the result what it may. In the ranks of the dem. party there is discontent but less of it now than among their opponents. I doubt our success but have better hopes than I had a week ago. The great union Meeting held about one week since in Castle garden¹¹ was an important movement for the well-being of the country and what is of less importance, yet it is important, to the dem. party. It has struck a severe, if not a fatal blow, to two mischievous factions—*abolitionists* and *anti-renters*.

⁹ Bill introduced by Hunt, February 10, 1847. *Cong. Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 sess., p. 377.

¹⁰ The Canal Bank of Albany, then in the hands of a receiver by reason of peculations.

¹¹ A "union meeting" held in Castle Garden, New York City. It was a combination of Democrats and administration Whigs, opposing Seward and Weed and calling for vigorous enforcement of the fugitive slave law.

The whigs being as a general thing more unscrupulous than democrats have heretofore so manoeuvred as to profit more than their opponents by all irregular action in political affairs. The feeling in N. Y. is strong against both abolitionism and anti-rentism and was embodied and uttered in a potential voice by the vast assemblage at C. Garden. There is as things now appear a fair chance that the Whig candidate for Gov'r (Hunt) may lose in N. Y. nearly as many whig votes as he will get dem. votes in the antirent counties. If so the game which has been plaid in his behalf for the antirent votes will not prove to have been a wise one and certainly it is not an honest one. Three day[s] will put an end to all speculation. . . .

Nov. 10. It is just one week since I made the last entry in this book. During that week a state election has taken place,—an election of more than usual importance. Its exact result is not yet ascertained. Whether Seymour, Dem., or Hunt, Whig, is elected is yet left in uncertainty.¹² The legislature is whig. This will secure to that party a whig Senator in Congress in the place of D. S. Dickinson who has nobly done his duty in the Senate of the U. S. A combination of causes has led to this result. The division in the dem. party which two years ago clave it into two nearly equal parts though partially healed yet disturbs its action. The relicts of that feud still linger in its system and manifested itself in respect to the assembly more obvi[ously] than in any other way. A great number who were prominent in the 'barnburner' faction were determined that Dickinson should not be returned to the U. S. [Senate] and the more rabid among them were in favor of sending J. V. B.¹³ in his place, and if they could not do that preferred the election of a whig to the reelection of Dickinson. J. V. B. was justly obnoxious to the true democrats as Dickinson was to the leaders of the faction of barnburners. Our success was periled by the disproportionate number of Freesoilers on the local tickets particularly for members of the assembly.

In regard to members of congress we have done better. The delegation is divided between the Dem. and Whigs—Seventeen of each. In these there is also a subdivision on both sides—Union Whigs and Free-soil Whigs, national dem. and free soil democrats. The dem. have gained fifteen members. In the present congress we have but two. Indeed correctly speaking but one; for P. King¹⁴ is not in truth a democrat; he is in action an abolitionist and would break up the union for the sake of a few run away negros. Yet neither he or J. V. B. care for negros. They are both playing an unpatriotic political game. They are not troubled with principles and are in my opinion guided by purely personal views.

Tho we may lose our Gov. and one other candidate on the state ticket the result shows that the state is really democratic.

Hunt was the only man in the whig party who would [have] stood any chance for an election. The two factions in the party which has now become a very serious affair were united on him, but I doubt if any other could have been found on whom they would have united. Hunt

¹² The election was very close, and for some time in doubt. Hunt received 214,614 votes; Horatio Seymour, the Democratic candidate, 214,352.

¹³ John Van Buren. The senator finally chosen was Hamilton Fish.

¹⁴ Preston King, representative 1843-1847; 1849-1853; senator 1857-1863.

also got a large Irish vote by his motion in Congress to appropriate \$500,000, to relieve Ireland from starvation. It was so contrived that he got the antirent vote and yet his letter to them was so ingeniously worded that the opponents of the faction were satisfied with his position. Scarcely any other man could have avoided Scilla and Charybdis as he has.

Tho the free soilers will yet give the dem. further trouble it will be less serious than that which now impends over the Whig party. Seward's demagogism will yet for a long time trouble them. The Whig party will no longer submit to his machinations and his friends will not consent to let him fall down to his proper position.

It looks to me as if something like the reorgination [reorganization] of political parties was likely to take place in this state and indeed throughout the whole country. More of this hereafter. . . .

Christmas. 25 Dec. 1850. As the year approaches its close I am naturally let to reflect upon the manner in which I have spent [it]. I cannot charge myself with down-right idleness yet it is most true that I have very little reason to be satisfied with what I have done in it.

Though I have not done much that I ought not to have done I cannot clear myself from the charge of sins of omission. The country has been in a crisis, and I ought to have been more active in efforts to give a right direction to public sentiment. I ought to have found leisure to employ my pen in sustaining the course which has been pursued to extricate us from our difficulties. As these measures had my entire approbation I ought to have done more than I have to secure for them the public approval. Tho my life has been essentially that of a public man I have a disrelish for public affairs. . . . I charge myself with remissness in not having completed my notes on "Washington Revisited". I promise myself that I will resume that subject. Another visit to W— which I shall make in a few days will enable me to do better justice to it than otherwise I could. I shall be very much hurried until my departure and probably shall not annotate again until after my return in this book—but I may—I ought to make *memmoranda* and so I will.

I left Albany for Washington on the 6th day of Jany. 1851, and arrived at home on the 1st. of May. I did not as I promised above make any *memmoranda* yet I think I am better able than I was to continue my remarks on "*Washington revisited*". Yet I fear that my time is to be much taken up for the next two months.

May 13th, 1851. I arrived at home from Washn. after an absence of nearly four months on the 1st inst. I ought to have renewed at once my annotations. An ou[t]line of what I did and saw at Washn. in this last visit would require a long *note*. I do not make it because I mean to employ my first leisure in finishing my "Washington revisited" which I intend shall embrace observations on men and things as they appeared to me in my two visits. I will barely say here that I had on the last excursion a very pleasant time. In one respect it was much better than the visit of the former year. It was much more profitable. My visit to Annapolis was also a very pleasant one. The thread of my remarks I will take up at the time of my arrival at home on the first of May. I pass over domestic affairs.

A new phase has been given to our State politics by the breaking up of the Legislature. The getting up of the nine Million

Law¹⁵ was undoubtedly a political manoeuvre. The whigs resorted to it to make capital. Whether they will succeed or not is yet an event in the uncertain future. Opposition to the project was just, on principle and policy. All allowable means should have been resorted to for defeating it but I doubted from the first and now still more doubt whether the resignation of the democratic senators was a wise course. It could never have been certain in the minds of the sagacious that such a step was sure to defeat it. If there was a probability that the whig strength in the senate would be increased by it the course should not have been adopted. Though the election has not yet taken place there seems to be no doubt that the whigs will carry three or four of the vacated districts.¹⁶ This will be a triumph which will worsen our condition in the next general election. As an issue extended to the whole state it will not be a bad one for the democratic party, yet on such an issue I do not think it will be as well off as it would have been if it had stood on the old ground. As things were before this new issue the democrats were gradually and slowly getting together while the whigs were getting asunder. The new state of things accelerates the union of the former but it arrests and may result in composing the increasing divisions of the latter. As things were one would have been improving in their internal condition and the other worsening. In this aspect of the case I should prefer not to have the experiment tried. Before this new phase was given to our politics the main issue would have been the compromise measures. This was a good issue, those who supported it stand on old democratic ground. The freesoil democrats saw and felt the necessity of getting on to it. The only choice before them was to get back into that position or to join the freesoil whigs under the lead of Seward and Weed, there to occupy a subordinate position and become a component part of a sectional party which could never be a national party. There [their] success, if by possibility it could extend through the free state[s] or the greater part of them, inevitably involved the disruption of the union. There is too much patriotism and sagacity in the mass of the democratic party and if I am not mistaken in the mass of those who were withdrawn from the support of Gen. Cass in 1848 to permit themselves to unite their political destiny with such an organization. They would not have followed infatuated—if such leaders could be found—to this extent. The nature of this issue was exerting a powerful influence in bringing democrats together.

But this issue was not less potent in its operation upon the ranks of the whigs in this state. While it was bringing democrats on to there [their] old platform it was removing the whigs from theirs. As a popular expedient they as a party had professed the freesoil doctrine. The more patriotic portion of them when they saw, and all but the blind could not but see, that the practical effect of that doctrine would put an end to the union, first hesitated and then renounced it. Mr. Fill-

¹⁵ An act authorizing a loan of \$9,000,000 for the enlargement of the Erie Canal. Eleven Democratic senators resigned their seats in order to break a quorum, but in vain. Henry B. Stanton, *Random Recollections* (second ed., New York, 1886), p. 83; Hutchins, *Civil List* (Albany, 1865), p. 414. The act was subsequently declared unconstitutional.

¹⁶ They in fact carried six.

more had been freesoil even to the verge of rank abolition but when placed at the head of the federal govt. by the death—and so far as respects the well-being of the country, the fortunate death—of Genl. Taylor, he at once saw the necessity of receding from his former ground; he at once favored the compromise measures and organized his administration in such a manner as to carry them into effect. This course, inevitable as it was, necessarily produced a division in the whig ranks in all the states where freesoilism had taken root. This division had become, and I hope notwithstanding the new issue, will continue to be a serious affair for the whigs in the State. Though now a majority of that party still cling to freesoilism, there are numerous secessions from it and much wavering among those who still permit that banner to float over their heads.

The leading whigs at Albany, mostly officials and hostile to Mr. Fillmore's administration, seeing their ranks unsteady no doubt got up the new issue in the reasonable expectation that it would tend to hold their followers together and probably prevent their defeat at the next state election. If they succeed in this expectation they will have given a most signal proof of their political dexterity. In any event they have got a better position than they had before and of course the democratic party are less sure of an approaching triumph than they would have been. Still I think as it is the prospect for their success is very promising.

WASHINGTON REVISITED

I am under engagements to myself to write out my observations and reflections on visiting W. in the winter of 1850. This visit was made at the end of one year from the time I retired from the War Dept. at the end of President Polk's adm'n and consequently after Genl. Taylor had occupied the Presidential chair for that space of time. Every thing so far as respected the city wore the same aspects as when I left it in 1849. In appearance there was no external change. I then saw many, as I thought, most of the old faces I was wont to see there. New faces it is true were abundant, but that is ever the case in Washington. While a resident there I scarcely ever saw Congress in session, tho my acquaintance with the members was extensive and those who were most frequently at the war office were still in that body or were brought there by business or curiosity. The familiar aspect of the place and the presence of so many whom I was accustomed to meet daily tended to impress me with a belief that my absence had been but for a brief period—much briefer than it had in reality been.

My attention was naturally at first directed to the men composing the new administration and to the positions they occupied with reference to congress and the country. With most of the men called in to the cabinet I had had some previous acquaintance and had formed higher expectations in regard to them as men of talents and as statesmen than they have justified.

Of General Taylor little was known previous to his election except what regarded his military character. To the view of the country his real character was surrounded by a halo of glory which prevented it from being seen in its true proportions. He had been a successful Genl in his Mexican campaigns and was therefore reputed to be a great one.

His first encounter with the enemy was attended with a result as brilliant as it was unexpected, and had the effect of introducing his name to public notice as a candidate for President. He was evidently captivated with the suggestion and the natural consequence was that those who favored it and there were enough such about him secured his confidence and thereby obtained undue control over him, in relation to every thing connected with his advancement to the Presidency. They represented him as possessed of civil qualifications to which he had but slight pretensions and ascribed to him much more distinguished abilities as a military commander than he actually possessed. They filled his mind with false notions in regard to himself.

I thought well of him as a General but never for a moment regarded him as a great one. His knowledge of military affairs beyond the details in which his life had been spent, was very limited. Of the art of war, of strategy, of skilful arrangements, of a capacity to adapt his operations to meet emergencies as they arise and when they arise—of all the higher properties of a skillful commander in the field I now and at all times regarded him as uncommonly deficient. But he was attentive to the duties of his command and brought a common sense judgment to bear on all subjects to the extent of his information. He was brave to a degree which commands admiration and remarkably firm in his purposes. His bravery and the steadiness of purpose are the summary of his high qualities as a commanding officer. He was not very active, but was a prudent officer—singularly careful in regard to expenditures, so much so as to neglect to furnish himself with the information which he ought to have procured of the situation and movements of the enemy.

Tho very brave he lacked enterprise, and his prudence was without resource; he made a judicious use of what was put into his hands but wholly wanted the talent to create the means of secure success. With so many deficiencies indispensably necessary to constitute the highest order of commanders it is remarkable that he should have secured to himself, as unquestionably he did, in an uncommon degree the confidence in [of] the officers and soldiers under him. His bravery undoubtedly operated like a charm upon them; this impression was deepened by a conviction that his judgment was sound and his purposes well matured and would be steadily pursued. In another respect he stood above those with whom he was likely to be compared. He had a good discernment of the merits of those under him and in assigning duties to them he seems to have laid aside all personal feelings (from which he was not free) and in this way made the best use of the materials in his hands. There was in this respect an approach to magnanimity in his military conduct of which he has not yet given any evidence in his civil career.

But my object in speaking here of Genl Taylor is to present my views of him in his position as President to which this view of his character as General is perhaps an allowable introduction.

No man in the country could have been found with whose name the Presidency could have been connected by any fortunate concurrence of circumstances more ignorant of public men or more unacquainted with public affairs than Genl Taylor. I think he has stated that he had never voted at a presidential election; I know he has said that until after he was elected President he had never seen one of the men selected for his cabinet, nor but one of the members of his predecessors cabinet includ-

ing Mr Polk himself. This want of knowledge of public men—this abstinence from participation in public affairs, was certainly no matter to boast of by one who had been elevated to the chief Majesty [magistracy] of this great republic, and who had given, amidst profuse expressions to the contrary, a fixed determination to do what he could to secure that exalted station.

Talents of a high order had not been generally conceded to him, nor did any but mere electioneers ascribe them to him; but it was supposed that he had considerable discernment in judging of men, a native sagacity which would enable him to avail himself in a creditable way of the suggestions of others with more experience and better information than he could pretend to have. He had the general reputation of firmness carried as many believed to the faulty extreme of stubbornness. This acknowledged steadfastness united to something more than a common degree of sagacity, it was believed, would carry him thro the arduous duties of his new station in a manner creditable to himself and useful to the country. This belief was the more readily adopted from the fact that two of our Presidents most eminent for high civil qualifications were distinguished Generals. The adoption of such an inference arose it is true from a very superficial view of the character of the several men. Washington, Jackson and Taylor had scarcely any similarity in the features of their characters and many points of striking contrast. Among the generality of the people enough was not known of Genl Taylor to enable them to make the discrimination, and in this uncertainty of what he was there was room to hope he might sustain a comparison with one or the other. It was not until after the test had been applied that the delusiveness of this hope became manifest. It was not alone to the captivating effects of military glory among our people, more infectious and perhaps more excusable immediately after a successful war than at any other time—but to this was added a puerile weakness always too prevalent, that General Taylor was indebted for the enviable civil position he now occupies. So strange is it that what implied a disqualification was presented in his case and accepted to some extent as a positive recommendation and to it more than to his military fame or certainly in conjunction with it was he probably indebted for his success. He was not and never had been a politician; he was fettered with no strong political ties—bound to no system of measures, and could not be induced to make any thing like a profession to any distinct political creed.

At first he announced himself no partizan and sought elevation irrespective of either of the great political parties into which the country was divided. While in this position many of each party espoused his cause; but either by his own sagacity or by the aid of personal friends, most probably the latter, he at length discovered that the ground he occupied was untenable. He was induced to change it so far as to enable him to secure the support of one of these parties. It was fortunate for him that the whigs to whom probably he was the most inclined were the most easily accommodated. In order to be endorsed by their nomination and to receive their general support he acknowledged himself a whig—but a moderate one—professed to be most liberal in his views and so far descended to particulars as to put forth solemn and reiterated pledges that no man should be removed from office on account of his political sentiments; that he had no friends to reward, no

enemies to punish. Considering these sentiments as emanations from a frank honest mind many were led into a belief that with such a man at the head of the government the country would see what is impracticable in a free government—"proscription proscribed,"—a man elevated to power and wielding a vast patronage but making no marked discrimination between those who supported and those who opposed. The improbability of the thing should have made it incredible, except to those who are so weak as to believe in the continuance of miracles. The most charitable view which can be taken of Genl Taylor's conduct in this respect is to assume that he was so utterly destitute of political experience that he intended to do what he promised. Such a defence is a poor compliment to his sagacity—but any other would be fatal to his integrity.

The belief that these pledges were made in sincerity and by a man sufficiently self-willed to carry them out was more extensively entertained than experienced politicians would have imagined and produced more effect than was anticipated. It retained under his standard, first raised as that of a no-party candidate, many of the democrats who then resorted to it and did not leave it when he made his advance towards the whig party: Many who had become disgusted with the *ascerbity of party politics*, and believed that it might be laid aside in the management of public concerns in a popular government, fancied they saw in Genl Taylor a candidate who would carry out their fanciful theory of administration. In this way he secured quite an accession of strength from the democratic party, without creating a corresponding [counterbalancing]¹⁷ defection from the whigs. His no-party professions at first created considerable distrust among the whigs who remembered with suspicion the conduct of Tyler but his approaches towards them had in a great measure removed it. This step gave them a view of his character on which they confidently built their hope, that if he was not already, he could soon be made to be what they wished to have him; it showed them that they had not much to fear from his imagined steadfastness of mind—that his principles could be easily made to accommodate themselves to the exigencies in which he might be placed. They discovered that he had one qualification or rather property necessary to their success which they did not hope to find in any other candidate. As a politician they could give him a *camelian hue* which would make him appear in a light acceptable to their party in every section of the Union,—to the north and the south—in the slave-holding and in the free states. As he had not been scrupulous in making or modifying his professions, they did not fear that he would interpose to detect deceptions which they might deem it expedient to practice by giving him a character suited to the varying view of a party somewhat distracted with contrariant sentiments.

Though he was represented in the free states as holding sentiments not palatable to the south, he was a slave holder and the South thought he could be held in regard to the much agitated question of slavery true to their interest because he was then known to be a man of singularly strong attachments to his own. The affairs of the whig party were in a conjuncture which required for their success a very peculiar candidate

¹⁷ The word "counterbalancing" is written above "corresponding" in the manuscript.

and in the person of Genl Taylor they found just such a one as was needed. With him they succeeded and they could not probably have done so with any others. (See further remarks made after the Death of Genl T—.)

On the 5th of March 1849, he was inaugurated. His Inauguration address showed that he was not then entirely unmindful of what he had said before the election; but the selection of his cabinet gave warning that he was passing into an oblivious state in respect to his public pledges. The members of it were all whigs and scarcely one of the moderate species. Those in the most influential position were the most exceptionable. The Secretary of State¹⁸ is usually considered in our government the head of the cabinet and the person selected for that office had as was then generally conceded the requisite talents for that situation. He had been long in public life, but in one position—the senate of the U States—and his talents had only been tried in one line—opposition. A man may be able as an opponent who is quite incompetent to lead or support. To find fault is much easier than to sustain. Those who best knew Mr. Clayton expressed doubts of his fitness for the station to which he had been assigned; these doubts were not confined to democrats but prevailed to a considerable extent among the whigs. His early habits in one respect had been bad. Though I thought as many others did that he had reclaimed himself I soon learned that this was a mistake. It is no longer a questionable matter that the indulgence referred to had not been intermitted and is now carried to a disqualifying extent. It has probably affected his nervous system and is one of the assigned causes of his failure to answer the general expectation in regard to the discharge of his duties as Secretary of State.

His political friends did not abstain from alluding to another trait of character derogatory in private life and intolerable in a public man—I mean an unreliableness—a defective integrity—a want of scrupulousness in regard to promises and in raising expectations without a settled intention to gratify them. Perhaps to characterise this fault as a want of integrity might be too expressive and yet it is but little short of it. When a man says a thing known to be within his power shall be done his character ought to be such as to give an assurance that it will be done and to leave no room for distressing doubts and uncertainty as to the result. On whig authority I am warranted in saying that such is not the case in respect to Mr. C. By a great many of his own party who have had opportunities of forming opinions from actual experience he is not regarded or spoken of as a *reliable* man.

In managing our foreign affairs he has shown an inadequate knowledge of them and a want of skill. He has utterly failed to vindicate the claim heretofore asserted by his friends and conceded by his opponents as a man of eminent talents. It was unfortunate for him to be forced as would necessarily be the case into a comparison with his able and accomplished predecessor.¹⁹ He has neither the abilities, the character or the address to sustain it. This juxtaposition has brought clearly into public view the signal merits and brilliant official success of the one and the no less noticeable demerits and disreputable failure of the other. The contrast is singularly disparaging to the present incumbent.

¹⁸ John M. Clayton of Delaware.

¹⁹ James Buchanan.

While I was in Washington I heard much said by the whigs—by leading members of the party and by the real friends of Genl Taylor—two classes not to be confounded—about a change in the cabinet and no change was suggested which did not contemplate the retirement of the Secretary of State. The low estimation in which the administration was held even among the great body of whigs was in no inconsiderable degree ascribed to the disappointed expectations of the public in regard to the Secretary of State and the bungling mismanagement of his Department.

The other members of the Cabinet claim a passing notice. The Secretary of the Treasury²⁰ has greatly fallen below public expectation. He had and from all I can now learn deserved to have a high reputation in his profession as a lawyer. Among the members of the bar in his state, Penna, now engaged in the practise he was by general consent placed in the first rank and many assigned him the head of it. The law had engrossed his attention and tho his uniform attachment had been to the whig or federal party he had not been an active politician. In going into the Cabinet he entered upon a new scene for which it now appears he was not well fitted. His position called for the exercise of phenomenal [phenomenal] talents: as yet he has given no evidence that he possesses them in more than an ordinary degree. I do not think there has been much blundering but some miscalculation. No one has yet been satisfied how he came to the conclusion which he authorised to be promulgated to the public in advance of his annual report that there would be a deficit of Sixteen millions in the revenues. There does not appear to have been vigor or watchfulness in the management of the Treasury department under him. He is not at home in it and it would have been far better for his reputation had he never entered it.

The Secretary of the Interior²¹ is a far more conspicuous figure in the group. He is a well-trained politician of the genuine whig stamp; one who pushes forward to his ends unscrupulous of the means, more bold than sagacious;—all partizan and no patriot. The features of his character are hard. By the proscriptive course he pursued for the short time he was a member of the Harrison Cabinet²² he acquired the *sobriquet* of the Butcher. As Genl Taylor had made so many professions of no party policy and as many well meaning but miscalculating men had aided his election from an honest belief that under him political asperities would be soothed the selection of Ewing was a matter of surprise and regret. To another class not undeserving of their approaching fate it caused the shiverings of horror. In the struggles for political ascendancy the most active members of all parties approve of the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils.²³ At the moment of triumph the successful call loudly for its unsparing application. After their ravenous appetite for office is gratified and they are comfortably

²⁰ William M. Meredith.

²¹ Thomas Ewing of Ohio.

²² Ewing was Secretary of the Treasury from March 5 to September 13, 1841. See *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 97-112.

²³ A repetition of the phrase, now become classical, used by Marcy, with reference to the politicians of New York, in the debate in executive session of the Senate, January 24 or 25, 1832. "They see nothing wrong in the rule, that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy". *Register of Debates*, VIII. 1325.

provided for an entire change of views on this subject takes place. They then think there is something harsh and even horrible in the maxim. In the change from the pursuit to the possession of office a mighty revolution is wrought in the minds of a large part of the incumbents. The prospective advent of a moderate or no-party candidate to a position which controls patronage is a matter of great joy with them; it relaxes their political nerves. They become at first neutral in action, and ultimately treacherous in conduct to the party to which they are indebted for their official situation. Though this meanspiritedness is far from being general or even common it is extensive, and many of those who maintain their political integrity in such a crisis are deeply infected with a hope that they shall be spared. If they do not vociferously condemn the maxim which I have mentioned they do not like to hear it announced.

The class of office holders here described, indebted for their situations to the democratic party and to the political application of the maxim now so disrelished, did not much regret the defeat of the democratic candidate and the success of Genl Taylor; but the selection of Ewing startled them from their repose of fancied security. They however still hoped as did many others who had no direct personal interest in the matter that Genl Taylor would be true to himself and pursue an unproscriptive course to which he was in honor and honesty bound by so many and so often repeated pledges. Amid much that proved the contrary they still clung to the hope that there was something in the character of the old Hero as he was called which justified the boast that "General Taylor never surrenders", but how little foundation there was for this hope and how utterly fal[1]acious it was will more clearly appear when the review of the cabinet is finished. The department over which Mr E. was selected to preside was newly established. It was the unwise measure adopted during Mr Polk's administration. It is due to his memory and fame that he neither favored or approved it.²⁴ As much can be said for all except one of his cabinet.²⁵ The bill creating the department unexpectedly passed and came to him for his signature in the last hour of his executive existence. If he had had even a few hours to reflect on it after he perceived its character I am quite sure he would not have given it his official sanction and as it was, immediately after he had signed it he said to the Secretary who had favored and indeed procured the passage of the law that "it was the worst bill he had ever signed". It would lead to an unallowable digression to detail here the objections to this unwise and antidemocratic measure. It was not fortunate, unless it should prove so with reference to its repeal, that such a man as Mr. E. was called to carry the act into execution. It was a measure, executed in any way, which must have led to undue concentration of executive power and he above almost any other one that could have been selected was better fitted to develop and give prominence to this dangerous feature. The immediate mischief has been an immense drain from the Treasury—and more to follow.

²⁴ Confirmed by Polk's *Diary*, IV. 371-372.

²⁵ The one exception was of course Robert J. Walker, secretary of the treasury, who drafted the measure. H. B. Learned, "The Establishment of the Secretaryship of the Interior", *American Historical Review*, XVI. 766-768.

The indulgence of his proscriptive propensity has caused the removal of those in the several bureaus who were acquainted with the course of business and the character of the unfounded claims against the government which were pending before them or had been overruled. Many rejected claims have been represented²⁶ and admitted; old ones awaked from the slumber of years, new ones conjured up, and both have met with favor beyond their merits. It seems as if political antagonism in this department had been carried not only to men but to things; that claims were considered just because they had been rejected by the preceding administration. Mr. E. is unquestionably a man of considerable talents and considerable distinction as a Lawyer, incapacity cannot therefore be received as an excuse for the abuses of power in his department. The course pursued by him and those under him can be explained in no other way than by supposing him to act on the mistaken policy that popularity is to be obtained by opening the door of the Treasury to every one who knocks at it. Such a man is not fit to have been imposed upon such a President as Genl Taylor—a president who had not the capacity if he can be presumed to have the disposition to look after and controll him. The Secretary of the Interior, admitted to be the ablest among the Septemvirs who surround the Presidential Effegy, is also the most ponderous and has contributed more than any of his coadjutors to sink the administration.

(Further remarks on Genl. Taylor made after his death to be inserted on the 3d page of the 3 sheet [p. 458, above].)

On the 9th of July the country was astounded by the announcement of Genl. Taylor's death. For this event the public mind was not prepared; scarcely had any notice gone forth of his illness. Public sympathy was deeply moved and the bereavement regarded with very general sorrow. His administration was excessively unpopular but it had not yet become extensively odious. There was still a hope extensively indulged that it would yet recover the ground it had lost. Many—very many—still clung to their first favorable opinion of the President, believing that he had been overruled by his cabinet and that ere long he would understand its true character and either change it or assume a mastery over it which would vindicate the character they had conceived him to possess. The people generally when they reflected upon the elevated statesman so suddenly removed from them viewed him in the light he was [in] when first elected; the cloud which had settled over him since his administration first began instantly disappeared; the brilliancy of his military achievements was thrown around him and nothing but the success and achievements of the brave and successful soldier was seen, felt or talked of. The national mourning [was] general and sincere; the language of panegyrick arose to extravagance. Much was said in praise of the statesman, but the public eye rested mainly on the soldier. Eulogies are usually indiscriminating and in this case they were peculiarly so. Strict impartial military criticism has not yet undertaken to pass in review his achievements but when it does so I think it will not give him a more elevated position than that I have assigned to him in my remarks made before his death.

Though eminently successful in his military career it can hardly be

²⁶ *I. e.*, presented again.

said he deserved success. Where a general for want of skill gets into difficulty that fact ought I think to detract something from his merit in extricating himself from it. Such was the case in relation to the battle[s] of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. Genl Taylor's main depot was at Point Isabel: here he had a vast accumulation of arms, provisions and munitions of war. If they had have been lost his operation for the season would have been entirely arrested; if they had fallen into the hands of the enemy who much needed them they would have been greatly strengthened and would have been thereby enabled to protract the war. This depot in every way so important was left without any thing which can be called a guard; it was distant from the army *twenty seven* miles—and what was worse than all it was accessable to the enemy. Why they did not cross the *Rio grande* near its mouth and capture it no one can tell. They might without meeting with any considerable resistance,—without any hazard have possessed themselves of it before Genl Taylor would have known it—certainly before he could have sent it any protection. He did not pretend to have known the strength of the enemy or any of their movements until they were discovered on the east side of the Rio Grande and had captured Capt Thornton and his party. Instead of crossing above Fort Brown had they crossed below and dashed on our Depot it must have fallen into their hand with the immense [amount] of property is contained.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition.

By LEONARD W. KING, Assistant Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, Professor in the University of London. [The Schweich Lectures, 1916.] (London: Humphrey Milford, for the British Academy. 1918. Pp. ix. 155.)

PROFESSOR KING in taking up the somewhat familiar subject of a comparison between Babylonian, Egyptian, and Hebrew traditions in regard to the beginnings of things does so for the purpose of showing the bearings of important new material that has come to light. This material is the result in the main of the Nippur Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania which was fortunate enough to unearth literary material belonging to the early Sumerian period, even though the actual texts represent copies that do not carry us beyond 2000 B.C. The bulk of the new material was published by Dr. Arno Poebel, who worked for several years at the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and whose publication has revealed among other things the source of the tradition of Berosus for the early and purely fanciful Sumero-Babylonian chronology.

The discussion throughout is based on an independent study of the new material, in the course of which many points hitherto doubtful are elucidated. Professor King shows very clearly that the later Babylonian stories of Creation and the Deluge, which have come down to us in their Semitic (or Akkadian) form chiefly from the library of Ashurbanapal, dating from the middle of the seventh century before our era, actually do revert to the very old Sumerian prototypes, but that in the course of the transmission, many of the Sumerian features became blurred or were intentionally modified to suit the views of the later age. The most interesting result, therefore, of Professor King's investigation is to show the gradual modification of the early tradition in its course along the centuries. The Semitic population of Babylonia now generally designated as Akkadian did not content themselves with bodily accepting the old Sumerian tradition, but inaugurated the process of steady modification. Professor King might have emphasized more strongly than he does the necessary contrast in traditions regarding the beginning of things according as they take shape among a people living in a mountainous region (which appears to have been the home of the Sumerians) and among those living in a low valley like that of the Euphrates. A

mountainous region is apt to suffer from a dearth of water whereas a valley such as we find in southern Mesopotamia, well watered by the overflow of two rivers, often suffers from a superabundance of water. This contrast may be traced more definitely than Professor King appears to admit in the course taken in the adaptation of the old Sumerian traditions to those which appear to be more distinctly Semitic. As to the very important question of the relation between Babylonian and Hebrew traditions, Professor King is strongly inclined, on the basis of the new material, to assume that the Hebrew traditions took definite shape in the century or two preceding the Exilic period. In this position he will have the support of most modern scholars. At the same time there are good grounds for assuming a far earlier and steady stream of influences into Palestine emanating from the Euphrates Valley on the one hand and to a lesser degree also from the Nile Valley, though it is impossible to follow the process in detail, chiefly because of the late date at which the Hebrew traditions, even after becoming fixed, received their present form. Professor King's three lectures represent a remarkably clear and highly interesting exposition of the important subject, and are to be strongly recommended to those who wish to follow the bearings of the latest archaeological discoveries on Biblical tradition. Incidental to the discussion a great many points are touched upon which are important also to students of the history of the ancient East. The book marks a decided advance upon previous works on the subject.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Conversion of Europe. By CHARLES HENRY ROBINSON, D.D., Hon. Canon of Ripon. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. xxiii, 640. \$6.00.)

CANON ROBINSON, editorial secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and well known as author of a series of writings on missionary subjects, presents in this volume of six hundred pages a survey of the various attempts which resulted finally in the Christianization of the European peoples. In a considerable and useful introduction he points out the difficulties of his task arising from the meagreness of the material and its perversions for purposes of edification. The book illustrates these difficulties, and we have to thank the author for meeting them as well as he has. We only regret that so much valuable space has been given to quotations from other modern writers and that the fatal phrase "it is said that" has been employed so often where we should be glad to hear what Dr. Robinson himself knew or thought.

The historical treatment of religious conversion must always depend upon the view one takes of the conversional process. Our conventional usage implies an individual conviction of the truth of the ideas to which

the person or the group is "converted"; but there is another view which leaves out almost entirely this personal element. According to this latter opinion the process of conversion may be described rather as a political or institutional one. The former we might not unfairly call the missionary view, the latter the historical. The former finds its chief interest in the personal contact of the believing missionary with the heathen and his unbelief. The latter, the historical view, is concerned rather with the observable phenomena as expressed in outward institutional forms. For the missionary the immediate circumstances, the spiritual arguments, the special superhuman manifestations are of decisive importance. The historian cares more for the conflict of races, the clash of religious practices, the relation of religion to politics and social customs, and thinks of "conversion" as the long resultant of friction among these rival forces.

Canon Robinson's book is frankly a missionary story. He writes the word Mission with a capital, as if to take the whole process of conversion out of the normal chain of human motive and place it in a higher world by itself. Here is little discussion of racial and cultural conditions of the peoples to be converted. All are alike "heathen". They yield to the "Christian" appeal, but we are left with but little understanding of what it was in them which responded to this appeal. Christianity was brought to them both as a set of doctrines and a way of life. They accepted the doctrines as a necessary accompaniment of the kind of life the superior people seemed to them to be living. Where this superiority expressed itself also in greater force of arms, as in the Frankish conversions, the argument was irresistible. Where there was no obvious superiority, as in the case of the Britons and their Anglo-Saxon conquerors, no results were visible.

That our author has not given a larger place to these considerations is perhaps to be explained by the method he has used. His work is divided quite sharply by countries. Beginning, for no clear reason, with Ireland, he passes on to England, France, Italy, the Balkans, Spain, Austria, Switzerland, through the Low Countries to Germany, Poland, Scandinavia, and Russia. This method tends to obscure all chronological unity and sequence. It emphasizes the local and personal or missionary elements and makes difficult any guiding critical attitude toward material. In each country we have, quite naturally, the traditional story of the best-known missionary, as Patrick, Boniface, Methodius, Augustine, and so on, with not very much critical comment. There is enough of the too abundant tales of miraculous events, but this is commendably free from unction or over-emphasis.

The whole effect of the book is scrappy. Chronological references jump back and forth to the reader's confusion. The march of the conversion as a single unifying process in the making of a new European population is not clearly reproduced. The place of Christianity as one among several spiritual, individual, and universal religions competing

for primacy throughout the peoples of the Empire is very briefly indicated, though surely a true history of Christian conversion in these days ought to place almost the first importance upon this decisive rivalry.

The Dawn of the French Renaissance. By ARTHUR TILLEY, Fellow and Lecturer in King's College. (Cambridge: University Press. 1918. Pp. xxvi, 636. 25 sh.)

THIS book deals in general with the development of civilization in France during the hundred and fifty years that elapsed between the accession of Charles V. and the beginning of the reign of Francis I., and more particularly with the progress of the Renaissance in that country during the twenty years that immediately followed the incursion of Charles VIII. into Italy. It falls into three divisions. In the first part we find a brief résumé of the early Renaissance in Italy, an account of the comings and goings between the two countries in peace and in war, and an exposition of the conditions in France that might be supposed to affect artistic and intellectual activities. The second part is concerned with the revival of letters and literature in France; and the third part is given over to the beginnings of architecture, sculpture, and painting in that country. A final chapter gives an admirable summary of the entire book. It is a work that was needed, for we have in English none other that attempts the same task. And, despite the shortcomings we shall note, it is excellently done. Let us, first of all, notice some of the apparent slips and defects, and then call attention to the merits of the book.

Our author is well aware of the narrow and the broad meanings of the term "humanism". Unfortunately, in every instance in which it has to do with the structure of the book, he employs the former. This leads him to draw a distinct line between the workers in the classical languages and the writers in the vernacular tongues, and to consider the latter, as well as the men who gave expression in science and the plastic arts to the expanding thought of the time, as being something other than humanists. Would it not have been better to have recognized all men who contributed to the broadening and deepening of thought and feeling as humanists? It could then have been shown more immediately and more clearly than has been done that Lorenzo Valla and Leonardo da Vinci, for example, each in his own way contributed to the same end.

And had a broad meaning of the term "humanism" been employed, a second fault, the sharp differentiation between the Renaissance and the Reformation, might perhaps have been avoided. It is impossible to segregate religious thought and feeling from secular ideas and activity without doing injustice simultaneously to both. The restoration and expansion of individual thought in religious matters was quite as fundamental a fact or force in the Renaissance as was the revival and devel-

opment of literature, or art, or science. The religious element in life has not received adequate recognition at the hands of our author, either in his summary of the early Renaissance in Italy or in his discussion of the dawn of that movement in France.

Yet, after all, one is not sure that our author would have dealt with the widening religious thought of the time in a manner sufficiently broad and liberal. We seem to detect here and there an insular point of view. And when we come upon the astonishing statement (p. 287) that in 1509, after the third edition of the *Adagia* was published, Erasmus "was the first man of letters in Europe, and *until Luther appeared on the scene* he was its chief intellectual force", we are filled with dismay. How is it possible in this day and age for so fine a scholar to declare a backward-looking theologian, a man who repeatedly denounced reason as guide in the realm of religious thought, a dogmatist to all the new currents of thought singularly unresponsive, to have been a greater intellectual force than a man who, as much as anyone else of his time, felt the call of the open horizon, who in all the loftier aspects of liberty was the authentic spokesman of the age?

Another shortcoming is the failure sufficiently to emphasize the fact that the fundamental forces that produced the Renaissance in Italy were also at work in France, and that several of these forces came in a short time to be more potent in the latter country than in the former. It is true that from time to time our author calls attention to the indigenous elements in the linguistic, literary, and artistic activities of Frenchmen, but nowhere is it definitely stated that such a basic force as the change from the medieval negative attitude towards life to the modern positive attitude was at work, quite independently, in the transalpine country and would eventually have produced the modern spirit there had all intercommunication been interrupted between Italy and France. There is now no doubt at all, thanks to the studies made in our own time, that the French Renaissance, in the fullest meaning of the term, originated in France.

There are a number of minor statements to which objection may be taken. What proof is there for the assertion that "indifference to sin" was "the chief cause of that long night which descended upon Italy"? And is it not altogether incorrect to represent Lefèvre's position in the matter of faith and works, as enunciated in his preface to the *Epistles of Paul*, with the statement that he asserted "there is no merit in works without grace"? What Lefèvre said was this: "Let us not speak of the merit of works, which is very small or none at all."

And now we can speak of the merits of the book, which are numerous and notable. Aside from the limitations we have noted, it is a correctly arranged and finely correlated entity, discussing and disposing of all the cardinal points involved in the study. The facts have been gathered by extensive and scholarly research, and throughout there is a sustained and successful effort to interpret them. There is a delicate

feeling for the subtle influences that permeated the age, that extended by invisible signs and accents from the old to the new. Our author is not one of those writers who, on the ground of weightiness of matter, or other supposed excellence, has taken out a license to be dull. It is not to the scratching of a pen that we listen, but to a human voice; for there are frequent illuminating reflections, and often we come upon something of the classical qualities of the literature of which he writes—neatness, precision, ease, moderation, lightness of touch, lucidity. It is a task, on the whole, well done. It is a book we shall find exceedingly helpful.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

Die Ursachen der Reformation. VON GEORG VON BELOW. [Historische Bibliothek herausgeben von der Redaktion der *Historischen Zeitschrift*, Band 38.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1917. Pp. xvi, 187.)

EVEN a learned and interesting philosophical study like the present one might have been considerably more valuable had the author precisely defined the problem which he set out to solve. The first uncertainty in the mind of this author seems to concern the exact content of the word Reformation. Primarily it stands in his mind for exactly what it originally meant—a reform of ecclesiastical dogma and discipline. But he is vaguely aware, or, perhaps, unwillingly concedes, that the word as sometimes used includes in the Reformation, or confounds with it, the political revolt and the social revolution of the sixteenth century. An inconsistency thus arises by his use of the word in several senses, usually in the narrower, but occasionally in the broader. Inevitably, with the unexpressed premise that dominates his thinking, that the Reformation was essentially a religious movement, he considers other than purely religious causes merely to reject them, or at least to give them a very subordinate place. For him, as for so many of the older writers, mainsprings of the whole vast movement are found in a reaction against the abuses of the Church, the rise of the assertion of national churches to autonomy, and the work of such forerunners as Wycliffe and the mystics.

But, as with painful diffidence the reviewer is bound to think, there is a second and even greater confusion in the author's mind as to exactly what is meant by the words "causes of the Reformation". The phrase might mean one of two very different things, either the cause of the success of the movement once launched, or the causes of (*i. e.*, events antecedent to) the origination of these ideas in the minds of the leaders. How enormously different are the two things is evident from a biological analogy. The cause of the survival of some particular appendage, such as the wing of a bird, is very different from the cause of its origination in the "accidental variation" of the first individual or "sport" having

something resembling a wing. In the present case the author sometimes means one thing and sometimes the other. The chief cause of the survival of the Lutheran ideas—*i. e.*, the chief difference in conditions which allowed Luther to succeed where Hus had failed—was the invention of printing, of which the author speaks only to warn against overestimating the power of a machine to call forth thought. Usually he is concerned with the origination of the ideas which to him are the kernel of the Reformation, in the mind of Luther. For to him "Luther's creative personality" is the primary cause of the phenomena he is discussing.

The second essay in the book, the Reformation and the Beginning of Modern Times, is a contribution to the problem of the division of history into periods. These periods are really far less conventional than is sometimes thought. Man's life upon the earth, like other forms of life, is a story of adaptation to environment, its peculiarity being that man changes his own environment by new discoveries and inventions. Each of these necessitates some modification in previous habits, and hence the justification for seeing in the various periods into which history is divided something more than an arbitrary nomenclature. Professor von Below is very insistent that modern times began about the year 1500, and the large number of important changes in man's life, which came about then and which he rehearses in masterly fashion, give much weight to his argument.

In closing, may the reviewer be allowed to express his pleasure at seeing the first German publication that has broken through the British censorship-blockade to his eyes since 1915? May German thought, purged but not crushed out by the war, again take its due place in the light of cosmopolitan culture that we must all hope is once more beginning to shine through the clouds.

PRESERVED SMITH.

A Study of Calvin and Other Papers. By ALLAN MENZIES, late Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of St. Andrews. (London and New York: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. x, 419. \$4.50.)

LUTHER's shaking sides and hearty laugh often gave his personality and his words a carrying power they would otherwise not have had. This gift was not in the possession of his contemporary of Geneva. But it is spreading among the modern ministry; and occasionally it has been found among college professors. Nowadays Calvinists venture to smile even in the pulpit, and, more rarely perhaps, in the lecture-room. It is a thing not to be deplored, for a smile shows the sunlight of the mind, and often the real *dicere verum*, even in theology, has come from one *quamquam ridentem*.

Something of a smile must sometimes have played about the lips of the writer of these essays. He was a Calvinist minister who, for

twenty-seven years, occupied the chair of biblical criticism in the University of St. Andrews. The book, published posthumously, contains a memoir of him by his daughter, some half-dozen essays and sermons, and a study of Calvin that remains unfinished. It is in the last that we are chiefly interested.

The essay, no part of which received final revision at the hands of the author, deals with the career and personality of Calvin, with his teaching, with his influence, and with the permanence of his message. It adds nothing to our knowledge of the man or his work.

There are slips here and there, as when the members of the ancestral church are accused of the "worship" of images; and when it is asserted that there was no Greek to be had in Paris in Calvin's undergraduate days. The word that should have been used is adoration, a distinctly different act; and Guillaume Cop, who was Calvin's friend, learned the rudiments of Greek in the French capital from Janus Lascaris, a distinguished Hellenist. A more serious shortcoming is the failure to understand so significant a movement as that of the Anabaptists. We are told that the aim of the Anabaptists was "the subversion of society"; that "the fate of the Anabaptists, preaching wild doctrines, dangerous to society as well as to the church, and disappearing in a few decennia, shows what must have happened to Protestantism if it could have been said that it had parted with the ancient doctrine of the creeds and that its doctrine of liberty was subversive of civil order". Did our author not know that revolution does not necessarily spell disaster, and that until, by incredible persecution, chiefly at the hands of members of the new churches, the Anabaptists lost their leaders, there was nothing in their teaching that does not stand approved by sound and progressive thinkers to-day?

The chief value of the book is that it reveals a gradual increase in breadth of thought and tolerance of spirit in the strongholds of Calvinism. The scriptural writings, according to Calvin, were to be interpreted in such a way as to make his doctrines their only logical outcome. Under such a system as that, our author candidly admits, "exegesis cannot be free". The Bible, he grants, must now "be allowed to speak for itself, with the aid of all the knowledge the centuries have brought of those ancient worlds to which its writers belonged". And, finally, he acknowledges that "the truths which edify quickly grow trite and commonplace and lose their power if they are not related to the living stream of learning". It is in such utterances as these that we catch the smile, fleeting and finely tempered, born of an intermingling of clear-sightedness and sympathy, to which we look for a liquidation of mental fixities, a large allotment of salutary liberations.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

Louis-Philippe, d'après des Documents Inédits. Par DENYS COCHIN, de l'Académie Française. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1918. Pp. 285. 7 fr. 50.)

THIS volume is not a biography of the Citizen King with a careful and consecutive account of his personal fortunes, acts, and policies; nor is it a history of the Monarchy of July, for the author has no notion of competing with Thureau-Dangin; neither does it rise to the dignity of an essay either in marshalling of facts or in literary form; nor yet is it a pleasant narrative of courtly trivialities after the manner of Imbert de Saint-Amand. The ten chapters are arranged in chronological order and afford a fair conspectus of the career, but only six of the chapters can be considered as narrative in character, while the other four are soliloquies on the Revolution, on the Restoration, on the causes of the downfall of the July Monarchy, and on the Revolution of 1848. A considerable number of documents of scattered dates and diverse provenance serve as a loose-jointed skeleton for the volume, but only a few of them are of much significance. Perhaps the best are the little group from the La Fayette papers at La Grange relative to the Spanish marriages, though mention might also be made of Louis Philippe's reports of an interview with Danton in which the latter is represented as avowing his responsibility for the Massacres of September, and of his relations to the treason of Dumouriez. Otherwise, the La Fayette *Mémoires* seem to be the favorite source, and the author divides his mild eulogies between the hero of two worlds and the hero of Jemappes. The best chapter is that in which the causes of the fall of the Monarchy of July are discussed; in turn, the combined legitimist and republican opposition, the handling of the Eastern Question, the refusal of electoral reform by Guizot, and the Spanish marriages are the subjects of more or less enlightening comment rather than of careful research or convincing analysis.

M. Cochin is a convinced monarchist who believes that monarchy under the constitution of 1791 might have worked had Louis XVI. shown more resolution, who glorifies the government under the Charter of 1814 whether under the restored Bourbons or under Louis Philippe, who abhors revolution, and who lets slip no slightest hint of approval of the present republic which, like the Revolution, he directly condemns for anti-clericalism. He nowhere reveals any evidence of having read a single volume of real historical character and worth, or any consciousness of the existence of the published historical sources for the epoch. He has read several volumes of memoirs, he has talked with intelligent and interesting people, and chance has placed in his hands some small packets of old letters; with such resources he has constructed the book. As might be anticipated from such circumstances, the author sees only personalities and has no conception whatsoever of the great forces, political, economic, and social, which have been irresistibly hurrying humanity forward during the last four generations.

Like the rest of us, M. Cochin finds Louis Philippe only very mildly interesting, and at best moderately intelligent and virtuous, a quite harmless and uninspiring king of commonplace. His highest eulogy (p. 261) declares of his hero: "Le dernier de la longue série de nos rois avait été le meilleur homme d'état de son règne; et pendant toute sa vie, mêlée à d'extraordinaires événements, s'était montré un parfait honnête homme, et un bon Français." With such amiable sentiments it would seem rude to take issue.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

France, England, and European Democracy, 1215-1915: a Historical Survey of the Principles underlying the Entente Cordiale.

By CHARLES CESTRE, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. Translated from the French by Leslie M. Turner, Assistant Professor of French in the University of California. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1918. Pp. xx, 354. \$2.50.)

HERE is a war book of the better sort, the work of a man of intelligence and discrimination who has deliberately endeavored to see clearly and speak justly amid the clash of arms and the conflict of nations, who has labored to promote a better understanding between allies rather than embitter hate against the foe. It is not a book of the hour. The French original, *L'Angleterre et la Guerre*, appeared three years ago, the English translation a year ago; but it has lost no whit of readableness with the passage of the months; its suggestiveness is greater for peace than for war. The success of any league of nations must depend upon the development of mutual understanding and the acceptance of common standards, and every such exposition of the common characteristics and ideals of allied nations may be considered a stone laid in the foundation of the desired structure of national brotherhood.

This volume is the work not of an historian or a political scientist but of a distinguished French professor of English literature to whom the history of the ideals of liberty in English politics, life, and literature has appealed as a subject of keen and intimate interest for the history of French political development and for the cementing of the Anglo-French alliance against autocracy, against the theory and practice of the absolute state. The volume does not consist in a consecutive narrative or exposition but rather in a group of eleven essays or lectures. The introductory chapter answers Why England is Our [France's] Ally? The second to the fifth chapters inclusive furnish a survey of English foreign policy with special reference to the occasions through the centuries when England and France have co-operated in the achievement of noble purposes. The remaining chapters discuss England the Mother of Liberty; English Individualism and German State-ism; Imperialism and Empire; the Modern English Spirit as exemplified in the Customs of the Country; the Modern English Spirit as exemplified

in the Literature; and, in conclusion, What the English have Done, What They are Doing.

The author is no kin to the scientific historian of the past generation whose pride was the precision of facts and the minute completeness of narrative. His easy transitions between widely separated events may be refreshing, but his carelessness or inaccuracy in matters of fact gives a harmful impression as to the soundness of the several contentions and main theses; but fortunately these petty faults rarely vitiate an argument or affect the general tenor of the conclusions. Parenthetically it may be observed that the translator has failed to correct even obvious errors and has not refrained from marring a normally good style with some curious gallicisms. Criticism of such faults of detail should not, however, detract from the credit for undertaking so difficult an essay amid the confusion of war, nor from praise for the clearness and vigor with which the main conclusions are sustained.

Professor Cestre has rightly grasped the essential characteristics of the English people and the main elements in their political development and in their relations to French national life and political progress. He understands, as Continentals too rarely do, the mixture of idealism and realism in the English character. He appreciates the steady quiet process of adjustment by which the English have extended the franchise and civil rights among themselves and the privilege of responsible government to their colonies, and the sincerity and consistency with which England in foreign relations has pursued the policy of balance of power. He comprehends the differences and similarities in the individualism and the idealism of the English and the French, and so is able to give a clear and correct exposition of the mutual reactions of the two peoples in the attainment of liberty. He realizes that liberty is a means not an end, while the individual is not a means but an end. In antithesis to German nationalism, absolutist, self-centred, self-seeking, with no consideration for the individual, he reveals English and French nationalism, with their modicum of self-centred character and self-seeking purpose, substituting liberty in place of the absolute state, promoting the welfare of the individual as their end not as an incidental means, inspired with the sense of chivalry and *noblesse oblige*, and honoring, in good sportsmanship, the achievements of others and respecting their rights to share in world affairs in proportion to their just merits. It would be a mistake to close without referring to the excellent critiques of the political philosophies of Burke and Carlyle.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Behind the Scenes in the Reichstag: Sixteen Years of Parliamentary Life in Germany. By the Abbé E. WETTERLÉ, ex-Deputy at the Reichstag and in the Alsace-Lorraine Chamber. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1918. Pp. xiii, 256. \$2.00.)

ABBÉ WETTERLÉ, who fled from Alsace just as martial law was de-

clared in 1914, covers in these reminiscences his connection with German national political life from his entrance into the Reichstag in 1898 to the outbreak of the war. The fact that he departed in such haste that he was obliged to leave his papers behind, probably accounts for some errors of fact in his narrative, such as the statement (p. 119) regarding the organization of the Reichstag of 1912. The Centre delegates did not vote for Bebel for temporary presiding officer, but for Peter Spahn, who was elected but refused to sit in the presidency with Scheidemann. Also, Richthofen's "thoughtless exclamation" regarding the use of the Guelph funds for corruption of the press should have been a surprise to no one, as this "significant confession" merely repeated what had been known to every newspaper reader since the early days of the empire, and had indeed been foreshadowed by Bismarck in a Reichstag speech as early as January 30, 1869 ("Reptilienfonds").

It is also incorrect to ascribe Bülow's fall entirely to the conflict over the *Erbschaftssteuer* and to William's personal ill-will over the *Daily Telegraph* affair. The chancellor was forced out because the Centre leaders seized the opportunity to revenge themselves for the dissolution over colonial affairs in 1906.

Wetterlé's book is not, however, to be judged by the standards of scholarship. The clever editor of the *Journal de Colmar* and the *Nouvelliste d'Alsace-Lorraine* jumbles together persons and events in the approved manner of the *feuilleton*. The chapter on Pan-Germanism (VI.) is an extreme example of this casual wandering, which passes on from the Lex Heinze to the economic policies of the Reichstag, and from Bülow's treatment of the Centre to colonial policies and manipulation of the budget, with the slap-dash method of the journalist and the inconsequence of the *causeur*. To these he adds the wit and bitterness of the accomplished political pamphleteer. His characterizations include nearly all of the leading national figures of the last two decades; and if we except the rather sympathetic portraits of Eugen Richter, Friedrich Naumann and (*mirabile dictu!*) Parson Stoecker, there is hardly an agreeable picture among them. In the glibbing style of the *pasquinade* he puts before us the Pan-Germanic leader Hasse ("a vulgar face enframed by a red beard"), Bassermann ("outrageously pomaded and perfumed"), and Arendt ("a tobacco jar, perched on two match-stalks and surmounted by a deformed lemon"). His bitterest phrases are reserved for Lieber, the two Spahns, and Erzberger, the leaders of the Centre party, whose efforts to win over the delegates from Alsace-Lorraine were a constant and conspicuous failure.

However, in spite of personal abuse and much undignified tittle-tattle, the book throws many interesting side-lights on the psychology of the Nationalists in Alsace and on their relation to the fractions in the Reichstag. Interesting too are its pictures of the cumbersome machinery of the German parliament and of the social barriers between the fractions. These, with his account of the gradual conquest of the

Centre and Progressives by Pan-Germanism, are set forth in a tone of caustic sprightliness which ever borders on caricature.

Beyond these side-lights, it can hardly be said that the author adds to our knowledge of persons and events, though here and there we are helped to complete the picture of the political development of the period. New to the reviewer is the account of Bethmann-Hollweg's attempt early in 1914 to get the Bishop of Strassburg to discipline the clerical delegates of Alsace, as well as the evidence of Lieber's hostility to the Alsatian delegates (p. 61), and the influence of Legien, the head of the Socialist trade-unions, in driving the leaders of Socialism toward Possibilism (p. 183). Most important, perhaps, is the detailed account of Wetterlé's intervention in the first Morocco crisis as intermediary between the German Foreign Office and a mysterious representative of the French ministry (p. 236 ff.).

ROBERT H. FIFE, JR.

The Eclipse of Russia. By E. J. DILLON. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1918. Pp. vii, 423. \$4.00.)

FEW foreigners have had better opportunities to become acquainted with the complex political forces in Russia than Dr. Dillon. A graduate of two Russian universities, and a professor of comparative philology at the Ukrainian University of Kharkov, he has also served as an editor on two Russian newspapers and has long been noted for his contributions to the *Contemporary Review* and other periodicals outside Russia. More than that, he was for twenty years the intimate friend of Count Witte; he lived in Witte's house, accompanied him on his journeys, handled the great finance minister's private papers, and was the recipient of his after-dinner meditations and reminiscences. Quite naturally, therefore, Boswell dedicates his volume "To the memory of my friend and Russia's unique statesman, S. I. Witte". If one were to sum up Dr. Dillon's conclusions in a sentence, one would say that the eclipse of Russia is due to the fact that Witte was not allowed, owing to the weakness of Nicholas II. and the rottenness of the court around him, to carry out the peaceful reforms and development which might have retarded, if it did not avert, the collapse of the Tsarist state.

The first half of the volume will prove less interesting to historians than the later chapters. It is made up of a rather rambling, anecdotal, and philosophical analysis of the causes of the Russian *delirium tremens*. As the author departed from Russia in March, 1914, and unfortunately left behind many of his notes where they are inaccessible, he has to rely on his memory, on his general knowledge of pre-war conditions, and on his own previous articles—which he frequently quotes—when they show how prescient were his prophecies. Among the causes of Russia's downfall he emphasizes four. The first is the "predatory character of the Tsardom", the steady conquest of alien peoples which has given

rise to the centrifugal nationalistic movements which autocracy found it increasingly difficult to suppress. The second cause was the vicious system of parasitical bureaucracy which kept the peasants degraded, ignorant, and without sufficient land. The third was the total failure of the *intelligentsia*, both in 1905 and in 1917, to understand the Russian peasant and his one great desire for land. From the *intelligentsia* came both the apostles of revolution and the bourgeois liberals, such as the Kadets. But they were both mere theorizers. They had no roots among the people and did not know how to use the opportunity when it came. And the fourth and greatest cause was the autocratic system which lodged supreme power in such a shallow, weak-willed, secretive, deluded, self-complacent nonentity as Nicholas II. Nowhere have we seen such a black portrait of the late Tsar as Dr. Dillon paints, and he has plenty of stories to justify it. By way of illustrating the moral and political rottenness of the group around the Tsar, he gives vivid and excellently informed chapters on Rasputin, Father Gapon, and Azev, and all their double-edged treachery. He even asserts that several attempts to murder Witte were made by intriguers close to the throne, with the Tsar's sanction.

In the second half of the volume Dr. Dillon touches upon international questions of the past twenty-five years. By reporting things which Witte related to him he throws new light on a number of shady transactions—if Witte's recollections are to be trusted. The duplicity by which the shrewd and vigorous Kaiser forced the weak Tsar into signing the Björkö treaty is shown to have its counterpart in two other similar cases of secret royal diplomacy. In his first visit to Russia, soon after the accession of Nicholas II., the Kaiser extorted from the Tsar the agreement that the Germans should seize Kiao Chau; and in the Potsdam meeting of 1910, the Tsar was wheedled, in similar fashion, behind the back of his ministers, into giving a written approval of the German military mission to Turkey under General Liman von Sanders. Not less interesting are the shrewd moves by which Witte secured advantages in the commercial relations between Germany and Russia; by which he countered the Kaiser's suggestion of a tariff war against the United States by proposals of his own for a peaceful federation of Europe; and by which he on several occasions used his influence to avert wars which he foresaw must be disastrous for Russia. Less convincing is Dr. Dillon's account of the plot by which the Tsar planned to seize the heights of the Upper Bosphorus in 1896, and his statement that the first Hague Peace Conference was essentially a hypocritical trick on the Tsar's part designed to spare Russia from an increased expenditure on guns demanded by Kuropatkin. These and other interesting revelations of Witte, being mostly in the nature of reminiscences, need verification from other sources before being accepted as unquestioned historical material.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Readings in the Economics of War. Edited by J. MAURICE CLARK, WALTON H. HAMILTON, and HAROLD G. MOULTON. [Materials for the Study of Economics.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1918. Pp. xxxi, 676. \$3.00.)

It has been said many times that the war just concluded was an economic war and that the final victory of the Entente allies was due to their superior economic strength. Whether they subscribe to this doctrine in its extreme form or not, there is no doubt that the authors of the book under review believe that economic questions played a most important part in connection with the war. Probably in no way can an idea of its contents be better conveyed than by enumerating the headings of the sixteen parts of which it is composed. These are:

Economic Background of War; War as a Business Venture; the Nature of Modern War; Resources of the Belligerents; Problem of Industrial Mobilization; Obstacles to Rapid Mobilization in Liberal Countries; Wartime Regulation of Trade and Industry; Food and Fuel; Transportation; War Finance; Prices and Price Control; Labor and War; the Costs of the War; War's Lessons in the Principles of National Efficiency; Economic Factors in an Enduring Peace; After-the-war Problems.

Under each of these headings are some three or four sections, each with four or five selections. Altogether there are nearly three hundred extracts in the book—a tribute to the wide reading and industry of the editors.

The topics just enumerated fall roughly into three groups: those connected with the economic reasons that make for war; those connected with the economic and financial mobilization of the nation's resources necessary to the conduct of the war; and those having to do with reorganization and reconstruction after the war. It is evident, however, that the second group far outweighs either of the other two in importance in a book on the economics of war, and to a consideration of these problems about two-thirds of the book is devoted. For American readers there is most to be learned from this section. This country has never been militaristic nor imperialistic; it was not organized for war, but was in the truest Spencerian sense an "industrial" nation. Hence, when it entered the war, it had to organize its resources in wealth and men in the shortest possible time. This was the application of the acid test to our economic organization and institutions. It disclosed many weaknesses in our individualistic régime and made necessary some measure of control to secure the proper direction of production and effort. When the armistice was signed, a most efficient machinery had been built up and was functioning smoothly.

The readjustments rendered necessary in our economic system were too great to permit of a return to former conditions upon the return of peace. New problems and new points of view have been developed,

which call for solution. Difficult as were the economic problems of war, those of peace will be still harder. In war there is one objective—to defeat the enemy. To this end all else must be made subservient. But the programme of reconstruction is not so definite and is consequently infinitely more perplexing and confused. These problems are raised but not answered in this volume.

A collection of readings is often thought to be disconnected, scrappy, and without real value. The present volume proves that such a book can be made to tell a connected story, which loses nothing of its interest because of the large number of authors, while it gains in authority. The selections are carefully made and edited so as to eliminate all extraneous material. The result is a compilation of value both to the student and to the general reader.

E. L. BOGART.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Development of the United States from Colonies to a World Power. By MAX FARRAND, Professor of History in Yale University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1918. Pp. xi, 356. \$1.50.)

THIS is an odd book. The author says (p. 298): "If there be any value in the sketch of American development that has been attempted in this book, it must lie in the recognition that a great variety of forces produced the modern American and in the presentation of elements sometimes neglected." These last appear to be the westward spread of settlement and alterations in the structure of society as based upon the development of means of communication and internal commerce. While avowing himself in the introduction to be a disciple of Professor F. J. Turner, he expressly declines to follow him into a study of sectionalism. "It may well be", he says (p. 135), "that an appreciation of the strength of sectionalism is essential to a correct understanding of the development of the United States, but a greater force than sectionalism was here at work. Internal commerce was an all-important factor in developing nationality." Sectionalism, accordingly, receives slight attention, and, doubtless for similar reasons, the subjects of banking, western inflationism, and, notably, the development of political beliefs as the result of western expansion are either omitted or barely mentioned.

The book contains lucid and interesting analyses of the things the author considers important, such as the economic conditions and social developments in the colonies, the young republic, the new West, the growing industrial state after the Civil War, and finally the present capitalist country. But the author has written this book not merely to emphasize the things he considers important but also to indicate those in which he takes no interest, and it so happens that in the last category

repose most of the subjects which have heretofore been supposed to make up American history. Not content with concentrating attention upon commercial growth he cannot refrain from constantly indicating how unimportant in his eyes are wars, politics, legislation, personalities, and events in general. He does this by epithets, by phraseology, by extreme brevity and visible indifference. Side by side he employs two styles, one clear-cut, vigorous, plausible, to describe social changes, the other tentative, general, frequently vague, to deal with the narrative. We are told authoritatively just what the public land system did for the country, but we are left in the dark as to how Texas came to be annexed. Forty thousand Americans settled in Texas, after which, we are told, "There could be but one outcome of such a condition, the establishment of the independence of Texas, which took place in 1836, and then annexation to the United States." This is not an extreme instance, but fairly typical.

One wonders for what audience the book was written. In spite of its admirable chapters on commerce and settlement, it would scarcely be usable by college classes on account of its persistent vagueness in other fields. As for the general reader, while he could hardly fail to be interested in the social chapters, he might well be puzzled if not repelled by the blasé atmosphere of the narrative. If nothing that men fought and died for—the slavery question, for instance—was really more than an episode in westward development; if the Abolitionists are not worthy of a single mention; if the recurring phrases "it is idle to discuss", "of little importance", "a mere incident", are the true essence of historical judgment, it is but a short step to the first chapter of Ecclesiastes.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

Histoire de la Fondation de la Nouvelle Orléans (1717-1722). Par le Baron MARC DE VILLIERS, avec un Préface de M. GABRIEL HANOTAUX, Membre de l'Académie Française. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1918. Pp. xvi, 130.)

THE indomitable spirit of France is evidenced by this book. In the third year of the war, at a time when the nation was gathering all its energies for a death-grapple with its brutal enemy, M. de Villiers (who was conducting a hospital for the wounded at his home in Brittany) and the national printery joined in producing a work that bears no mark of the strain of that year of horrors. The text is suggestive of "the quiet and still air of delightful studies", and the mechanical execution and dress of the book fall in no way below the highest standard of French workmanship and taste.

The book tells the story of the founding of the capital of the French colony of Louisiana, that colony of which France had such high hopes and to which she gave so many heroic men; and it concludes with a word of promise, in spirit like a benediction, of a still greater future for the capital city.

Louisiana's greatest enemy and best friend has always been the water. The great river drowned it with its floods, but gave a highway for its commerce. On the shores of the river the growth of the great city of the country was inevitable. The higher ground at the river end of the portage from Lake Pontchartrain was observed by Iberville as early as 1699. The first suggestion that a post be established at the place seems to have been made by the Sieur de Remonville in 1702.

Remonville was an active man, a merchant, who had ascended the river to the Illinois as early as 1697. He seems to have been a writer as well; and in his *Lettre Historique touchant le Mississipi* in 1702, in a *Mémoire* in 1708, and in a *Description du Mississipi* in 1715 he persistently urges the establishment of an *entrepôt* at the place mentioned.

M. de Villiers gives the story of Remonville with a note of pathos. Completely ruined in his fortune he returned to France where he was hounded by his creditors. In December, 1717, he appealed to the government for a position in Louisiana, urging that he was the only one who had sacrificed himself to give aid to the colonists. He was not listened to, and we hear no more of him. Bienville was the next to take up the matter, and it was by his persistence that the site was finally chosen. The Council of the Marine on October 1, 1717, appointed a magazine-keeper and a cashier at the commercial establishment (*comptoir*) which shall be set up at New Orleans; and it is this date, of which the Comité du Souvenir Franco-Américain has chosen to celebrate the bi-centenary by this publication. But while this action of the council was a recognition of the unsatisfactory position of the posts then existing, it did not by the designation Nouvelle Orléans refer to a fixed place. For more than four years the matter remained in dispute. It was not until May, 1722, that the establishment which Bienville had begun was formally accepted by an order to transfer the seat of government to New Orleans.

The people at the old establishments, if such they may be called, resisted change; and those who had made new establishments on the Mississippi, at Manchac and at Natchez, intrigued to have their places chosen for the capital. Floods and hurricanes came to strengthen the opposition. The authorities in France, in comfortable ignorance, listened, and hesitated, and vacillated. But the trade was on the river, and Bienville demonstrated the value of the situation by sending a ship up to the site of New Orleans and mooring it at the shore. At Biloxi ships could not come within three or four leagues of the shore; goods could be carried to land only by three changes from small to yet smaller boats, and even then carts had to be sent out a hundred paces into the shallow water to meet the last relay. The cost of all of this had to be added to the cost price of the goods.

In a price-list ordained by the Company of the West in 1719 it is provided that goods will be delivered at New Orleans at a price five per cent. greater than at Biloxi, and "Aux Illinois et au Missouri" at fifty

per cent. more. British traders were pressing westward from Carolina. All these things strengthened Bienville's position and forced a final decision. The matter once settled all opposition ceased, and enemies became devoted supporters. M. de Villiers calls attention to the fact that Pénicaud, Charlevoix, and others writing of the place described what was to be hoped for, rather than what really existed. Of all descriptions of New Orleans at that time, the most exact, says M. de Villiers, seems to be that of the Abbé Prévost, except for the mention of the hill. Prévost's description is in his story of *Manon Lescaut*. M. de Villiers makes a study of the basis of that story, tracing the characters and events in a most interesting manner. He also takes up in the same way those other contemporary romances of European connection, so dear to the hearts of the *Louisianais*, the story of the Princess Charlotte of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, wife of the Tsarevitch Alexis, and that of the beautiful Desbrosses, the *élève* of Molière. The author's great familiarity with the literature of early Louisiana, both printed and unprinted, has enabled him to put all of these things and many more in the eight delightful chapters of the book, and to speak the final word on the subject. He has earned the gratitude of all who love that most individual of all American cities. An eloquent preface by M. Gabriel Hanotaux adds much to the volume. The printing is exquisite; there is a portrait of Bienville, a number of maps, plans, views, and daintily designed and executed decorative figures.

WALTER B. DOUGLAS.

Georgia as a Proprietary Province: the Execution of a Trust. By JAMES ROSS MCCAIN, Ph.D., Professor of American History in Agnes Scott College. (Boston: Richard G. Badger; Toronto: Copp Clark Company. [1917.] Pp. 357. \$2.50.)

HITHERTO the institutional organization and development of the province of Georgia have been almost ignored. Now at last we have the above luminous and interesting volume by a pupil of the late Professor Herbert L. Osgood of Columbia University. On the basis of a careful study of the printed sources and of unprinted and hitherto unused original manuscripts and transcripts in the state capitol at Atlanta and in the possession of Professor Osgood, our author's ten chapters treat successively of: I. The Creation of the Trust; II. Personnel of the Trustees; III. Relation of Oglethorpe to Georgia; IV. Organization and Activities of the Trust in England; V. Organization of the Executive in Georgia; VI. Legislative History of the Province; VII. Judiciary; VIII. Land System; IX. Educational Progress; and X. Religious History of Early Georgia. The volume has a very careful analytical table of contents, a working bibliography, and an index which is good though not quite complete as to proper names.

The Georgia Trust was created by the royal charter issued on June

9, 1732, and ceased on June 23, 1752, when the trustees surrendered the charter and Georgia thus became a regular crown colony. There were seventy-one regular trustees; Professor McCain gives tables of figures showing the record of each as regards attendance on meetings of the trust and of the common council, and committee service, followed by a general summary.

The trustees were men of high character, and many of them were also considered very able as well as conscientious, but they had no idea as to how to govern a distant colony, yet they were unwilling to delegate real authority to anyone on the spot. They gave elaborate instructions to their official botanist, but none to their magistrates in Georgia, and there were no law-books or lawyers in the colony before 1741—for fear of unnecessary litigation! The keeper of their public store in Georgia (where all purchases had to be made) received four times as much salary as any other official, and in influence and prestige soon overshadowed all the rest. The trust being for charity, the charter prevented any trustee from becoming a real governor. Thus Oglethorpe's position in Georgia was necessarily anomalous from the first and caused so much confusion that McCain, though recognizing his high character and abilities, reluctantly concludes (p. 96) that it would have been better for the province if he "had never gone to Georgia, or at least if he had gone there only as the commander of the regiment and without any civil authority at all". In 1737 the office of "secretary to the trustees in Georgia" was created, and William Stephens, an able man, appointed. In 1741 the province was to be organized into two counties, each to be governed by a president and assistants, but in 1743 the scheme for the separate Frederica County was abandoned, and so Stephens was placed at the head of the whole colony, but with little independence of action. In 1751 the first provincial general assembly met, but it could merely offer suggestions to the trustees, who then refused to allow it to make any by-laws, to establish courts of equity in Savannah, or to reduce the import duty on slaves. In 1751 also the assembly was definitely constituted as a permanent advisory body. Next year the charter was surrendered.

Strange to say, three laws approved by the Privy Council in 1735, namely, the act prohibiting the importation and use of black slaves or negroes, the act to prevent the importation and use of rum and brandies, and the act for maintaining the peace with the Indians, were the only laws for Georgia passed during the whole twenty years of the proprietary period; and all three gave serious trouble, though Oglethorpe himself had urged their passage. The common council ordered a thousand copies of each law to be printed separately, in folio (London, John Baskett); but they seem never to have been reprinted, and so they are usually referred to with significant vagueness. The DeRenne Library has the first two, and also a photostat reproduction of the third, the only one in the Library of Congress. The John Carter Brown Library still lacks all three.

After resisting slavery for eighteen years the trustees were forced to yield in 1750. By 1742 rum was being imported and used so publicly that the trustees instructed their secretary in the province to wink at this violation of the law and to discourage seizures, but to see to it that alcoholic drinks were not sold except in houses licensed to sell beer. The Indian act forbade trading with Indians in Georgia except under license obtained in Georgia personally. This caused much ill-feeling in South Carolina, where the assembly published a whole volume on the subject in 1736, but this book studiously avoided quoting the act in full, and the authorities in London overruled the protest. Only very gradually and unwillingly the trustees were forced to modify in practice the complicated and annoying land laws for Georgia, all restrictions being removed in 1750.

All these matters and various others are treated fully and ably by Mr. McCain, who certainly deserves our thanks and congratulations.

The important periodical *Political State of Great Britain* (p. 347 and *passim*) of which there are incomplete sets in the Library of Congress, Columbia University and Harvard libraries, seems to be based, for Georgia, partly on Charleston newspapers.

LEONARD L. MACKALL.

Benjamin Franklin Self-revealed: a Biographical and Critical Study based mainly on his own Writings. In two volumes. By WILLIAM CABELL BRUCE. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1917. Pp. 544; 550. \$6.00.)

To say of Mr. Bruce's work, "At last a good book on Franklin!" would be an injustice to Parton, Bigelow, Stevens, Swift, McMaster, Hale, Ford, Morse, Smyth, Livingston, and many other commentators, expert and sympathetic, who have illuminated various aspects of a many-sided activity. The mere mention of these names, however, will suggest to the Franklinian the special opportunity prepared for the latest biographer. Since Parton's *Life and Times*, a capital performance for 1864, the primary duty of Franklin students has been the correction of the work of the early editors by reference to the manuscripts, and the collection, cataloguing, editing, and publication of constantly accumulating masses of new material. While this task was proceeding, many essays and partial portraits appeared; but Professor Smyth, most diligent of editors, could say as late as 1905, "I believe that no attempt has ever been made to take a comprehensive survey and estimate of Franklin's work."

Mr. Bruce's intention, one infers, was to produce a survey and estimate more comprehensive than that of any previous biographer; and he has been so far successful that nowhere else save in the complete works of Franklin can one find his subject so intimately and amply presented. He makes no profession of radically novel views or unpub-

lished documents. He assimilates and artistically composes materials made accessible by his predecessors, to whom it is a little regrettable that he denies himself the pleasure of offering more than casual and incidental acknowledgments. A substantial work of popularization may well afford a few prefatory pages for the gratification of those who are interested in literary genealogy and for the guidance of those in whom it rouses an appetite for sources. That Mr. Bruce's digestion of the writings of Franklin has not exhausted them, one may ascertain by comparing his index with that of Smyth under the words, for example, Germany, Sweden, and Spain.

The plan of his book suggests, however, that he was less concerned to make an exhaustive summary than a sumptuous representation. Following the chronological order only within the chapters, he disposes his material under the following headings: moral standing and system, religious beliefs, philanthropist and citizen, family relations, American friends, British friends, French friends, personal characteristics, man of business, statesman, man of science, and writer. The topics overlap here and there; a certain amount of repetition is unavoidable; but the method permits great detail with easy and limpid exposition, and is well adapted to display that inexhaustible energy which flowed so full-fraught through so many channels so serenely to the sea. From time to time, furthermore, the cumulative effect of the chapters is happily anticipated by some such synoptic sentence as this, crowding into the consciousness the total significance of Franklin's opposition to the Stamp Act:

To their assistance and to the assistance as well of the great body of wise and generous Englishmen who loved liberty too much at home to begrudge it to Englishmen in America, he brought his every resource, his scientific fame, his social gifts, his personal popularity, his knowledge of the world and the levers by which it is moved, the sane, searching mind, too full of light for bigotry, superstition, or confusion, the pen that enlisted satirical point as readily as grave dissertation in the service of instruction.

The sentence just quoted indicates fairly well the temper of Mr. Bruce's criticism. Every biographer of Franklin, he admits, "seems to adore him more or less in spite of occasional sharp shocks to adoration". This wily American, so seductive in his simplicity, disarms his critics one after another, educates them to a large tolerance, insensibly persuades them that some of their fieriest principles are foolish prejudices, some of their purity mere poverty of spirit, and that a man, like a book, should be judged by his accomplishment rather than by his omissions and his list of *errata*. He attempts to speak with judicial severity of his "unflinching nepotism", his sensuality, his occasional coarseness of speech and rankness of fancy, his senile gallantry, his traffic in slaves, and his verse such as "neither Gods nor men can endure". He even labors the point of his iniquity in treating his illegitimate son like his legitimate offspring, which I should have been disposed to attribute to

him for a virtue. But then he establishes with overwhelming weight of evidence his creative beneficence and wide-reaching good-will, his wit, his gayety, his overflowing geniality, his vast curiosity and teachableness, his resolute patriotism and immense public services, his political sagacity, and the breadth and elevation of his statesmanship. The dark or dubious points in his record sink into negligibility or are remembered almost with indulgence as so many more tokens of his opulent humanity. Without special pleading, merely by showing him as he was and allowing him at the right moments to speak for himself, his biographer brings one finally to the question: What wiser, abler, and—yes, take him all in all—what better man did that fertile eighteenth century produce than Benjamin Franklin? If Mr. Bruce adds little to the store of facts in the case, he makes a very genuine contribution to our appreciation of them by the skill with which he has arranged them to illustrate his own sense of Franklin's abundance and versatility, by his lively apprehension of pictorial and dramatic values, the firmness and occasional felicitous pungency of his style, his fidelity to the aims of biographical portraiture, and by his unfeigned relish for all the qualities of his sitter.

STUART P. SHERMAN.

Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. By LEWIS A. LEONARD.
(New York: Moffat, Yard, and Company. 1918. Pp. 313.
\$2.50.)

MISS KATE M. ROWLAND'S biography of the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was issued so long ago, and so much material has since appeared bearing upon the life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, that a new study of his life might be of considerable interest. Thomas M. Field, in 1902, compiled and edited a considerable number of the unpublished letters of Carroll and his father, and the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has been printing (in volumes X.-XIII.), a notable series of letters between these two men, which series has not yet been completed. Curiously, Mr. Leonard has made no use of either of these sources. In truth, his list of sources is extremely vague and meagre, and the chief additional information which he gives comes from interviews he held, about fifty years ago, with the late J. H. B. Latrobe, who knew Carroll, when the latter was in his extreme old age. Mr. Leonard is not a scholarly investigator, and appends no foot-notes to his pages, but he has essayed to write a popular book. Former Governor Martin H. Glynn writes an enthusiastic introduction for the volume. The proof-reading was rather carelessly done: *e. g.*, "Sharf" for "Scharf" on page 35, and "Code" for "Coode" on page 37. There are occasional inaccuracies of statement: Brooklandwood is not Catonsville (p. 223); and Carroll died in a house on Lombard Street, and not Pratt Street (p. 257), while the common under-

standing in Frederick County, where Carrollton Manor (usually known as the Manor), is located, is that there was no residence house there (p. 80), where he could have resided. In an appendix, we find reprinted the *Journal* of Carroll on his expedition to Canada in 1776. Although the book is not long, a considerable number of pages are given to subjects rather remotely connected with Carroll's life; for example, a sketch of Lafayette at page 232, and an extract from Archbishop Ireland's address on Lafayette, extending from page 243 to 249.

The author is an extravagant admirer of his subject, and maintains that he

easily ranked next to Washington in the value of the service he rendered the patriotic cause in our Revolutionary struggle. He devoted more of his time and more of his money to the cause of the people than any other patriot. He spent more time with Washington at army headquarters than any other civilian, and was more closely identified with the purposes, impulses and activities of the great commander than any other man in or out of the army.

These are very high claims, and they are not sustained by the assertions made in subsequent chapters, while even these latter assertions are not supported by the evidence adduced in these chapters. First Citizen's victory over Antilon was not quite so decided as Mr. Leonard thinks (p. 89), and Carroll was not so supereminent over other Maryland leaders as to make it correct to say that, from the inception of the Revolutionary struggle, "he had *his* committees go right on with their work of preparation" (p. 109). Governor Eden's position and that of the proprietary are not correctly stated (pp. 100, 115). Carroll's part in the overthrow of the Conway Cabal (p. 171), in the forming of the French alliance (p. 174), in the financial work of Robert Morris (p. 190), was not so important as Mr. Leonard claims. In fine, one completes the work feeling that Carroll was a good representative of the lesser leaders of the Revolutionary period, but did not attain to the first rank.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

Educational Legislation and Administration in the State of New York from 1777 to 1850. By ELSIE GARLAND HOBSON, Head Mistress of the Phebe Anna Thorne Model School of Bryn Mawr College. [Supplementary Educational Monographs, vol. III., no. 1, whole no. 11.] (Chicago: University of Chicago. 1918. Pp. 267.)

THIS volume, within the self-imposed limitations by the author, is a very good compendium of educational legislation in New York state within the dates set. The author does not pretend to make a study of all of the forces acting in the state which led to the enactment of specific laws, but confines herself to an enumeration of the laws put upon

the statute-books, and to a certain amount of interpretation as to the way in which they worked in their actual administration. The brevity of treatment of the causes leading up to the proposal of various bills, and also of the causes for their repeal, is at times unsatisfying. Furthermore, the author does not attempt to treat all proposed bills which failed of enactment. This kind of topic is certainly one which throws great light on general legislation, and no treatise of educational legislation is really complete without it.

In the first chapter, on Formative Influences, the author shows how very influential immigrants from New England into New York state were in forming educational policies and demands. She attributes the backwardness of New York to the unfortunate coincidence that these immigrants came at a time when general enthusiasm for education, even in New England, was lacking.

Treatment is then given, in the following chapters, of the origin and development of the dual system of school control down to 1820, education under the Regents, the common school system, special legislation for cities, support of education, education of special classes. These chapters are followed by one giving a concise summary and a series of conclusions, appendixes containing lists of academies, acts granting support to them, societies established for general educational purposes, and a chronological list of laws relative to education from 1777 to 1850.

The act of 1795, and particularly the reasons for the failure of the senate to continue it in operation after its first years of trial, are not treated in a fashion to give any one a clear idea as to the failure of the continuance of the most important educational act in the early history of the state. An investigation even into some of the local archives, such as has been made by Dr. Seybolt of the University of Wisconsin, would have given a clear notion as to the working of this piece of educational legislation. Investigation into the town minutes of the towns of Long Island would force the author to modify the implication that in all parts of the state "elementary education was in the hands of private schools, or of religious or charitable organizations" (p. 25), and also the note on the same page that the school in the town of Clermont, in 1791, was the earliest one to which town support was given. To be sure, the schools maintained in the Long Island towns were, after the fashion of those in Connecticut, under the control of a theocratic government, but they were nevertheless given support by the towns at a very early date, the school-building being erected by the town and the teacher being selected and chosen by the same local unit. The teacher was paid, wholly or partly, by the fees of the parents who had children in the school, according to the general notion of rates then in vogue and which continued in practice down until the middle of the century. It can scarcely be maintained, however, that public support

was not given, at least in some parts of New York state, to schools earlier than 1791.

The paucity of records, of which the author complains on page 29, is of course actual if one considers only the records printed by the authorities at Albany. Throughout the Hudson River and Long Island counties records are frequently to be found in the offices of the town clerks which bear upon the schools of the various districts. The actual working of the law of 1795 will not be made clear until a thorough examination has been made of these records in local offices. The same is true of the statement with reference to "the meagre reports of the Regents", referred to on page 43. Many of the reports of the examinations of specific academies appear in the publications of those academies and are to be found there, even when they fail to appear in the general reports of the Board of Regents.

The author brings out, during the course of her narrative, interesting facts about educational topics which we sometimes think of as entirely modern. For example, we find that an agitation for manual training was active in 1826 (p. 46); that the same complaints on the part of adherents of the classical education were heard against anything like a practical education in 1836 (p. 48); that the district school system was felt to be just as great an evil in earlier times as it is at the present in this state (pp. 52, 53); that an excellent system of county superintendents was discontinued (p. 58); and that there was just as much aversion to paying teachers a decent wage as there is at the present time (p. 66).

It is unfortunate that the volume, so interesting in its general treatment and so filled with useful information, should have been printed in such small type, and that there should be evidence of a good deal of careless proof-reading. The index is extremely scanty, and from the bibliography there are omitted many important titles relating much more directly to educational legislation than many others which are included.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

History of Tammany Hall. By GUSTAVUS MYERS. Second edition. (New York: Boni and Liveright. 1917. Pp. xx, 414. \$2.50.)

"IN most men's minds a certain spell of wonder attaches to the career and character of the Tammany Society and Tammany Hall. The long continuance of this dual power; its control of the city, infrequently interrupted, throughout the century; the nature of its principles, the method of its practices and the character of its personnel—all these combine to furnish a spectacle which exerts over the general mind a peculiar and strong fascination." With these words the author introduced the preface to the first edition, published in 1901. Curiosity led him to commence his investigation; difficulty induced him to pursue it. "The few narratives already published", says he, "were generally

found to be either extravagant panegyrics, printed under the patronage of the Tammany Society, or else partisan attacks, violent in style and untruthful in statement". His research, under these conditions, took him to the newspaper files back as far as 1789, to all available city histories and political pamphlets, to the minutes and documents of the common council of New York City and the legislative records of New York state, to the records of the courts, and to other sources too numerous to be mentioned here. "What I have sought to produce", says he, "is a narrative history—plain, compact and impartial. I have sought to avoid an indulgence, on the one hand, in political speculation, and on the other, in moralizing platitudes. Such deductions and generalizations as from time to time I have made, seem to me necessary in elucidating the narrative; without them the story would prove to the reader a mere chronology of unrelated facts." But in spite of this the author states that "the difficulties of securing the publication of this work by any of the regular publishing houses proved insurmountable". In the foreword to the present edition, he states that the first edition was to all intents and purposes "in the nature of a restricted private edition", and that for ten years prior to 1917 the work had been "in continuous demand but unavailable". An effort was made in 1913 to interest a number of publishers in bringing out a new edition, but the same reluctance to lock horns with Tammany Hall was encountered.

The narrative in the new edition covers the political activity of the Society of St. Tammany from the date of its organization in 1789 to the beginning of the last year of John Purroy Mitchel's term as mayor of New York City. A perusal of the sordid story, chapter by chapter and page by page, makes it clear that the author has in the main adhered to the policy outlined in his original preface. His book has some slight faults of diction and contains certain minor inaccuracies. For example, the name of the first mayor of Greater New York is given as "Robert C. Van Wyck", instead of "Robert A. Van Wyck" (p. 282); and at one point John A. Hennessy is referred to as "John W. Hennessy" (p. 369). There is a reference to "Corporation Council Delany (elected by Tammany Hall)" (p. 313), which should have been "Corporation Counsel Delany (appointed by a Tammany mayor)". There is a statement that charges were filed with the governor on December 12, 1915, requesting the removal of Public Service Commissioner McCall (p. 392), while a little further on it is stated that the governor removed McCall upon these charges on December 6, 1915. A present-day reader gets the impression that the author's supplementary chapters concerning the period that has elapsed since 1901 have not been prepared with quite the same painstaking accuracy as seems to characterize the major portion of the work. Perhaps for these later years the author depended too much upon his own knowledge and impressions, rather than upon historical research. But slight imperfections such as these cannot account for the difficulty experienced in securing a publisher.

The conclusion is irresistible that many publishing houses think it safer to publish thrilling political fiction than thrilling political history so far as New York City is concerned.

The author has rendered a great service. Yet, if anything, he is too optimistic. In his first preface, he said: "Imagination fails at picturing the metropolis that might have been, could the city throughout the century have been guided and controlled in the light of present-day civic ideals." Yet, in the supplementary chapters bringing the story down to 1917, an astonishing continuity of political abuses and corruption is shown. The author certainly made a mistake in departing from the rôle of the historian, in his last chapter, and assuming in a mild way the rôle of a political prophet. The book would have been stronger if he had stopped without commenting on the Mitchel administration, leaving that for a subsequent historian writing after the work of that administration was finished and the people's judgment recorded.

DELOS F. WILCOX.

Political Parties in Michigan, 1837-1860: an Historical Study of Political Issues and Parties in Michigan from the Admission of the State to the Civil War. By FLOYD BENJAMIN STREETER. [Michigan Historical Publications, University Series, IV.] (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission. 1918. Pp. xxxiii, 401. \$1.00.)

THIS volume was begun a few years ago while the author was a graduate student in the University of Michigan, as a study for a doctoral dissertation. It sets forth the principal issues, leaders, divisions, factions, and party contests in Michigan during the quarter of a century prior to the Civil War. The volume contains a series of political maps and charts showing the geographical distribution of the voting strength of the respective parties as well as the sectional alignment in the state on questions like the tariff and internal improvement. The source and character of migration to Michigan is shown, accounting for the Jacksonian Democracy of the early Michigan voters. The local influences of the churches and of anti-slavery societies lead to the development of an anti-slavery party. It was true of Michigan that her early population came chiefly from these states, but it is quite an unsafe inference to say, as the author does, that the anti-slavery opinions of Western people were dependent on the source of their migration. Douglas came from Vermont and Lincoln from Kentucky, and the anti-slavery opinion and leadership of the Middle West below Michigan were found very largely in people of Southern antecedents. A doubtful summary of reasons is given for Michigan's anti-slavery sentiment that sound a good deal like standard pro-slavery sophistries and seem to have been suggested by the traditional apologies for slavery. Lack of knowledge of "low-grade negroes" and "typical blacks" had little or nothing to do with a people's anti-slavery convictions.

Michigan opinion on the Oregon question, the annexation of Texas, and the Wilmot Proviso is brought out, as also are the class divisions on the tariff, as between the laborers and farmers on the one hand and the commercial classes on the other. Cass reconciled to his leadership in his candidacy for the presidency and the Senate (1848-1849) many Democratic Free Soilers, as shown in the case of Governor Ransom, the Democratic governor of the state, who, while a supporter of Cass, was a pronounced advocate of the Wilmot Proviso.

Anti-alienism and the Know-nothing movement, and the influence of the temperance movement in the fifties, receive a fair share of attention. It is stated that prior to the Civil War about a sixth of the people of Michigan were foreign-born, chiefly from Germany, Ireland, England, and Canada. The respectable Whigs held themselves socially above these immigrants, while the Democrats were more nearly on their social plane, which is held to account for the predilection of the foreign-born for the Democratic party. So the Know-nothing party was largely a party of the conservative Whigs, who had little interest in the slavery question while the transition was taking place from Whiggism to Republicanism. The organization of the Republican party in Michigan is properly emphasized, and it is shown to be a culmination of the movements of radical Democrats and of the coalitions between Whigs and Free Soilers on the issues of national politics in the later forties and early fifties. The influence exerted toward this end by the local press, by local meetings, conventions, and church conferences is very fully and effectively set forth. The chapter on the Churches in Michigan Politics is one of distinct value, illustrating very well the real underlying forces in our politics; how the many rills are produced that feed the great stream of public sentiment, and how the great national movements have their beginnings in local ways—in the churches, school-houses, neighborhoods, and homes of the people.

Mr. Streeter brings out the dissatisfaction and uncertain future of the Republican party in its early days; then its growth, together with the Democratic decline, closing with a very interesting account of the Lincoln campaign in Michigan. The volume is a valuable local study well worth doing and quite helpful to a student of our national political history. A student of our general history may feel that the volume is too closely local, and that opportunity has not been enough used to point out the historical significance of state struggles or to relate the story of Michigan political life to the life of the nation at large. The appendix contains the two constitutions of Michigan, of 1835 and 1850; a table of population in the counties by decades up to 1860; and a complete and very valuable bibliography, citing speeches, sermons, pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals, and volumes which were the sources of the author's study. Such doctors' dissertations should be encouraged in the states.

J. A. W.

Confederate Literature: a List of Books and Newspapers, Maps, Music, and Miscellaneous Matter printed in the South during the Confederacy, now in the Boston Athenaeum. Prepared by CHARLES N. BAXTER and JAMES M. DEARBORN, with an Introduction by JAMES FORD RHODES. (Boston: the Athenaeum. 1917. Pp. x, 213. \$1.25.)

VARYING fortunes of war, peace, and reconstruction soon destroyed or dispersed many of the Confederate archives, documents, and publications, official and unofficial, usually poorly printed and unbound. The original manuscripts of the Provisional and Permanent Constitutions of the Confederacy, and the official volume of (transcribed) opinions of the Confederate attorneys general, 1861-1865, were found by a Southern war-correspondent, F. G. de Fontaine, in boxes from Richmond just abandoned at Chester, S. C., in April, 1865! In 1883 he sold the Permanent Constitution to Mrs. G. W. J. DeRenne of Savannah. W. W. Corcoran then bought the Provisional Constitution and presented it to the Southern Historical Society, so that it is now in the Confederate Museum at Richmond. In November, 1897, the opinions of the attorneys general were sold to the New York Public Library (*cf. Ga. Hist. Quarterly*, June, 1918, pp. 73, 74, notes). Naturally much came into the possession of the United States government, and thus the Confederate portion of that vast *omnium-gatherum*, the *Official Records*, became possible. Later the *Journals* of the Confederate Congress also were similarly made readily accessible to all.

J. R. Bartlett's 1866 catalogue lists such Confederate material as he had obtained, but Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America* went much farther. The fine collection, including an extraordinary series of Confederate Congressional bills and reports, formed by Levi Z. Leiter, was carefully catalogued by H. A. Morrison (1907). D. S. Freeman's very scholarly *Confederate Museum Calendar* (Richmond, 1908) is of unusual value, as might be expected, and the Virginia State Library has issued lists including Confederate official publications, Southern periodicals, and Virginia imprints.

Now we have this handsome volume listing the Confederate imprints in the Boston Athenaeum. The interesting introduction by Mr. Rhodes explains that the collection was formed "say 1865-66" by an Athenaeum committee of which Francis Parkham and the librarian, W. F. Poole, were the most active members. They went to work promptly, with great energy and with remarkable results, securing just in time many rare newspapers, periodicals, and other ephemeral publications. The contents of this volume are as follows: I. Introduction by Mr. Rhodes, II. Confederate States Publications, III. State Publications, IV. Miscellaneous Books, V. Tracts, VI. Music, VII. Maps, Broad-sides, etc., VIII. Newspapers and Periodicals, followed by an index to the whole volume.

The book being a mere list, not a regular catalogue or bibliography, there are no collations by signatures, nor is the alignment of the title-pages indicated as had been done in Freeman's *Calendar*, but the titles are given in full, authors of anonymous works are named when known, the pagination and size are given, and there are many concise notes as to cover-titles, contents, etc. The compilers have evidently done their work very carefully, and the book is well printed, both as regards appearance and accuracy.

Without demanding additional notes in general, I think that in two exceptional instances at least they should be added:

The *Declaration of the immediate causes which induce and justify the Secession of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1860, 13 pp.) on page 55 of the present volume, should be emphatically distinguished from the surreptitious, spurious, counterfeit reprint, which though smaller in size and more modern in appearance might readily deceive the unwarned. Mr. T. L. Cole, our chief authority on such legal literature, informs me that the counterfeit is most readily identified by its misprint: *Pren't* Convention for *Pres't* Convention on p. [11]. The Americus Book Company of Americus, Georgia, admits that the counterfeit was made for them, but can no longer ascertain who printed it in Americus, just when it was done, or how many copies printed. They are still being sold however.

Surely it is also worth noting (*cf.* Freeman, p. 540, and the Bibliography of Confederate Text-Books, p. 1150, by the late Stephen B. Weeks, in the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1898-1899*) that Mrs. M. B. Moore's *Primary Geography, arranged as a Reading Book for Common Schools, with Questions and Answers Attached* (second ed., Raleigh, 1864—*cf.* B. A. List, p. 115) concludes with the remarkable colloquy (p. 47, not in the first edition!):

Q. Has the Confederate States any commerce?

A. A fine inland commerce, and bids fair, sometime, to have a grand commerce on the high seas.

Q. What is the present drawback to our trade?

A. An unlawful Blockade by the miserable and hellish Yankee Nation.

Numerous important and really interesting items not mentioned in the present *List* may indeed be found in various other libraries. Thus the DeRenne Library has the *Ordinance of Secession* of the "Republic of Georgia" as originally printed on satin at Augusta; the rare original edition (Montgomery, 1861, pp. 15) of the *Constitution of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America*; and Richard Malcolm Johnston's anonymous and almost unknown volume *Georgia Sketches by an Old Man* (Augusta, 1864) which later reappeared in his *Dukesborough Tales*.

But take it for all in all, and considering its wide variety and scope, Mr. Rhodes is undoubtedly right when he concludes that the Athenaeum

collection "possesses inestimable value". We can only be grateful for this excellent and remarkably cheap check-list which serves as its key.

LEONARD L. MACKALL.

A Survey of International Relations between the United States and Germany, August 1, 1914-April 6, 1917. Based on Official Documents. By JAMES BROWN SCOTT. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1917. Pp. cxvi, 390. \$5.00.)

DR. SCOTT has put on his title-page two examples of the thought and purpose of Germany and America, which intimate the lesson of the book. They are as follows: "Know once and for all that in the matter of king-craft we take when we can, and that we are never wrong unless we have to give back what we have taken" (Frederick the Great, *Les Matinées Royales*, circa 1764); and, "The true honor and dignity of the Nation are inseparable from justice" (Albert Gallatin, *Peace with Mexico*, 1847).

The work aims to show, first, in an introduction of ninety-five pages, the German Conception of the State, International Policy, and International Law. The author has followed the scriptural method, "Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee", and begins with a series of extracts, given exactly, from Frederick the Great, Frederick William IV., and William II., German emperor, from Bismarck, von Moltke, and Bethmann-Hollweg, from Hegel, Clausewitz, Arndt, Mommsen, Lasson, Rümelin, Treitschke, Bernhardi, and the *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege* (1902) given out by the General Staff. He does not assert but convincingly establishes the character and purpose of Germany, during a period of nearly two hundred years, by the considered words of her sovereigns, her principal statesmen, and her most eminent philosophers, scholars, and soldiers.

They exhibit her as dominated and directed by consistent schemes of aggression, tempered by no regard for the rights of others, of justice and humanity, or her own solemn engagements. Thus Frederick the Great in 1741 wrote his minister de Podewils (p. xxii): "If there is anything to be gained by it, we will be honest; if deception is necessary, let us be cheats." . . . "maintain vigorously this maxim, that to despoil your neighbors is to take away from them the means of doing you injury" (p. xxiii). . . . "When Prussia, dear Nephew, shall have made her fortune, she will then be able to assume an air of good faith and of constancy such as, at the most, becomes only great states and little sovereigns." . . . "Attach yourselves especially to those possessing the talent of expressing themselves in vague, ponderous, or ambiguous phrases. You will make no mistake in keeping some political locksmiths and doctors; they may be of great use to you. I know from experience all the advantages to be derived through them" (p. xxvii).

Frederick William IV. in 1847 declared from the throne, "All written

constitutions are only scraps of paper" (p. xlii). Bismarck said later, "Treaties are scraps of paper" (p. xlvii), and Bethmann-Hollweg in 1914 applied the same term, "Just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war" (p. cxiii). "'World power or ruin' is the watchword forced upon us by the evolution of history", said Bernhardt (p. xciii). Again Lasson wrote: "Right and morality do not bind the will of the state. There is but one thing which may hinder the state in the pursuit of its selfish interests, namely, fear of a foreign power. It is only toward the weak that a state acts boldly and dares to do what it pleases", and again, "A people that cannot hate what is alien to it, are a wretched people, unworthy of independence and destined to be plundered and robbed" (p. lxiii). Treitschke jeers at the moral authority and the restraints of international law, and the *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege* specifically states: "Every means of war, without which the object of the war cannot be attained, may be resorted to" (p. xcii).

Secondly, this introduction of quotations is followed by nineteen chapters whose headings show their scope: Genesis of the War of 1914, the Neutrality of the United States, German Charges of Unneutral Conduct, Censorship of Communications, Unlawful Seizure of Persons upon the High Seas, Restraints on Commerce, Sale of Munitions of War, Miscellaneous Complaints, Submarine Warfare, Reprisals, Belligerent Use of Neutral Flag, Mines, War Zones and Blockades, Status of Merchant Vessels, Accepted Rules of Maritime Warfare, Renewal of Submarine Warfare, Severance of Diplomatic Relations and Proclamation of Armed Neutrality, Declaration of War, Why not Arbitration? Freedom of the Seas, Conclusion, and Postscriptum, giving the President's reply to the peace appeal of the Pope and his address to Congress on December 4, 1917, and the resolutions on and declaration of war with Austria.

The letter of Senator Stone, chairman of the foreign relations committee of the Senate, dated January 8, 1915, addressed to the Secretary of State, reported twenty several grounds of complaint as to partiality on the part of the United States toward Great Britain, France, and Russia, as against Germany and Austria. The reply of the Secretary of State to these several complaints is discussed, and the text arranges itself largely about these answers.

Dr. Scott's scholarly discussion fully sustains the conclusions of that reply. He has gathered in a lucid, somewhat continuous, and highly interesting narrative, the incidents and documents exhibiting the relations of our own government with that of Germany during the last four years, with full consideration, also, of the earlier treaties. He has given exact and copious references for all citations, and he has discussed doctrines and practices in the light of generally accepted and declared beliefs and customs, citing often the highest German authorities as well as those of the United States and the nations of the Entente. He is able to show conclusively a constant and unflinching disregard of

those authorities and breach of those customary rules on the part of the Central Powers.

His treatment is comprehensive, his method fair, and his temper restrained and moderate. His knowledge of the authorities, Continental and American alike, is both wide and precise. One small error seems to have intervened on page 224, when he speaks of a well-known incident in the Franco-Prussian War as "the destruction by the French cruiser *Desaix* of Prussian cruisers on the high seas". The vessels destroyed by the *Desaix* were, it is believed, not cruisers but "merchantmen", and Dr. Scott quotes Bismarck to that effect on page 238, so that he himself corrects this small inaccuracy.

The quotation (p. 311) from a note of William Pulteney to Pitt, dated September 14, 1786, to the effect that "It is to be considered whether this is not a good opportunity to ingraft upon this treaty some arrangement that may effectually tend to prevent future wars, at least for a considerable time", is one of the apt and frequent extracts with which the foot-notes abound. The whole scheme for a world's league seems foreshadowed in Pulteney's statement: "It very frequently occurred to my mind that if France and England understood each other, the world might be kept in peace from one end of the globe to the other." The vision of Pulteney has not been realized though almost a century and a half have passed since then, and, at the end of by far the most sanguinary war of all time, our leaders and those of the Entente are striving to enlarge it into a world-wide law.

In his conclusion Dr. Scott concurs in the statement by the President of the case against the Imperial German Government, and finds that "the reasons given are causes, not pretexts, that the motives and purposes are sincere and sufficient". It is believed that any careful reader of his valuable work must concur with him in this opinion and be strengthened in his conviction as to the justice and necessity of the course ultimately taken by the United States government.

The words of Adolf Lasson, quoted from *Das Culturideal und der Krieg* by Dr. Scott (p. lvii) are not at present ungrateful to us. They are these: "The outcome of war is therefore always righteous; it is a true judgment of God."

CHARLES NOBLE GREGORY.

The United States in the World War. By JOHN BACH McMASTER, Professor of American History in the University of Pennsylvania. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1918. Pp. 485. \$3.00.)

THIS is one of the first of the long line of volumes that American historians will some day write to describe the part America played in the Great War. It is not as compact and clear-cut as the volumes by Gauss or Rogers for it has a more inclusive purpose.

Three hundred and fifty of its 460 pages cover the opening of the war in Europe, the pro-German propaganda, Belgian relief, the controversies over neutral trade and the submarine, the German plots and intrigues in the United States, the pacifist and preparedness agitation, the exchange of notes preceding the diplomatic break, and the entry of the United States into the war. The remaining 110 pages deal with our declaration of war and its reception abroad, mobilization, the German-American press and German intrigues, rationing and fighting, and the international peace debate.

The method of treatment is strongly reminiscent of Professor McMaster's previous work. Newspapers are freely quoted and bridging paragraphs leave some uncertainty as to whether you are reading Professor McMaster's views or summaries of other press comment. As the press quotations are somewhat heavily from the German-American press, the pacifist agitators, the bewildered and hedging congressmen, and the Philadelphia and seaboard papers, the future or even the contemporary reader may well wonder what it was that led us to national conviction and unity behind the President. It is too early to measure all the forces and influences that swayed the silent millions, but the analysis could have been forced a little farther even at present.

If the paragraph (p. 351) in which the author describes April 2, 1917, in Washington, were all that a future generation could have as an epitome of the way America felt, it would be puzzled. The President, it may be recalled, read his war message to the Congress at the unusual hour of half-past eight in the evening.

All day long the pacifists had been active in their opposition. They sought to get possession of the Capitol steps up which the President was to go; but were dispersed by the police. Some entered the room of the Vice-President, behaved in an unseemly manner and were put out. Others attacked Senator Lodge. It became necessary as a means of precaution to guard the approaches to the Capitol with two troops of cavalry, and put secret service men and police on guard in the corridors. Another troop of cavalry guarded the President while on his way to the Capitol from the White House. Never on any former visit had he met with such applause, such cheering, as greeted him as he entered the Chamber of the House, walked to the Speaker's desk and looked out upon an excited audience, almost every member of which was waving or wearing a national flag.

What was behind a President who went through the streets of our national capital in peril of his personal safety to urge war upon a Congress that enthusiastically welcomed him, might be made clearer by some quotations not in the book—as for instance the declarations of the spokesmen of labor on March 12. Most curious of all omissions is the campaign of 1916. Mr. Hughes is not mentioned in the book; Mr. Roosevelt is but briefly quoted, and the pro-war group in press and public scarcely appear. The Entente propaganda, *e. g.*, the intelligent work of the Wellington House group, is given no place. The Presi-

dent's notes, although essential in clarifying the issues down to incontrovertible essentials, could be more richly supplemented by the whole series of addresses after 1915 in which he brought the conflict to a plane where the people grasped it as a moral issue for which America could fight in self-defense and without imperialistic purposes.

The book reads easily and presents a great body of material interestingly. The hundred pages on America in the war are strong and effective, with gaps, of course, such as the work of the National Research Council and the State Defense Councils, that can better be supplied by later writers.

It is a matter of congratulation that at least one historian has not waited until the last word is in to write on America in the war. The field should not be left to the journalistic historian. But even the historian, and this is the reviewer's chief complaint, must realize that the *Literary Digest* and the *Congressional Record* no longer compass all the utterances that represent public opinion in America.

Narrative of Some Things of New Spain and of the Great City of Temestitan Mexico. Written by the ANONYMOUS CONQUEROR, a Companion of Hernan Cortes. Translated into English and annotated by MARSHALL H. SAVILLE. [Documents and Narratives concerning the Discovery and Conquest of Latin America, published by the Cortes Society, no. 1.] (New York: Cortes Society. 1917. Pp. 93.)

An Account of the Conquest of Peru. Written by PEDRO SANCHO, Secretary to Pizarro and Scrivener to his Army. Translated into English and annotated by PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS. [*Id.*, no. 2.] (*Ibid.* 1917. Pp. 203.)

THIS new society produces handsome books, and has plans which, properly executed, will greatly promote knowledge of its chosen field. The plan is, to print well-annotated translations of original documents and narratives of early Latin-American history that have not heretofore appeared in English. The choices made for the first two issues are excellent. What the Anonymous Conqueror has to say of the natives of New Spain and of their great city, though brief, is of first-hand value, and, now that we have such excellent English versions of the letters of Cortés and the chronicle of Bernal Diaz as those published by Mr. MacNutt and by the Hakluyt Society, perhaps nothing else has a superior claim. Pedro Sancho is less candid and requires more correction, but an extended narrative by a secretary of Pizarro, covering events from the execution of Atahualpa till after the settlement of Cuzco, August, 1533-July, 1534, cannot fail to be of high value, and has been so regarded by historians from Prescott down.

But if the publications of the Cortes Society are to take the rank which its founders desire them to have, more care must be bestowed on

their execution. These two narratives have come down to us, not in their Spanish originals, but only in Italian versions printed in the third volume of Ramusio (pp. 304v-310r, 398v-414v, respectively). It was the obvious duty of the editors to translate directly from Ramusio's Italian. Instead they have translated, and not always correctly, from the translations into Spanish printed by Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, the anonymous narrative in the first volume of his *Documentos Inéditos*, that of Sancho in an appendix to his Spanish translation of Prescott's *Peru* (Mexico, 1850), vol. II., and vol. VIII. of his *Obras*. Now Icazbalceta's translations are by no means accurate, and though the editors say that they have compared their version with the Italian, it often fails, as would be expected from the process they have followed, to represent the latter faithfully. In several of the notes to Sancho (notes 56, 57, 82, 120), against passages which the editor thinks obscure, he gives the reader the *Spanish* text, from Icazbalceta's translation, instead of the Italian.

In the translator's preface to Sancho, which is far too meagre to serve as any introduction to the critical or even intelligent reading of the narrative, he says that a small portion of it was printed by the Hakluyt Society in 1872, in *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, edited by the late Sir Clements Markham. But the Sancho document there printed is something quite different, a list of the shares of plunder distributed at Caxamarca, having nothing to do with our *Relatione*. It was taken from Manuel José Quintana's *Vidas de Españoles Célebres* (Paris, 1845), pp. 185-190, and Markham so states; and Quintana says that he got it from an unpublished manuscript of Francisco López de Caravantes, "Noticia General del Perú, Tierra Firme, y Chile".

The annotations seem to be excellent when they turn upon matters of aboriginal archaeology, of which the editors evidently have much first-hand knowledge. Some of the other notes, however, show great want of care. Where Sancho estimates the treasures of gold wrung from Atahualpa in *pesos* (p. 10), a note explains that "the *peso* is about an ounce". The *peso* of silver was about an ounce (423.7 Troy grains), but the *peso d'oro* was only about 79 grains. Still worse is note 25 in the other volume, about the *marchetto* (Ramusio, a Venetian, is here speaking in terms of Venetian money). It reads, "A small piece of copper money with the effigy of San Marcos [why not St. Mark?] which is worth about two sous of a franc:—Note by Ternaux". This is a meaningless expression, and is a mistranslation of a note by Icazbalceta (I. 381, "dos centavos de franco"), who borrows it from Ternaux Compans's French translation of the Anonymous (*Voyages*, X. 73, "environ deux centimes"), and that book itself was perfectly accessible to any editor, and all three are wrong! The *marchetto* was at this time a Venetian silver coin of three grammes weight (*Corp. Numm. Ital.*, VII. 228), a little larger than our dime. But it is a frequent habit of editors of old documents, and indeed of historians too, to treat with indifference

all statements of money, weights, and measures, and in the case of money to ignore the wide distinction between specific value, or coin-weight, and present purchasing power, though the frequent result is to leave the numerical statement without meaning.

The Early History of Cuba, 1492-1586. Written from Original Sources by I. A. WRIGHT. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xvii, 390. \$2.00.)

THIS book represents two years of research in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville. "Not one document", says the author, "concerning Cuba in one thousand that exist at Seville has been made public in any way" (p. xv). "I have ignored secondary sources because I know that there has passed through my hands a greater wealth of material for the writing of the history of Cuba than any other person has handled" (p. xvi). "It is not easy, as circumstances now are, for any person who may become my critic to make that examination" (p. xvi). The reviewer quotes the above that it may appear sufficiently clear that he cannot be expected to examine any statement of fact contained in the work, but must consider the merits of the book in a general way.

No previous account of the period is so extensive. Miss Wright's work for that period is more detailed and more satisfactory in every sense than those of Arrate, *Llave del Nuevo Mundo*, written in 1761; Urrutia y Montoya, *Teatro Histórico*, written in 1791; Valdés, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (Habana, 1813); Guiteras, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (New York, 1856-1866, two vols.); Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba* (Madrid, 1868-1878, four vols.); and Rodríguez Ferrer, *Naturaleza y Civilización de la Grandiosa Isla de Cuba*, vol. II. (Madrid, 1887).

Regarding the plan of the work, some objection can justly be raised. It is strictly a chronological history, containing a minute narrative of facts, woven together with a great deal of skill and scrupulous regard for accuracy. But it would, perhaps, have been more useful to have made a separate record of the different phases of the island's history during the period: for instance, discovery, settlements, government, finance, aborigines, slave labor, commerce and industry, social life, religion, military and naval activities, invasion by pirates, etc. The book as written is divided into four parts: I., 1492-1524, Spain takes Possession of Cuba; II., 1524-1550, an Era of Stagnation; III., 1550-1567, French Influence; and IV., 1567-1586, the Menace of the English. The narrative has been supplemented and continued in a series of articles published in *La Reforma Social* (Havana and New York), in the issues of September, October, and November, 1916, and November, 1917, entitled "El Gobierno de Gabriel de Luján en Cuba, 1579-1589". In addition this magazine has published two studies on the origins of the sugar industry and the origins of mining in Cuba by Miss Wright (issues of April and June, 1916, respectively).

Miss Wright's purpose was, it appears, to write a history of Cuba, and to do this from original documents. In two years she was able to produce a book covering the first century of the island's history. If she were able to continue the task, it would be many years before the history of Cuba would be written by her. Any interruption would leave the work unfinished, as planned by her. But conceding that her plan were fully carried out, a notable contribution to the history of Cuba would certainly have been made, yet we could hardly say that the history of Cuba had been written, for this task is plainly beyond the resources of any one individual, and requires many hands for many years or decades. Without denying in any way the value of Miss Wright's work, it would have been in the long run a better service to the cause of historical investigation, if Miss Wright had abandoned the idea of writing history and had undertaken the task of preparing a guide to the materials for Cuban history in the Archivo de Sevilla. If possible, as a complement to this work, she might have published and edited such documents as seemed to her most useful. Such a book would have had as ready a sale as the present one, and would have served as a spur to investigation. In spite of Miss Wright's book, the historian will have to go over all the work that she has done, for her book is an abridgment. A true history of the period from 1492 to 1589 requires at least ten times as many pages as Miss Wright has devoted to it, for the material, as she confesses, is enormous in bulk and deals with events of the greatest interest.

There are no foot-notes to this book. At the beginning of each part is a brief note of the *legajos* or bundles containing material for the period, the reference being to the number or class-mark of the bundles. It will, therefore, be impossible to trace the statements made in the book, except by going over the thousands of documents forming the *legajos* mentioned by Miss Wright, until one discovers the particular document containing the facts which one desires to verify. This is the gravest defect of the book—but she thinks it unavoidable.

It is also to be regretted that Miss Wright did not employ Spanish for writing her book, for in this language she would have been able to reproduce the text of the documents literally in many cases, and the book would have commanded a greater number of readers. A Spanish translation cannot be satisfactorily made, for the quotations from documents when re-translated would not agree with the originals.

Whatever criticism may be made against Miss Wright's book is not sufficient, however, to destroy the evident merit of her work, which is very conscientious, skillful, and scholarly. No book yet written on the history of Cuba can be considered superior to it in these particulars.

LUIS MARINO PÉREZ.

Santo Domingo: a Country with a Future. By OTTO SCHOENRICH. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. xiv, 418. \$3.00.)

IN addition to a long introductory historical sketch and a chapter on the Remains of Columbus, this volume contains conscientiously informative chapters on area and boundaries, flora and fauna, transportation, commerce, cities, the people, religion, education and literature, government, politics and revolution, law and justice, finances and debt, and the future of the country; and scattered biographical data of historical importance. Judge Schoenrich knows intimately the Dominican people, and their land even in its remote recesses. The reader relies upon this personal knowledge; and this reliance is increased by the repeated evidences of the author's shrewd common sense, and of his very evident desire to be fair to the Dominican people.

The chronological, historical sketch (pp. 1-96) is not very satisfying. Very many of its data are advantageously repeated in later chapters. Still more could well have been thus disposed of, and the remainder subjected to some analysis and topical synthesis. The chapter on the Remains of Columbus (pp. 276-302)—with diagrams, drawings, and translations of documents—is less full than the portion of Thacher's *Christopher Columbus* (III. 534-613) dealing with the same subject, but it is conscientious and excellent (and the translations from Spanish are better than Mr. Thacher's). The author states in his preface that he has "endeavored to read all books of any consequence which have been published with reference to Santo Domingo", and he includes in his bibliography three studies on the problem of Columbus's remains; he does not list, however, HARRISSE's somewhat over-argued essay *Los Restos de Don Cristoval Colón* (Seville, 1878), nor the volume by Roque Cocchia (*Los Restos de Cristobal Colón*, Santo Domingo, 1879), apostolic delegate to Santo Domingo in 1877 and in charge of the exhumation of that year, nor the Spanish Academy's intemperate and unsatisfying *Los Restos de Colón, Informe de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid, 1879)—not to mention other contributions to the controversy, including Mr. Thacher's. In short, the chapter does not represent exhaustive research, yet such research would probably only have confirmed the author in his conclusion that the remains of Columbus rest in the cathedral church of Santo Domingo. "The Spanish writers", as Judge Schoenrich says (and the same is true of HARRISSE), "present no proof that the remains taken to Havana in 1795 were those of Christopher Columbus, but limit themselves to attacking the find of 1877. . . . On the whole, the weight of evidence is strongly in favor of the Dominican contention." This conclusion seems to the reviewer sound (as it evidently seemed to Mr. Thacher), although the truth cannot be now, and probably never will be, conclusively proved.

A real defect is the omission of a chapter on economic history. Various data in this field can be located through the index ("bucca-

neers", "corsairs", "mining", "negroes", "population", "slavery", etc.), but the index is decidedly incomplete. The chapters on politics and government are decidedly the best of the book, but there is hardly a specific reference to the difficulties in the way of self-government (pp. 175, 326 ff.); and the discussion of constitutions and their changes, and of revolutions, ignores many fundamental questions that any student of government would immediately propound.

The most that can be said is that the book is welcome for what it is—a fair-minded, conscientious, glorified guide-book, with many historical data. In physical make-up and appearance, too, the volume leaves little to be desired. (Misprints: pp. 34, 52, 123. Inconsistent dates: pp. 52 and 48, 279 and 337.)

F. S. P.

MINOR NOTICES

The Theory of Environment, an Outline of the History of the Idea of Milieu, and its Present Status. By Armin Hajman Koller, Ph.D., Instructor in German in the University of Illinois. (Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Company, 1918, pp. 104, \$1.00.) This small volume forms the first part of an extended treatise to be published shortly. It consists almost wholly of quotations and brief summaries setting forth the views of a great number of writers on the influence of environment in history. In a rather superfluous Introductory Remark (pp. 1-6) the author sketches the history of the word "milieu" as signifying environment. Then in two chapters (pp. 7-92) he traverses "the history of the idea of milieu" from the Hebrew prophets down to the present day, this history consisting entirely of citations from individual authors arranged in chronological sequence. In a brief concluding summary (pp. 93-96) he attempts to gather up the results of his study.

It goes without saying that an authoritative treatise in this difficult field must come from the hand of a scholar thoroughly at home in both geography and history. Such the present writer appears not to be. The standpoint of his book is that of the philologist or literary worker, not that of the scientist or historian. The author shows inadequate power of discrimination between great names and small. Little special stress is laid on the writers who have exercised fundamental influence on the development of modern anthropo-geography. In many instances he seems to have read about the authors he cites rather than to have read them for himself. His book has a certain value as a concise guide to the literature in the field. But it does not present a coherent history of the doctrine of environment. Least of all does it set out in a clear light the constructive evolution of the science of anthropo-geography in its relations with the modern scientific movement and the new history. Such an achievement is intrinsically beyond the powers of any but the broadest and most mature scholarship.

A. B. S.

A Nation Trained in Arms or a Militia? Lessons in War from the Past and the Present. By Lieutenant-General Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven of the German Imperial Staff. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918, pp. xxvii, 222, \$1.25.) The author of this book, who, in 1917, was deputy chief of the German General Staff, and who was decorated with the order *Pour le Mérite* (peace class) in recognition of his contributions to military literature, has written with the tacit assumption that international rivalries and wars will continue in the future and that consequently military preparedness is a national obligation. In deciding upon a system of military training, the choice lies between a national army and a militia. Keeping in view the author's official position, and the fact that he was writing at the close of 1917 when the German armies were still looking for victory in the field, one could almost forecast the conclusion that the safety of Germany in the future "can only be guaranteed by a firmly-knit, trained, national army, not by a militia".

This conclusion is based on an interesting survey of the military history of Europe and America from the close of the Thirty Years' War to 1917, in which we have a description of the chief systems for raising armed forces employed on either continent, with an examination of the efficiency of these systems when tested by actual warfare. One very entertaining chapter discusses the views of the opponents of obligatory national military training in Germany. The plan of the work, prepared to instruct the general public, leaves no opportunity for an original contribution to military history, and the facts presented and conclusions drawn agree in general with those of other military historians of repute. However, one may reasonably say that the author underestimates the degree of efficiency attained by the Union armies at the close of the Civil War. On the whole, this is a very readable and reliable sketch of the development of the pre-war military systems of Europe.

The introduction to the translation, by a British general, Sir C. E. Callwell, ably summarizes the work and criticizes some of the author's personal judgments.

A. E. R. BOAK.

A Short History of Rome. By Guglielmo Ferrero and Corrado Barbagallo. Volume I. *The Monarchy and the Republic, from the Foundation of the City to the Death of Julius Caesar, 754 B.C.-44 B.C.* (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918, pp. vii, 510, \$1.90.) In its treatment of the history of the monarchy and the republic, the first characteristic feature of this book which will attract the attention of the reader is its tendency to adhere to tradition for the early period. This tendency leads the author, for instance, to believe (p. 26) that the monarchy was very possibly overthrown by a revolution, and not gradually displaced; it leads him to accept the treaty of 509 B.C. with Carthage and its traditional date (p. 29), the authenticity of the Licinio-

Sextian laws (p. 60), and the story of the first Samnite war, so called (p. 69). Naturally he has little sympathy with the methods of the skeptical school of Roman historians (*cf.* pp. iv, 2, 5, 29 n., 60 n., 69, 219 n.). A second notable feature of the volume is the fact that 300 of its 483 pages are devoted to military history. Its third characteristic calls for a few words of special comment. Since the appearance of Professor Frank's work on *Roman Imperialism*, it seems to the reviewer impossible to assign to capitalism and commercialism the important rôle which Ferrero gives them in shaping the foreign policy of Rome from the middle of the third century to the latter part of the second (*cf.* pp. 131, 150, 211, 231-232, 242). All the signs of commercialism are lacking in the middle republican period. Rome did not require Carthage to give up her policy of closing Punic ports in 241 or in 201 (Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 283). So far as our information goes, she did not establish in this period export or import prohibitions, differential tariffs, or commercial monopolies, and Ferrero seems to have entirely overestimated the importance of the *societates*. Frank has shown (*op. cit.*, p. 292) that as late as the middle of the second century public contracts probably involved not more than one per cent. of the capital of the *equites*.

The author's theory of the relation of Rome to Etruria is attractive. He thinks it probable that Rome conquered Etruria, that Rome became the metropolis for Etruscan trade, and that the conflicts of the early period were episodes in the struggle between the Etruscan commercial and the Latin agricultural tradition. The Etruscan element triumphed in the timocratic constitution of Servius, the Latin, in the overthrow of the monarchy. The book contains some admirable descriptions of social and economic conditions, although in this connection it is strange that almost nothing is said (pp. 146, 270) about the Sicilian tax system and nothing at all about the significance of the transmarine colonial policy of C. Gracchus (p. 273). While the reviewer cannot agree with some of the conclusions which the author has reached, he has found the book fascinating and stimulating, as all Ferrero's works are.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

French Protestantism, 1559-1562. By Caleb Guyer Kelly. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XXXVI., no. 4.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1918, pp. viii, 185, \$1.25.) This is a volume marked by repetition; and the author has been somewhat swamped by the multitude of details, so that the general outlines of the period are obscured. Yet the reader will be repaid by much information as to the three eventful years of French history which constitute the theme. The author's interest is primarily economic and he makes abundantly evident the unrest of the artisan class of France which, with its enterprise, disposed it to welcome innovation and, therefore, to favor the reform. On the other hand, the economic situation of the peasantry led to content and adhesion to the older faith. A

wealth of detail is cited in support of these propositions. In higher circles the influence of hostility to the Guises is traced. Unquestionably the wars of religion in France were struggles into which very mixed motives entered, and this volume helps to make evident their complexity.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Simon Goulart, 1543-1628: Étude Biographique et Bibliographique. Par Leonard Chester Jones. (Geneva, Georg et Cie.; Paris, Édouard Champion, 1917, pp. xviii, 688.) Simon Goulart belonged to the second generation of the ecclesiastical leaders of Geneva. Born in Senlis, in 1543, he found refuge in Geneva less than two years after Calvin's death. In November, 1566, he entered the Genevan pastorate which he was to adorn till his death in 1628. After Beza's death in 1605, he was in public repute and for much of the time in official position the leader of the Genevan ministry. With his duties in the pulpit he combined a very considerable political activity and a remarkable literary productivity, as a versifier, a translator and popularizer of the classics and the Christian fathers, an historian, and as a writer on practical religion. Captain Jones's careful bibliography embraces no less than seventy-five titles.

Goulart belonged, indeed, to the unpicturesque period of Reformation history. The leaders had done their creative work. It was his to conserve what had been won rather than to build afresh. It is not to be denied that the readers' interest in him is far less than in Calvin, or even in Beza. No elaborate biography of Goulart has ever before been attempted. This gap the author has abundantly supplied. As a fellow in history of Princeton University and as a candidate for the degree of *docteur ès lettres* in the University of Geneva, he has well learned the historian's duties. He has given a most workmanlike volume, containing a careful study of Goulart's life and activities, a selection of fifty-nine of his letters, gathered from widely scattered European libraries and archives, and an elaborately annotated bibliography of Goulart's publications.

The picture the author presents is valuable as illuminating religious and political life in Geneva after the Reformation had been for more than half a century an established fact, but before modern questions had arisen on the horizon. It reveals what life and thought in the city of Calvin was when the Genevan reformer was no more, but when his influence still ruled unchallenged over Genevan intellectual interests.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore, Gloucestershire. Edited by G. Davies. [Camden Third Series, vol. XXVIII.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1917, pp. 184.) Mr. G. Davies has edited for the Camden Society two family manuscripts, preserved in the Bodleian, which have not been previously

printed. The first, described by the writer as "a rhapsodie", is an original covering the years 1622-1659. It is a loose narrative which adds nothing new to the political or constitutional history of the period. The chief interest will be for the student of social life. Raymond was a member of a diplomatic mission to the Hague in 1632. He served as a private with the English contingent in the Netherlands in 1633, and in the following year he went to Venice as secretary to Lord Fielding and remained there almost three years. The record covering these years is the most valuable part of the document, as interesting side-lights are thrown on the state of morals—especially in Venice—and on the religious life at the Hague during the period. The rest of the manuscript has no wide import and is of little importance.

The memoirs of the family of Guise of Elmore are printed from a transcript presented to the Bodleian by Professor Firth. They are a composite record compiled by various members of this well-known Gloucestershire family during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and are of much more value than Raymond's autobiography. Interesting light is thrown on undergraduate life at Oxford in the early seventeenth century, a subject on which there are scanty records (pp. 116 ff.); and on the work of the Commissioners for Sequestrations (pp. 166 ff.). There are also many personal touches which, if not of great historical importance, help to give a contemporary setting to the Popish Plot, the coming of William of Orange, the Convention Parliament, and the conquest of Ireland. There is also an illuminating account of electioneering methods at the close of the seventeenth century (pp. 138 ff.), which has a distinct value in the history of the subject. A letter from Henry Ireton describing the surrender of Namur in 1695, of which he was an eye-witness, is printed in full from the Carte MSS.

The editor's work gives these two documents a greater value than they possess intrinsically, as his notes and appendixes elaborate the history in minute detail, and the lives which he provides of the most important personages are based on first-class research. The editorial work is excellent. The index, however, is meagre and quite inadequate.

W. P. M. KENNEDY.

English Leadership. By J. N. Larned. (Springfield, Mass., C. A. Nichols Company, 1918, pp. vii, 400, \$2.75.) Before his death the late Mr. J. N. Larned, well known to all American teachers of history for his text-book on English history and his monumental *History for Ready Reference*, began a volume on what he called "English Leadings in Modern History". This was left incomplete and has now been printed in the form of a long essay of some hundred and thirty pages, with supplementary contributions from other hands—an introduction on English Political Genius by ex-President Taft, an essay on the Geographic Factor in English History by Donald E. Smith, and two essays by the editor of Mr. Larned's manuscript, Grace F. Caldwell, one on English

Contributions to Scientific Thought, the other on the English Gift to World Literature. Mr. Larned's essay, besides being carefully edited, has been supplemented and amplified with many interpolations and notes from the most recent writers who have touched on the subject of which he treats.

It is not easy to classify such a book as this; it is less easy to evaluate it, for it is in no sense a narrative history, nor is it precisely a critical study. Mr. Larned's contribution is essentially what is sometimes called a sketch or an outline of English development from the earliest times to the present. Its spirit may be perceived from its opening statement that "the English have been leaders in the political civilization of the world"; and there is perhaps nowhere so brief and comprehensive a statement of the process by which that leadership has been attained and made effective. The other essays, save that of Mr. Taft, are described by their titles, and they have brought together under their respective heads much useful and interesting knowledge—for they are frankly narrative and descriptive rather than critical. Mr. Taft's essay is especially interesting as making the connection between the body of the book and the activities of the political world about us, for he brings us to consider the obligation of the world, and in particular of the United States, to Great Britain as the champion of free institutions against the assault of autocracy.

It is an interesting book and it may well serve as an adjunct to the teaching of more formal English history, as well as an interpretative and suggestive volume for a reader somewhat conversant with the subject, but not in touch with the more recent developments of the historical spirit. The influence of Professor Robinson and Miss Semple is conspicuous in the later essays; and from the quotations out of Stubbs to that from President Wilson's speech of July 4, 1918, the material drawn upon is not merely apropos, it produces an effect of a past living in the present, which permeates the whole volume but gives especial value to Mr. Larned's essay.

W. C. ABBOTT.

Government and Politics of Switzerland. By Robert C. Brooks, Joseph Wharton Professor of Political Science in Swarthmore College. [Government Handbooks, edited by David P. Barrows and Thomas H. Reed.] (Yonkers-on-Hudson, World Book Company, 1918, pp. xv, 430, \$1.50.) It might be conceived that the study of the present political organization of Switzerland was somewhat outside the field of professional historical inquiry, but it does not take long to observe on examination that the results of various nineteenth-century aspirations are epitomized in the institutions of that little country. Recent history is constantly called upon to fortify the descriptions given by the author of this volume, for, although the introductory historical chapters are brief and stride across the centuries at accelerated speed, the political developments since 1830 are necessary to explain the present.

One might argue that many of the social and political customs of Switzerland are based on far more remote foundations than these, but this book is intended primarily as a text for students of political science, with the expectation that the general reader will find it interesting. In both respects it is successful. The few pages devoted to the physical basis of the confederation are fundamental to the study of its history as well as its politics. The order of treatment begins with the federal constitution, which historically is by centuries younger than cantonal government, but its importance is at present so much greater, and its functions are so rapidly absorbing the duties of the states that, to the foreign reader, its description must obviously come first. Yet the great body of local and cantonal institutions seems to be disproportionately handled in getting less than one-third as much space.

The apparatus for study is good. Each chapter is followed by references to standard writers on Switzerland, and at the close of the work a critical bibliography points the way to still more serious inquiry. The work is brought up to date so far as it is possible to follow a rapidly advancing country which will not stop legislating while its photograph is being taken. The changes in the past ten years justify a new book, and the animated treatment of the subject will gain a place for this convenient volume.

J. M. VINCENT.

The Lost Fruits of Waterloo. By John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D., LL.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1918, pp. viii, 289, \$1.50.) The argument of this book may be stated briefly as follows: In 1814-1815 the peoples of Europe achieved, at great sacrifice, a substantial triumph over the imperialistic ambitions of a mighty conqueror and a brilliantly organized nation. Their victory was so complete as to induce a false sense of security, and the hard-won peace was imperfectly organized. The new Concert of Europe was dynastic, rather than popular, and it contained no effective guarantee against a dangerous recrudescence of the imperial idea. Toward the close of the century it gradually collapsed, and was superseded by a new European system based, not upon the idea of a single community of nations, but upon that of two great opposed international alignments, each an armed camp as against the other. This was loudly heralded as a mode of organizing and guaranteeing peace; but statesmen knew in their hearts that it was not such, and the events of the summer of 1914 showed that in reality it was a natural and sure antecedent of war. When, therefore, the consolidating, imperialistic impulse of Napoleon, reincarnated in William II. and the German Empire, broke forth to do its bloody work, the peoples of Europe found themselves, so far as international guarantees were concerned, exactly where they had stood in 1800; the fruits of Waterloo had been lost.

The author conceives his task to be to offer "the material facts out

of which the reader may form his own opinions". He makes no effort, however, to disguise his conviction that the fruits of Waterloo were lost "through the inexperience of the men who set the world on its course again", that to return to a concerted and balanced international system would be but to invite fresh disaster, and that the hope of civilization lies in a federation of states "with enough cohesive force to guard against secession, repress any constituent state that defies the united will, make laws that concern the purposes for which the federation is formed, exercise the right of interpreting those laws by a system of federal courts, and maintain an executive that can make itself obeyed" (p. 262). Professor Bassett concerns himself with historical facts and with arguments, and wisely refrains from adding to the long list of specific plans and proposed constitutions which writers put forth in profusion during the war period. The statements of fact are almost unexceptionable, and the presentation of arguments, while traversing ground that of late has come to be very familiar, is clear and forceful, and has served a very useful purpose in recent days.

On the other hand, certain analogies that are drawn seem to the reviewer not altogether happy. The benevolently co-operative nature of the German cartel (p. xiv) is exaggerated; and the implication (pp. 194-200) that Germany should be dealt with in the lenient, if not chivalric, spirit that ought to have been shown—but unfortunately was not—toward our own defeated South does not carry conviction. Both the Confederacy and the German Empire fought for things we believe to have been wrong; but the fact that the former fought honorably and cleanly constitutes a tremendous difference.

FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG.

La Politique Extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie, 1875-1914. Tome I. *La Marche vers l'Orient, 1875-1908.* Tome II. *La Politique d'Asser-vissement, 1908-1914.* Par Jean Larmeroux, Docteur en Droit. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1918, pp. lxiv, 490; 476.) We open this book with pleased expectation. Two stout volumes bearing the imprint of a well-known publisher lead us to hope for something measuring up to the high standard of modern French historical scholarship. The subject is timely and interesting, one about which, though there is a vast amount still to be learned, enough of importance has already appeared in various languages and scattered form to make possible a general comprehensive work of real value. We soon discover, however, to our disappointment, that we have here nothing but a laborious compilation, not based on any special knowledge or on the use of sources except French Yellow Books; also there is no evidence, in spite of a quotation or two, that the author has made use of or can make use of any language but his own. We see that he has done and done carefully a large amount of reading in the French literature available on his topic. This he has digested with fair success, and he has evolved from

it a connected story which he proceeds to tell, seldom mentioning his sources. His title too is misleading. A work on the foreign policy of Austria from 1875 to 1914, such as he announces, ought to contain much about Italy. Mr. Larmeroux has very little to say about that country, and, indeed, does not seem to know much about it. What he has given us is a history of the Eastern Question for forty years, chiefly, though not entirely, from the point of view of Austria. This would be well worth while in itself if it were based on an extensive use of German sources besides those in several other languages. Without them it can have no pretensions to serious value. Taking the story such as it is, we may say that it is told moderately and judiciously in the main, though its tone becomes more violent as we get near to recent events. If there are no original views and several bad omissions, there are at least no glaring errors. The order is frequently confusing, there is some repetition and a needless amount of reproduction of the texts of treaties, etc., well known and easily accessible elsewhere.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

Brest-Litowsk. By S. Grumbach. (Paris and Lausanne, Payot et Cie., 1918, pp. 134, 3 fr.) This little volume is a contribution to the polemics of the present European revolution, and especially to the Russian phase of that revolution, by an Alsatian socialist who has resided in Switzerland for several years and is a well-known leader of the International. It is a French edition of a lecture, translated from the stenographic notes of the original German, which was delivered at the People's House, in Berne, on January 24, 1918. The text preserves the lecture form, even to reporting the applause, remarks, and questions of the audience. Apart from filibuster speeches in the Senate, an address of nearly 40,000 words, delivered as a single effort, harks back to the pulpit exploits of the New England forefathers—to days when people had more patient ears than now; but both the style and the argument of the author are compressed and his theme is developed without unnecessary detours or excursions.

Events since the lecture was given, more than a year ago, would doubtless change both the substance and the order of thought were it prepared for delivery today; but as an historical record of socialist opinion and policy during a highly critical era it retains not only documentary value but current interest. The author knows the present dictators of Russia as personal associates and intellectual colleagues, and he traces the mind of the Bolshevik movement, as represented by the two men who stand for its brains—Lenine and Trotsky—through all its aberrations of policy and inconsistencies of theory, from radical democracy to reactionary despotism. The facts are not new, but their elucidation is clear and informing.

Incidentally, the author—whose Alsatian hatred for the still triumphant imperialism of Germany combines national bitterness with doc-

trinal animosity—throws star-shells of trenchant criticism into the German social-democratic camp that illumine for the American reader some of the obscurer passages of political thought and action in the Central Powers during the period when the German revolution was incubating among the masses unfathered and unrecognized by its natural protectors.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

Japan or Germany: the Inside Story of the Struggle in Siberia. By Frederic Coleman, F.R.G.S. (New York, George H. Doran Company, 1918, pp. xi, 232, \$1.35.) This little volume, written by a journalist in a loose, conversational style, contains much general information, more or less disconnected, and a certain amount of current public opinion of Japan and the Pri-Amur region for the year 1917. The purpose of the book seems to have been to show that unless Japan intervened in Siberia Germany would get control. The first fourth of the book deals with the political forces and ideals of modern Japan and the remaining three-fourths with the conditions in eastern Siberia.

Now that the war is over Germany's menace in Asia is no longer a live question, but Japan's intervention is a fact of immediate importance. Some of us would like to know what attitude the Japanese government has toward Siberia, but the book does not enlighten us on this point. To the question which the author raises, "Should Japan go to Siberia?" he replies,

By all means Yes, emphatically Yes, if she goes in the right spirit, and if when she goes a campaign of education and explanation goes with her. If Japan is merely to go to guard a pile of stores from the Huns, or even to prevent Bolsheviki disruption along the path of the Trans-Siberian, and the echo of the tramp of her legions bears no other significance than these, then No, a thousand times No.

Did Japan go "in the right spirit"? It is exceedingly difficult to answer this question from the book. On one page it tells us that Japan is materialistic, imperialistic, self-seeking, and on another page that Japan will not seize territory in Siberia. The author is lavish with strong statements, but he qualifies them in such a way that they lose their force and the reader is left in mid-air. When, however, Mr. Coleman discusses the Russian bourgeois he is quite sure of himself, and with one sweep of his brush he paints the countless brands of Russian bourgeois so black that he would rather be a Bolshevik than a bourgeois. It is a pity that the author with his ability to collect current opinion had not a better background for his Asiatic studies, for he could have made a really valuable book.

F. A. GOLDER.

Source Problems in American History. By Andrew C. McLaughlin, William E. Dodd, Marcus W. Jernegan, and Arthur P. Scott, of the Department of History of the University of Chicago. (New York and

London, Harper and Brothers, 1918, pp. xii, 512, \$1.30.) This book is one among several evidences that we are making progress in teaching history. For it shows that some college teachers are frankly and fearlessly accepting the "problem" method.

The problems, for the study of which source-material is provided in this volume, are, 1, the Battle of Lexington; 2, the Preliminaries of the Revolution; 3, the Power of the Court to Declare a Law Unconstitutional; 4, Religious Toleration and Freedom in Virginia; 5, Relation of Eastern States to the Development of the West; 6, the Slavery Problem; 7, Fort Sumter and the Outbreak of the Civil War. In the view of the editors, "Five of the seven problems . . . are of very profound significance in American history. . . . Two of the problems are chosen partly because of their continuing interest, partly because they give exceptional opportunity to weigh evidence and ponder probability." The reference is to numbers 1 and 7. The first of these is practically designed to enable students to evaluate the evidence on the question "who fired the first shot at Lexington"; the last to understand what might be termed the diplomacy antecedent to the Civil War.

Preliminary to the presentation of the documentary matter in each case, the editors provide an introductory statement under the caption, the Historical Setting of the Problem. There is also, in each case, an Introduction to the Sources, and a group of Questions and Suggestions for Study.

The several introductions constitute original contributions of considerable value, though they are not uniform in scope or in thoroughness. Mr. Jernegan's contributions are both longer and more complete than the others.

The illustrative documents seem to have been selected with care and the questions and suggestions have considerable pedagogical value.

The book arouses in the mind of a teacher the feeling of grateful appreciation because it facilitates the reorientation of historical teaching in colleges, so widely recognized as necessary if social studies are to fulfill their normal function.

The plan of manufacture of the series makes the book a little book and a cheap book—two decided advantages. One does not look for minor errors; if such exist the editors will find and correct them before reprinting the book. But from the reviewer's point of view, it would be hard to write an essay on religious toleration and freedom in colonial Virginia without at least a mention of colonial Rhode Island, and it would seem risky to write on the slavery problem without recognizing the existence of the Garrisonian movement, whatever the final verdict on that movement.

The editors admit that the first problem, who fired the first shot at Lexington, is not of great historical significance. One wonders why, under the circumstances, some other more important problem should not hereafter take its place.

The Pilgrims and their History. By Roland G. Usher, Ph.D., Professor of History in Washington University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1918, pp. xiii, 310, \$2.00.) In this readable volume Professor Usher has done an excellent piece of work, that is timely in view of the approaching three-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims. The story of the inception and the whole independent existence of Plymouth Colony is compactly and completely told. Its less familiar emphases are well defined by Professor Usher himself.

I have felt it possible to show that the Pilgrims were not subject to active persecution in England from Church or State; that Robinson's Congregation at Leyden was considerably smaller than most students have estimated; and that the really significant achievement was not the emigration itself, but the economic success of the years 1621 to 1627. Indeed, the Plymouth wills make it now possible to claim that the colony was an economic success in the literal sense of the word and that poverty and hardship did not continue at Plymouth as long as has not infrequently been implied (p. vii).

The first statement is perhaps too sweeping. Professor Usher shows that five members of the Scrooby congregation were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of the province of York, and one imprisoned. He makes it evident, however, that they were more leniently dealt with than was the common practice of the High Commission, and he makes the probable suggestion that the greater part of the persecution endured by the Pilgrims in England was from unsympathetic neighbors. Professor Usher's other contentions seem thoroughly made out.

Two minor errors may be noted. Speaking of the religious situation at the University of Cambridge when William Brewster matriculated in December, 1580, the author speaks of "Peter Baro, eminent as a Calvinist" (p. 8). That father of what was later to be known as Arminianism in England had, indeed, been admitted to the ministry by John Calvin himself; but his departures from Calvinism were so well known as to be subject to official complaint by 1581. Brewster can have got little Calvinism from Baro.

Speaking of the citation of the members of the Scrooby congregation before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of the province of York, Professor Usher says, "nor were any other persons than these named accused of Separatism or Baroism" (p. 20). One suspects that the author has followed the record, but that the record, if such, has, in the exercise of liberty of spelling, led to an error which needs correction. An accusation of "Baroism", in 1607, would be essentially one of Arminianism. What is intended is Barrowism, reminiscent of Henry Barrowe, the Separatist martyr of 1593.

WILLISTON WALKER.

A Selection from the Miscellaneous Historical Papers of Fifty Years. By Franklin Bowditch Dexter. (New Haven, privately printed,

1918, pp. 397.) Professor Dexter, who for fifty years has been a fruitful student of the antiquities of New England, Connecticut, New Haven, and Yale College, had no need to feel the modest hesitation expressed in his preface respecting the bringing together in one volume of these twenty-four valuable and interesting contributions to American history. Some have a wider scope, and some a narrower or more local, but Professor Dexter shows always a mind cultivated in general history and able to see and treat his themes in their relation to larger movements. This redeems his papers from mere antiquarianism, and gives them value to the historian. Especially well-known is his classical paper of 1887 on Estimates of Population in the American Colonies. The papers on the Influence of the English Universities in the Development of New England, on Some Social Distinctions at Harvard and Yale before the Revolution, and on Early Private Libraries in New England, are likewise valuable contributions, the fruit of ripe scholarship and intelligent appreciation of social conditions. The papers of more restricted range, on matters in the history of New Haven and of Yale College, or on the lives of various of their worthies, are alike marked by exceptional learning and a genial style. Dr. Dexter's minute knowledge of local details and of early New England history enables him, for instance, to make a most entertaining and informing paper on New Haven Two Hundred Years Ago out of the entries in an old day-book, 1707-1716, kept by the captain of a sloop which constantly plied between New Haven and Boston.

A History of the Penal, Reformatory and Correctional Institutions of the State of New Jersey, Analytical and Documentary. By Harry Elmer Barnes, Ph.D., Lecturer in History in Columbia University. (Trenton, MacCrellish and Quigley Company, 1918, pp. 655.) Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes has done much more than simply to write a chronicle. He has discovered the evolution of criminal codes and penal institutions from the settlement of the colony of New Jersey in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

The penal system of East Jersey provided only a county jail system, under control of the sheriff, for detention rather than punishment or reformation; but the Quakers of West Jersey undertook to establish a prison system, having as its basis the work-house, with a view both to punishment and reformation. The work-house system first found concrete development in the Middlesex County work-house in 1768.

Mr. Barnes has exhibited the early struggle between the Puritan idea of jail detention and vindictive punishment, under which many offenses, including a fourth conviction for larceny, were made punishable by death, and the Quaker system of work-house imprisonment, for punishment, reformation, and instruction in industry. No central penal institutions were provided for during the colonial period. Corporal punishment, including death, whipping, branding, and the stocks were

almost exclusively employed as a punishment for criminals. There was no clear differentiation between the treatment of accused and convicted prisoners, or between the treatment of criminals, feeble-minded, and insane.

In 1796 the first criminal code adopted provided the death penalty for treason, murder, and petit treason, and the second offense of manslaughter, sodomy, rape, arson, burglary, robbery, and forgery, with long terms of imprisonment for arson, blasphemy, bribery, burglary, conspiracy, and perjury.

The first state prison, opened in 1799, was called a "Penitentiary House", but it had no reformatory features, and, after thirty years' experience, was pronounced a failure in an intelligent report in 1830. From that day to 1917, the state prison remained among the unprogressive prisons of the United States, in both its industries and its discipline.

The organization of the State Reform School for Boys in 1865, and the State Industrial School for Girls in 1871, were distinct marks of progress, though neither one of those institutions has yet attained a place in the first rank of juvenile reformatories.

The State Reformatory for Men at Rahway, opened in 1901, and the State Reformatory for Women opened at Clinton in 1913, represent modern ideas in their spirit and organization, though the Rahway institution has never been able to escape entirely from the original notion that it was an "intermediate prison".

The *Report of the Prison Inquiry Commission*, of which this *History* forms a part, is a vital document which has resulted in a complete revolution of the New Jersey state prison under which Mr. Burdette Lewis is organizing a new order of prison discipline and prison industry.

The Romance of Old Philadelphia. By John T. Faris. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1918, pp. 336, \$4.50.) The author has collected a series of stories, quotations, and illustrations of the life of Philadelphia to the end of the eighteenth century. They relate to the perils of the immigrants on the Atlantic and the discomforts of settling, the initial stages of government and business, the social, charitable, and educational interests of colonial days, church and marriage customs, the difficulties of correspondence and transportation, and various events of Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary days, ending with the last decade of the century, when the city was the seat of government of the new United States.

The selections are well made and interesting. It is hard to see the merit of the entire omission of the great store-house of such material, Watson's *Annals*, of which the author speaks in the preface. Most of the items will be new to the general reader and historians will find accounts with which they have been unfamiliar.

One wonders however whether this manner of treatment lends itself

to an accurate appreciation of colonial conditions. The events are often so disconnected with each other and with their historic setting, that their relation to the general situation is often lost. For instance, as one of many illustrations, if a few words had been added to explain the causes of the election riot of 1742 (p. 92) interest would have been added to the fact that there *was* a riot. Again (p. 153) if it had been mentioned that the master who inflicted such a severe punishment upon Israel Pemberton was the saintly Francis Daniel Pastorius, the "Pennsylvania Pilgrim" of Whittier, the narrative would have had added point.

Errors seem to be few. The letter said to have been written to *William Penn* in 1742 is evidently a mistake. It may be questioned also whether "the struggle with pioneer conditions in the midst of savages" was very severe.

The author rightly emphasizes these colonial days of Pennsylvania. It may have been a "holy experiment", but it was made with a heterogeneous population which soon adopted customs, modes of government, and ideals of its own, which make old Philadelphia unique among colonial cities. It is quite worth while therefore to have presented to us in such an attractive form so much of interest and historic value. In the extensive research, in the style of composition, and in the judgment displayed in the selections there is great merit.

I. S.

La France et la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine (1776-1783). Par le Capitaine Joachim Merlant, Professeur-Adjoint à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Montpellier. [Bibliothèque France-Amérique.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1918, pp. ii, 194, 3.50 fr.) Toward the end of 1909 the Comité France-Amérique was formed in Paris. The purposes of this organization are stated in its publications thus:

To labor for the promotion of closer relations, economic, intellectual, artistic, and so forth, between the nations of the New World and the French nation; to establish a monthly review wherein to bring together the best available studies of the economic and intellectual life of the American peoples; to attract to France students and travellers from the two Americas and prepare them a cordial welcome; to encourage every enterprise calculated to make America better known to France and vice versa.

In carrying out this laudable programme, the Comité have undertaken the publication of several volumes on very diverse themes, one being a French translation of Mr. Croly's *Promise of American Life*, and another the volume before us.

Let it be said at once that notwithstanding this propagandist intention Captain Merlant has given us an excellent and valuable little volume, which, so far from suffering from this primary purpose, has probably gained in eloquence and grace of presentation. In general, the

work is an excellently ordered narrative of French naval and military participation in the War of Independence. The emphasis is on the personal side, and all the leading French figures in this enterprise, from La Fayette to Rochambeau, from D'Estaing to De Grasse, are sketched into the canvas with a most enviable skill in the selection of pertinent anecdote and in the difficult art of biographical portraiture. Nor do leading Americans of the time escape Captain Merlant's witty and illuminating pen.

The volume has, unfortunately, its Achilles heel—the paragraphs dealing with the diplomatic phases of the French participation. What is written on this topic, though Doniol's great work is cited as sponsor for it, is superficial, misleading, and at points positively erroneous.

Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the volume will speedily find its way into the hands of American readers in an adequate English version. The translation should have an index, which the present volume lacks.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

The Life and Diary of John Floyd, Governor of Virginia, an Apostle of Secession, and the Father of the Oregon Country. By Charles H. Ambler, Ph.D. (Richmond, the Author, 1918, pp. 248, \$2.00.) Professor Ambler has made a distinct contribution to the knowledge of the Jacksonian era in presenting to the general public the *Life and Diary of John Floyd*. For twelve successive years, Floyd represented Virginia in Congress; and later he served as governor of his native state. Both in Congress and in the executive mansion, he demonstrated qualities of statesmanship and leadership, and in his celebrated report of 1821 on the Columbia Valley, arousing the latent interest of the nation, Floyd displayed prophetic vision.

In this volume Professor Ambler has given a sketch of Floyd's life and a transcription of the diary kept by Floyd from March, 1831, to February, 1834. Floyd, as many others, hailed Jackson as the leader of the democratic forces of the nation. But on Jackson's accession, Floyd, a stalwart supporter of states' rights, came into direct conflict with the President, and throughout his diary he freely discloses his antagonism to the Jacksonian administration. Determined to stand by his ideals, Floyd turned to Calhoun as the leader of the states' rights principles, and much new light is thrown on the actions of Clay, Calhoun, Van Buren, Jackson, Floyd, and Ritchie in their political manoeuvres for the campaign of 1832. Floyd believed that the country could only be saved by the overthrow of Jackson and so his diary reeks with denunciation of the Jacksonian administration. The Eaton affair, the clash between Jackson and Calhoun, the scandals of Washington society are portrayed in vivid and lurid language. The account, therefore, must be used with extreme caution.

The volume is singularly free of typographical errors, but the *Raccoon* did not take Astoria in 1812 but on December 12 (or 13), 1813;

and Nicholas Biddle published the *History of the Expedition of Lewis and Clark* in 1814 and not in 1811.

REGINALD C. McGRANE.

An English Settler in Pioneer Wisconsin: the Letters of Edwin Bottomley, 1842-1850. Edited with Introduction by Milo M. Quaife, Superintendent of the Society. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, vol. XXV.] (Madison, the Society, 1918, pp. 250, \$1.50.) Although neither short nor simple the letters of Edwin Bottomley must be classed among the annals of the poor. In fact their publication is justified by the editor upon exactly this ground. History, he maintains, being chiefly "made by common men", can only be truly estimated by those acquainted with the lives of such. In this particular instance the intrinsic value of the record lies in the fact that it is remarkably detailed and complete. The writer was a comparatively well-to-do English factory-worker regularly employed in a mill where his father held the responsible position of manager. At the age of thirty-three, finding himself unable to assure a competence to his increasing family, he determined to risk their fortunes in what is still known as the English Settlement in Wisconsin. At this point the record begins, continuing in the form of letters written to his father usually at monthly intervals until his death in 1850. Unrelieved by a single ray of humor, they recount faithfully and minutely, sometimes even tediously, the incidents of the journey from Liverpool to Milwaukee and the subsequent experiences of the family in their new environment.

The book is of interest to the historian primarily because it presents a vivid and accurate picture of pioneer life in the Northwest during a period of rapid settlement and development. It gives authentic and specific information upon economic and social conditions which were the immigrant's chief concern. Equally significant to the historian is the information for which one seeks in vain. Notwithstanding the fact that Bottomley became a naturalized citizen immediately upon his arrival, the letters contain but one brief reference to political agitation in Wisconsin, while for all the English Settlement knew there had been no Mexican War nor was there a slavery controversy in the United States. Judging from these letters alone one might infer that education and religion were of greater import than politics, and that controversies between Catholics and Protestants foreshadowed a sharper conflict than the expansion of slavery into the West.

The editing has been done with scrupulous care. The capitalization and spelling of the original have been retained throughout, and textual emendations are surprisingly few. In lieu of punctuation which is entirely lacking in the original the device of spacing has been used to indicate the sentence structure.

MARTHA L. EDWARDS.

A Century of Negro Migration. By Carter G. Woodson, Ph.D. (Washington, Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1918, pp. vii, 221, \$1.00.) That the recent migration of negroes to the northern states was not a new and strange phenomenon, but only an acceleration of a movement that has been under way for many decades, is made especially clear in Dr. Woodson's book. After describing such familiar things as the northward migration of fugitive and emancipated slaves and the various colonization schemes of the ante-bellum period, the author indicates a new phase of negro migration that grew out of the confused movements of the freedmen in the wake of the Union armies in 1864-1865. This attained such importance as to cause apprehension in some northern communities that they might be overrun with ex-slaves. Dr. Woodson also shows that in this period there was a counter-migration to the South of educated northern negroes, many of whom attained political prominence in the Reconstruction period. In discussing the negro exodus to the West in 1879 the author attributes this movement to two causes, the fundamental cause being economic and the immediate cause political. In this he is undoubtedly correct, but he seems not to attach sufficient importance to the work of such negro leaders as Benjamin (whom he incorrectly calls Moses) Singleton and Henry Adams. It was through the direct personal appeals of these men that a very large proportion of the negroes were induced to migrate to Kansas.

In his discussion of the recent northward exodus of negroes Dr. Woodson appears to be unduly pessimistic. He believes that the movement will prove injurious to the South, which "is now losing the only labor it can ever use under present conditions" (p. 178), and that it will not aid the negroes, whose maltreatment "will be nationalized by the exodus" (p. 180). He even maintains that the emigrant negroes "are not wanted by the whites and are treated with contempt by the native blacks of northern cities" (p. 186).

The work is not free from minor errors. For example, it was not the floods of the Mississippi River (pp. 169-170) but the freshets in Alabama and the Carolinas in 1916 that prompted the migration in that year not only of negroes but of whites as well. There have been no serious overflows of the Mississippi River since 1912, and the alluvial lands along this stream were perhaps less affected by the recent migration than any other section of the Lower South. Though the work sometimes reflects the strong prejudices of its author, as for example on pages 161, 162, and 166, it is nevertheless a valuable addition to the material dealing with the great American race problem. Its usefulness is increased by maps and diagrams based on the census.

WILLIAM O. SCROGGS.

History of the Civil War, 1861-1865. By James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D.Litt. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1917, pp. xxi, 454, \$2.50.)

Now that hostilities abroad have ceased or abated, the attention of Americans is naturally directed to the war in which their fathers or grandfathers took part. This book, as Dr. Rhodes explains, is not an abridgment of his three volumes on the Civil War, but a fresh study of the subject in which he has used his book as one of many authorities, referring especially to the *Official Records of the Navies*, and to histories, biographies, etc., published since 1904. It embraces in a general narrative, an outline and discussion of military movements and engagements, and of the political events connected with them. Commencing with the election of Lincoln in 1860, the author gives a chapter on the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the rising of the North, its unpreparedness, and the first battle of Bull Run; then a chapter on the trouble with England over Mason and Slidell; three on political and military affairs up to the summer of 1863, one on Gettysburg and Vicksburg, one on the *Alabama* affair with England, etc., three mainly on military operations, one on life and conditions at the North, one at the South, and two on political and military affairs up to Lee's surrender, Lincoln's assassination, and the end of the war.

The political portions are treated in that bright and interesting style which made Dr. Rhodes's original work so attractive. It has been so carefully condensed that the style is even more lively; the language is clear, and has gained much in vigor and strength by the revision. His criticisms of civil affairs are based largely upon his own studies and observations; those of military affairs reflect the opinions of professional military men, many of whom took leading parts in the Civil War. He has shown great judgment in collecting and giving due weight to each. The narrative gives a clear perspective of the general course of military operations, but the accounts of battles are so brief that many of their salient features are lost. Sixteen very clear maps in color, mostly taken from those of the *Official Records*, are well drawn and show clearly the points named in the narrative. There is a good index. The sources are shown by the copious foot-notes and a well-selected bibliography.

This very attractive volume is just what is now required to give to the general reader a clear outline of the Civil War, and to point out to those who are now especially interested in the art of war precisely where detailed accounts and comments can be found about any part of that great struggle. It is well worthy of the welcome it has already received.

W. R. LIVERMORE.

A World Court in the Light of the United States Supreme Court. By Thomas Willing Balch. (Philadelphia, Allen, Lane, and Scott, pp. 165, \$2.00.) One naturally expects to find this book similar in purpose to the more recent volume of Dr. James Brown Scott on *Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union*; but

this expectation is disappointed by the author's conclusion that such a permanent international tribunal, able to judge successfully in all cases between nations, cannot be hastily erected by one conference of nations or even by one generation of humanity—but rather must result from a series of unsuccessful attempts.

The author explains that shortly before the World War he began this study to secure argument in favor of the early creation of a supreme court of nations as the easiest means of insuring international peace, but that he was gradually forced through his investigations to recognize limitations to the possibilities of such a tribunal.

The lack of some external force to drive selfish, earthly peoples to remain united he regards as the great difficulty in enforcing world peace. In the existence of the two sets of primary questions, *political* as well as *legal*, he indicates the crucial problem in establishing a world court. He doubts whether a world supreme court would have been more successful than a Hague tribunal *ad hoc* in composing the quarrel which precipitated the war of 1914, and concludes that the only way to compel obedience to decisions of a world court in all cases is to develop an international executive with enough power to enforce the decisions.

Mr. Balch urges that friends of peace "instead of trying to end war for all time by one stroke of magic by merely urging the erection of a Supreme Court of the World and a League of Nations to support it", should aim in a practical way to curtail by slow degrees the occurrences producing war, seek to eliminate probable sources of future wars, and try to transfer gradually as many as possible of political questions into the realm of legal questions.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

Why We Went to War. By Christian Gauss, Professor of Modern Languages in Princeton University. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918, pp. xi, 386, \$1.50.) "As an American of South German blood," writes Professor Gauss, "I confess readily to an inherited dislike and distrust of the Prussian. . . . For this reason, in dealing with the immediate causes of the war, in my desire to be fair I have treated the evidence the more scrupulously." His volume substantiates both the confession and the claim. As his title implies, it is our entrance into the war which constitutes the chief theme of the work. Thus, seven of the ten chapters deal with the relations of the United States to the war, from the period of Strict Neutrality (ch. IV.) to the Final Challenge (ch. X.). He demonstrates at length that there is "absolutely no basis of fact for the accusation that in our interpretation of our rights as neutrals we favored England as against Germany; an excellent case could be made out to prove the contrary". The Cause of the World War is compressed into a single chapter of twenty pages (ch. II.). The result is that the historical background of the war is of a somewhat sketchy character. The description of Fundamental Antagonisms (ch.

I.), is, however, unusually good. It is in the conception of *das Deutschtum* that Professor Gauss finds

the secret of this war, of its deep-rooted origin, its progress, and its continuance . . . as the Mohammedan fought and died for Islam, the German is fighting for *das Deutschtum*. It explains Nietzsche and *Kultur*; it explains Pan-Germanism; it explains the push into the Balkans and the Bagdad Bahn. . . . *Das Deutschtum* is above our ideas of right and wrong. It is beyond good and evil. . . . It is the mystic conception of the mission, the power, and the privileges of the German people, which is to be realized by the German state.

Except for the "mass of the population which does not think", and another group, a numerically large but "fairly impotent party of protest", Professor Gauss holds these ideas to have been the property of the German people generally as well as of their rulers. Thus, as he says in his preface: "I have done what Burke said he did not know how to do. I have drawn up an indictment against a whole people for their complicity in the crimes of the rulers whom they have accepted." That is why, writing before August, 1918, he thought we should not hope for any revolt against the Kaiser.

In addition to older sources of information, Professor Gauss makes good use of the newer ones also, the Lichnowsky and Mühlton revelations, along with the pamphlets of the Committee on Public Information. The materials are handled with skill and sobriety of judgment, and the result is for the American general reader or younger student one of the best volumes on the war.

SAMUEL B. HARDING.

CORRECTION

It has always been the practice of this journal to leave to reviewers entire freedom in the expression of their opinions respecting books which have been entrusted to them. To interfere with such freedom is to substitute the opinion of a managing editor for that of a reviewer chosen for a special competence, in a particular field, which the managing editor cannot pretend to possess, and is inappropriate to the conduct of a journal which has no doctrinal line of "editorial policy" to maintain—no policy but to give catholic admittance to all varieties of historical opinion. It is not, however, the intention of the *Review* to include in its book-notices judgments upon the ability or standing of the writers of books reviewed, except in so far as these may be inferred from the criticisms of the books themselves, the proper subject-matter of such contributions.

In a review of Mr. Edward Porritt's *Evolution of the Dominion of Canada*, on p. 287 of our last issue, the signaling of several passages declared to be erroneous is preceded by the statement that "Mr. Porritt's familiarity with Canadian history is hardly such as to justify him in writing about it". The remark was intended by the reviewer to be prefatory to the recital of errors, and to be taken in close connection therewith, quite as if the sentence had ended with the additional words, "as witness the following passages, to wit". The managing editor so understood the statement. It has however been pointed out to us that some readers may, by considering it apart from all context, have taken it as a general declaration, not founded on the book. Such readers might justly regard it as violating the rule of practice described above. In that case we should wish to offer our sincere apologies for the ambiguity (for which the reviewer shares our regret) and for our inadvertence in publishing a statement open to misconstruction if not taken in what we conceive to be its natural sense. Mr. Porritt's reading in Canadian history is known to us to be extensive.

Again, the statement that "Everywhere he [Mr. Porritt] relies on secondary authorities, not always of a trustworthy nature", is to be taken as expressing the reviewer's judgment that such reliance is to be found in all parts of the book (as when one says, for instance, "Everywhere in the city one finds wooden houses"), and we should wish to apologize if any reader has thought the sentence to imply that no use had been made of primary authorities, for in fact a great many, perhaps most, of Mr. Porritt's citations are to sources of that class.

J. F. JAMESON,
Managing Editor.

HISTORICAL NEWS

PERSONAL

In what is said in these pages concerning historians who have died during the preceding quarter, it is customary and natural to dwell rather upon their achievements and qualities as historians than upon any relation they may have had to the public life of the time. In the case of Theodore Roosevelt, however, who died on January 6, having been President of the United States from 1901 to 1909, and president of the American Historical Association in 1912, to confine attention to his historical writings appears hardly appropriate, not only because it might seem to belittle a great public career, but also because the traits which gave eminence to his historical writings were largely the same as those which marked his character as a public man. The *History of the Naval War of 1812* (1882) which he wrote in his youth had its part in forming the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. His *Gouverneur Morris* and his *Benton* were the work of a mind appreciative and sympathetic toward both the cultivated, Europeanized politician of the old school and the aggressive ultra-American of the new West. The admirable address on History as Literature which he read as president of the American Historical Association (*American Historical Review*, XVIII. 473-489), while setting forth his general views as to the writing of history, exhibits also the astonishing range and versatility of mind that made him so supremely interesting a figure in the great world. *The Winning of the West* (1889-1896), his chief historical work, was marked by the same qualities of vigor and breadth and sympathy with the average active American, which characterized his public life. In that remarkable work, of which any professional historian might be proud but which no one could have achieved who had not the highest traits of the amateur spirit, he views the settlement of the West, not as primarily an economic process, but rather as a manifestation of that romantic energy which so filled his own mind and character. From that romantic energy sprang the graphic vigor he applied to the many picturesque aspects and episodes of his theme. Its legal aspects and the development of institutions were, like economics, secondary in his thought. Its moral aspects, on the other hand, interested him in the highest degree. The westward advance presented itself to his mind chiefly as a product of robust American character. He depicted the nation's conquest of the wilderness with the same manly and patriotic, almost chauvinistic gusto that he brought later to the conduct of its affairs, and that made his voice, despite some false notes, a trumpet-call to his generation.

Alexander Sergeievitch Lappo-Danilevskii, the eminent Russian historian, a principal member of the Petrograd Academy of Sciences, died of starvation in that city in February. His first important work (1890) was a history of direct taxation in Russia in the seventeenth century. In the next dozen years, he produced valuable books on the economics of Novgorod, on the domestic policy of Catharine II., and on the history of serfdom, editing the earlier registers of documents relating to the serfs. In more recent years he had devoted himself to various historical work for the Academy, chiefly work of editing. Those Americans who had the privilege of his friendship, or met him at the International Historical Congress of London in 1913, will remember his erudition and competence, his grave and gentle demeanor, his simplicity and remarkable kindness, and will sincerely mourn his terrible fate. Soon after the congress named, he was made chairman of the committee of organization for the next congress, intended to be held at Petrograd in 1918; merely to mention such arrangements now is to bring up overwhelming remembrances of tragic change!

Peter Hume Brown, professor of ancient (Scottish) history and palaeography in the University of Edinburgh and historiographer royal for Scotland, died on November 30, a few days before the completion of his sixty-eighth year. His most notable works are his life of George Buchanan published in 1890, his *History of Scotland* (three volumes, 1898, 1902, 1909), and his Ford Lectures on the *Legislative Union of England and Scotland* (1914). Since 1898 he had been the editor of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, and had brought out sixteen volumes of that important collection, covering the years 1625-1684. In addition to these very distinguished historical services, he had published a portion of a life of Goethe, and was a man of great cultivation in literature as well as in history.

A. Howard Clark, curator of the division of history in the United States National Museum and editor of publications in the Smithsonian Institution, died on December 31, aged sixty-eight. From 1889 to 1900 he was assistant secretary of the American Historical Association, from 1900 to 1908 secretary, efficiently performing in both offices a great amount of useful service to the society, and acquiring by his amiable character universal good-will. From 1889 till the time of his death he was also the society's curator, and for many years he had been secretary-general and registrar-general of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Rear-Admiral French E. Chadwick, U. S. N., chief of staff to Admiral Sampson during the Spanish-American War and later president of the Naval War College, died on January 27, nearly seventy-five years of age. Besides a volume in Professor Hart's *American Nation* series, on the period just preceding the Civil War, he had published, in 1909 and 1911, two volumes on the *Relations of the United States and Spain, 1776-1898*.

Professor Henry L. Cannon of Stanford University died on January 5. A capable teacher and a sound scholar, he had achieved several useful pieces of work in his chosen field, the constitutional history of England in the Middle Ages; a notable piece of such work, the *Pipe Roll of 26 Henry III.*, edited by him, was just upon the point of publication at the time of his death.

Professors Frank M. Anderson and Wallace Notestein have joined in Paris the other historical scholars connected with Colonel House's Commission of Inquiry, who, as mentioned in our last number, have been engaged to assist the American commissioners to the Peace Conference. Professor Charles H. Haskins of that group has been made a member of the commission to estimate the damages received by Belgium during the war, Professor Robert K. Lord a member of the commission to investigate the actual situation in Poland.

Professor Archibald C. Coolidge of Harvard University has during recent months been serving the Department of State in Vienna and elsewhere in Europe.

Professor M. L. Bonham, jr., of the Louisiana State University is to lecture next summer at the Peabody Summer School at Nashville.

Professor Edward M. Hulme of the University of Idaho will give two courses during the summer quarter at the University of Chicago, one in the history of the Renaissance and the other in that of the Reformation.

GENERAL

As a site for the National Archive Building in Washington, the Secretary of the Treasury has contracted for the purchase of the pieces of land constituting the square between B, C, Twelfth, and Thirteenth streets. Appropriations for the purchase and for a beginning of construction were prevented by the expiration of the term of the Sixty-fifth Congress, but are expected to be made in the next session.

On February 14, at Washington, a company of some twenty or thirty persons organized the Agricultural History Society. Dr. Rodney H. True of the Department of Agriculture was elected president, Professor William Trimble, of the North Dakota Agricultural College, vice-president, and Lyman Carrier, secretary and treasurer. The society has a wide field for work of the utmost importance to American history, enters upon its labors with the prospect of considerable numbers and much enthusiasm, and is eminently deserving of general support. Affiliation with the American Historical Association is under consideration by both societies.

Mention was made in our last number (p. 312) of the provision made by the University of Oxford for the doctorate of philosophy under regulations suited to the needs of graduates of American universities. A

similar provision has been made in most of the other British universities, and the provision of courses in British colonial history, in international law, in American history and allied subjects represents a notable addition to what Americans (preferably after a year of graduate study at home) will find to attract and benefit them in the courses in history already offered in Great Britain. The bulletins prepared by President George MacLean for the United States bureau of education, *Studies in Higher Education in England and Scotland* (1917, no. 16) and *Studies in Higher Education in Ireland and Wales* (1917, no. 15), afford a substantial guide to the conditions of study and the resources of these institutions. The London branch of the American University Union, 16 Pall Mall East, and the London headquarters of the American Historical Association (see p. 308 above) are constantly in a position to bring such information up to date and to answer inquiries as to special courses of study or research in Oxford and Cambridge, in the University of London (King's College, University College, London School of Economics), and in the progressive universities of the provinces.

The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, which has been closed on account of the war since the end of 1914, will reopen this year. The new director of the school is Professor William H. Worrell, of the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn. With him will be associated Professor Albert T. Clay, of Yale University. The renovated condition of Palestine promises a new era for the school, which certainly offers great opportunities for those who wish to know the country at first hand. The school is confident of American support. Information can be obtained from Professor J. A. Montgomery, chairman, University of Pennsylvania, or Professor George A. Barton, secretary, Bryn Mawr College.

It is proposed to celebrate, in 1921, the one-hundredth anniversary of the death of Napoleon, by an historical congress, in some such historic place as the Trianon or Fontainebleau or Compiègne. The proceedings are expected to embrace not only the history of Napoleon but that of his influence throughout the nineteenth century. The co-operation of American and other foreign historical scholars is invited. M. Driault, 3 Avenue Mirabeau, Versailles, editor of the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, will be glad to correspond with those interested.

The principal articles in the January number of the *Historical Outlook* are: Relations during the Last Hundred Years between the United States and Canada, by Professor George M. Wrong; the Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study, by Professor L. B. Schmidt; the Armenian Problem, by Professor J. E. Wrench; and British Colonial Policy, by Dr. A. P. Scott. The February number includes the Role of Niagara Falls in History, by Professor C. O. Sauer; Committees of Public Information, 1863-1866, by Dr. E. E. Ware; the Government of England, by Professor Everett Kimball; and the

European Neutrals and the Peace Conference, by Professor Larson. In the March number Professor Larson, using the title *When the War Machine Broke Down*, gives some interesting glimpses of the situation in Germany during the last weeks of the war. Other articles of especial interest are: *The British Empire and What it Stands For*, by Professor G. F. Zook; *India To-day*, by Professor C. C. Crawford; and *Classical History and its Trend in America*, by Professor F. F. Abbott.

The October number of the *Journal of Negro History* contains as its opening number an article by the editor, Dr. C. G. Woodson, the *Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks*. There are also short articles by Zita Dyson on Gerrit Smith's Efforts in Behalf of the Negroes in New York, and by Fred Landon on the Buxton Settlement in Canada, and the conclusion of D. O. W. Holmes's history of Howard University. The section of documents deals with opinions of the negro expressed in the Convention of 1787, taken in large measure from Farrand's *Records of the Federal Convention*. To the January number Professor R. G. Usher contributes a brief article on Primitive Law and the Negro, C. H. Wesley one on Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes, W. H. Morse a biographical study of Lemuel Haynes. There is also a brief sketch of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, by Mr. Landon. The section of documents deals with two subjects, Benjamin Franklin and Freedom, and the northern migration of negroes in 1879. The material relating to the first of these subjects is drawn from the *Works* of Franklin; on the latter subject a variety of matter from contemporary newspapers, committee reports, and the *Congressional Record*, is presented, all of special interest in view of recent movements of the negroes.

International Conventions and Third States, by Ronald F. Roxburgh (Longmans), promises a solid contribution to knowledge of certain timely topics.

National Self-Government, its Growth and Principles: the Culmination of Modern History (New York, Holt, 1918, pp. xi, 312), by Professor Ramsay Muir of the University of Manchester, is a survey of the development of parliamentary institutions in the countries of western Europe and in the United States and of the general nature of the problems of representative government. Though the author makes no pretensions to complete research or to comprehensive treatment he has placed before the general public a volume on this important subject which will prove readable and enlightening and which may be commended as generally accurate in fact and sound in judgment. With similar commendation may be mentioned A. E. Zimmern's *Nationality and Government, with other War-Time Essays* (New York, McBride, 1918, pp. xxiv, 364). *Le Principe des Nationalités* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1918, pp. 496) by René Johannet is perhaps the

most systematic and comprehensive discussion of nationality which has yet appeared.

The World Peace Foundation has published a pamphlet entitled *Peace and Reconstruction: a Preliminary Bibliography* (pp. x, 34), prepared by Professor Joseph Schafer as vice-chairman and acting executive of the National Board for Historical Service. The bibliography covers with care a wide range, and has useful annotations.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its twenty-seventh annual meeting at Newark on February 11 and 12. Among the papers read was one by Professor R. J. H. Gottheil on the Jews in the Fueros Leonenses de Salamanca, Zamora, y Leon; a preliminary report by Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman on Napoleon and the Jews; a paper by Albert M. Friedenberg on the Value of Old Commercial Letters as a Source of American Jewish History; one by Max J. Kohler on the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, 1859-1878; and a summary report by Julian Leavitt on the War Record of American Jews.

An historical study of a troublesome subject is presented in *International Rivers: a Monograph based on Diplomatic Documents*, by G. Kaackenbeeck, no. 1 of the Grotius Society Publications (London, Sweet and Maxwell).

Notes on the Diplomatic History of the Jewish Question, by Lucien Wolf (Jewish Historical Society of England), contains texts of many protocols, treaty clauses, public acts, and correspondence.

The British Revolution and the American Democracy, by Norman Angell, is announced for early publication by B. W. Huebsch.

The History Circle of New York City has recently issued, as its first product, a small monograph on *British-American Discords and Concords*. The volume, which covers three centuries, is published by Messrs. Putnam.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ephraim Emerton, *The Periodization of History* (Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, October-December); J. A. Ryan, *Catholic Doctrine on the Right of Self-Government* (Catholic World, December, January); C. Brinton, *Lord Acton's Philosophy of History* (Harvard Theological Review, January).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Clauses relating to loans, interest, and partnerships constitute the articles in Hammurabi's code which Professor E. Cuq presents in *Les Nouveaux Fragments du Code de Hammourabi sur le Prêt à Intérêt et les Sociétés* (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, XLI.).

Raymond Weill has collected the important researches which he has published since 1910 in the *Revue Archéologique* and the *Journal*

Asiatique in *La Fin du Moyen Empire Égyptien: Étude sur les Monuments et l'Histoire de la Période comprise entre la XII^e et la XVIII^e Dynastie* (vol. I., Paris, Picard, 1918, pp. xii, 519). He has made a thorough critical study of the Greek tradition, especially as represented by the reporters of Manetho, and has then turned from that to reconstruct the history of the period from the monuments, many of which have come to light in recent years. He presents strong arguments for the short chronology and for the existence of Theban dynasties synchronous with the Hyksos in Lower Egypt.

M. Félix Sartiaux, in a pamphlet of 56 pages, *L'Archéologie Française en Asie Mineure et l'Expansion Allemande* (Paris, Hachette), gives a brief history of the scientific work of France in Asia Minor since the sixteenth century, shows how in the years preceding the war German aggressiveness had interrupted and hindered the work of other nations (for instance, the author's own labors at Phocaea), depicts the recent miseries of the expelled Phocaeans, for whose benefit the pamphlet is sold, and appeals to the society of nations on their behalf.

L. Pareti in the first volume of his *Storia di Sparta Arcaica* (Florence, Libr. Internazionale, 1917, pp. 276) discusses the pre-Greek and pre-Dorian periods and continues to the conquest of Messenia, with an appendix on Cyrene. A second volume will deal with the Spartan constitution and government.

Sycophancy in Athens, by Dr. John O. Lofberg of the University of Texas (University of Chicago, pp. xi, 104), is a thorough treatise on the development of the sycophant—barrator, informer, false accuser, malicious prosecutor, pettifogger—on the opportunities for his activity afforded by the peculiar judicial system of Athens, on his methods as shown by the orators and other writers, and on the careers of a number of typical Athenian sycophants.

Professor E. Pais has continued his history of Rome in two volumes, *Dalle Guerre Puniche a Cesare Augusto* (Rome, Nardecchia, 1918, pp. xii, 762). In large measure the same period furnishes the subjects for consideration by E. Ciaceri in *Processi Politici e Relazioni Internazionali: Studi sulla Storia Politica e sulla Tradizione Letteraria della Repubblica e dell'Impero Romano* (*ibid.*, pp. xi, 434).

As a condensed picture for more or less popular purposes Mrs. Elizabeth O'Neill's *Rome: a History of the City from the Earliest Time* (London, Jack), is an excellent piece of work. The volume belongs to the series *The Nations' Histories*.

E. Cocchia has made a prolonged study of *Il Tribunato della Plebe, la sua Autorità Giudiziaria studiata in rapporto colla Procedura Civile* (Naples, Pierro, 1917, pp. 563).

The Oxford University Press announces *The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus*, by Maurice Platnauer.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Pareti, *Pelasgica* [concl.] (*Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, July); L. Weniger, *Vom Ursprung der Olympischen Spiele* (*Rheinisches Museum*, LXXII. 1); J. Paris, *Contributions à l'Étude des Ports Antiques du Monde Grec*, II. *Les Établissements Maritimes de Délos* (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, XL. 1); P. Cloché, *Les Naopes de Delphes et la Politique Hellénique de 356 à 327 av. J. C.* (*ibid.*); M. O. P. Caspari, *A Survey of Greek Federal Coinage* (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXVII. 1); U. Kahrstedt, *Zwei Beiträge zur Aelteren Römischen Geschichte* (*Rheinisches Museum*, LXXII. 2); C. Jullian, *L'Impérialisme Romain et la Gaule* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, October 19); W. Soltau, *Die Echten Kaiserbiographien: Der Weg zur Lösung des Problems der Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (*Philologus*, LXXIV. 3).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

In 1913 the work of editing a series entitled *The Beginnings of Christianity* was given to Professors F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake. The Macmillan Company expects to issue the first two volumes, dealing with the Background of the Acts of the Apostles, and the third volume, containing the text of the Acts, this spring. These volumes, while largely the work of the editors, contain contributions from Dr. C. J. G. Montefiore, and Professors H. T. Duckworth and C. H. Moore.

An exceedingly useful reference book is completed by the appearance of volume II. of the *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, prepared by Drs. James Hastings, J. A. Selbie, and J. C. Lambert (London, T. and T. Clark).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

An account of *Le Incursioni Vandaliche in Sicilia* (Girgenti, Montes, 1917, pp. 142) is the fruit of the researches of S. La Rocca.

A collection of studies of Benedictine life, *Benedictine Monachism*, by Abbot E. C. Butler, president of the English Benedictines, comes from the press of Messrs. Longmans.

La Vie Religieuse dans l'Empire Byzantin au Temps des Commènes et des Anges (Paris, Leroux, 1918, pp. iii, 244), by Dr. L. Oeconomos, bears the approving stamp of a preface by Professor C. Diehl.

The first volume of an *Histoire des Normands* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1918, pp. x, 611) has been published by J. Revel.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. K. Porter, *The Rise of Romanesque Sculpture* (*American Journal of Archaeology*, October-December); Maurice de Wulf, *The Society of Nations in the Thirteenth Century* (*International Journal of Ethics*, January).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The proposed undertaking of a *Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique* in a hundred volumes which was announced on the eve of the war (*A. H. R.*, XX. 218) is to be resumed under the direction of M. Henri Berr, who has published, as a sort of prolegomenon, *La Guerre Allemande et la Paix Française; Le Germanisme contre l'Esprit Français; Essai de Psychologie Historique* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1919).

C. Giachetti has written an account of the history of Trent under Austrian rule with the title *La Vigilia di Trento, l'Ultimo Periodo della Dominazione Austriaca nel Trentino* (Milan, Treves, 1917, pp. 276).

A study of Napoleon's continental system, its theory and its actual effects on the peoples concerned, is presented by Mr. Eli F. Herkscher in *Kontinental-Systemet* (*Skrifter utgifna af Handelshögskolan*, III., Stockholm, Norstedt).

Under the supervision of Dr. G. W. Prothero, the Historical Section of the Foreign Office is issuing a series of handbooks on subjects considered of special interest during the peace negotiations. One of these, Professor C. K. Webster's *The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815*, has recently been published by the Oxford University Press.

The European Commonwealth: Problems Historical and Diplomatic, by J. A. R. Marriott (Oxford, Clarendon Press), is a collection of essays, which together constitute a study of the evolution of the modern state. The period is that between the Napoleonic Wars and the present war.

L. de Lanzac de Laborie has edited an interesting volume of *Correspondances du Siècle Dernier: un Projet de Mariage du Duc d'Orléans, 1836, Lettres de Léopold 1^{er} de Belgique à Adolphe Thiers, 1836-1864* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1918).

It is understood that Professor C. D. Hazen will bring out shortly, through Henry Holt and Company, a volume entitled *Fifty Years of Europe* (1868-1918).

From the Teachers' College Press, Sydney, N. S. W., comes a small volume on the causes of the Great War, *European History since 1870*, by C. H. Currey. The titles and the arrangement of the chapters show plainly that affairs of eastern Europe have been given the predominant place and that every effort has been made to follow the last forty years of Balkan politics. The book is intended as a text-book.

The diplomatic relations between Germany and France from 1870 to the outbreak of the Great War have received a fresh contribution in M. Ernest Daudet's *La Mission du Comte de Saint-Vallier* (Plon). The Comte de Saint-Vallier represented France at the Berlin court from December, 1877, to December, 1881, a period in which Bismarck was in singularly conciliatory mood toward France. M. Daudet promises to follow this by a volume on Saint-Vallier's successor Baron de Courcel.

The Game of Diplomacy, "by a European Diplomat" (London, Hutchinson), is the work of a member of the Russian diplomatic service since 1883, who has served in Greece, France, Spain, and Germany.

Grotius: Annuaire International pour l'Année 1917 (the Hague, Nijhoff) contains a number of important articles on recent international relations. Among these are Dr. J. H. W. Verzijl's *La Jurisprudence des Prises et le Droit des Gens*, and Professor G. W. J. Bruins's *Les Mesures relatives à la Crise Économique aux Pays-Bas*, which deals in detail with measures of the Dutch government in the first months of the war. The volume also contains the text of various prize-court decisions in Germany, England, and France.

Some side-currents of the great movements of European affairs in recent years are subject of record or discussion in *Il y a toujours des Pyrénées* (Paris, Payot, 1918) by J. Laborde; and in *Les Pays Méditerranéens et la Guerre* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1918), by Louis Bertrand. Both volumes give considerable attention to Spain and its relations.

The second Balkan war and the preliminaries of the Great War furnish the subjects for the fifth and sixth volumes of A. Gauvain's *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Bossard, 1918-1919). This work is probably the most exhaustive single study of international relations antecedent to the Great War which is at present available. To the same field belongs *La Triple Entente et la Guerre* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1918, pp. ix, 362), by A. Gérard.

Messrs. Longmans have recently announced *The History of Zionism in England and France* by M. Nahum Sokolov, with an introduction by Mr. Balfour.

While there are chapters on the present economic problems of the islands of the Pacific in Mr. G. H. Schofield's *The Powers in the Pacific* (John Murray), its chief interest lies in its story of the historical relations of Europe and America to these islands.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Lange, *Villars en Flandre, 1709-1712* (*Revue de Paris*, September 1); E. Gachot, *Les Lignes de Torrès Védras* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, November); E. Lenient, *Waterloo* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, October); G. P. Gooch, *Germany's Debt to France*. (*Quarterly Review*, January); anon., *La Politique de Benoît XV*. (*Revue de Paris*, October 15, November 1).

THE GREAT WAR

C. Escalle has prepared an *Essai de Bibliographie Méthodique de la Guerre de 1914: Généralités, Mémoires, Correspondances, Biographies, Origines de la Guerre* (Dijon, Berthier, 1918, pp. viii, 191). The second part of Jean Vic's *La Littérature de Guerre: Manuel Méthodique et Critique des Publications de Langue Française, Août 1914-Août 1916*

(Paris, Payot, 1918), previously mentioned (*A. H. R.*, XXIII. 236), has appeared, completing the work as originally announced.

The publication *Guerre de 1914: Documents Officiels, Textes Législatifs et Réglementaires* (Paris, Dalloz, 1914-1918) is now complete to the close of the war, in twenty-four volumes and supplement.

Professors Morris E. Speare and Walter B. Norris of the United States Naval Academy have compiled and edited a volume of readings in contemporary history and literature bearing the title *World War Issues and Ideals* (Ginn and Company, 1918, pp. xi, 461). The collection was prepared especially for use in the War Issues Course of the curriculum laid down for the S. A. T. C., but will be found equally useful in the courses in contemporary history and world issues which are being conducted in most colleges and universities. The readings, which number about fifty, are composed of extracts from speeches and writings of recent or contemporary statesmen, soldiers, scholars, or men of affairs, such as President Wilson, Elihu Root, General Malleterre, Maurice Barrès, Frederick J. Turner, Archibald C. Coolidge, A. Lawrence Lowell, Bainbridge Colby, etc. They are arranged in seven groups: I. The Issues of the World War; II. The Atmosphere of the World War; III. The Spirit of the Warring Nations; IV. Democratic and Autocratic Ideals of Government; V. The New Europe and a Lasting Peace; VI. Features of American Life and Character; VII. American Foreign Policy.

A suggestive experiment in carrying out the plans of the government for the Students' Army Training Corps is presented in the *Outline of a Course on the Issues of the War, as conducted at Dartmouth College*, prepared by Professors H. D. Foster, F. H. Dixon, and J. P. Richardson. The Dartmouth method of conducting the course was to study two contrasting types of nations, comparing them at a variety of points. For the work of the first term, the only one actually given, Germany and England were used as the typical states.

A History of the World War, by F. A. March and R. J. Beamish, for which Gen. Peyton C. March writes an introduction, has come from the press (Philadelphia, Winston). The volume is illustrated with reproductions from the official photographs of the United States, British, and French governments.

Charles Benoist has reprinted a second volume of his fortnightly political surveys from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in *L'Europe en Feu, Chroniques de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Perrin, 1918) covering the latter half of 1916. General Malleterre has issued the fourth volume of his *Études et Impressions de Guerre* (Paris, Tallandier, 1918) dealing with the fourth year of the war. J. Reinach's *Les Commentaires de Polybe* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1918) has reached its fifteenth volume. *Dix-Huit Mois de Guerre, Juillet 1916 à Décembre 1917* (Paris, Hachette,

1918) is the seventh volume in the series by G. Jollivet. General Palat (Pierre Lehautcourt) devotes the third volume of *La Grande Guerre sur le Front Occidental* (Paris, Chapelot, 1918) to the battles of the Ardennes and the Sambre. The period from October, 1915, to February, 1917, is covered in the second volume of E. Guillot's *Précis de la Guerre de 1914* (*ibid.*, pp. 320).

Questions of international relations and of international law raised by the war are discussed by J. Joubert in *À travers les Continents pendant la Guerre: Questions de Politique Étrangère et Coloniale* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. xvii, 328); by L. Maccas in *La Grande Guerre, les Nations et les Hommes* (*ibid.*); by A. Gauvain in *L'Affaire Grecque* (Paris, Bossard, 1918, pp. 207); by R. de Villeneuve-Trans in *La Liberté des Mers: le Blocus de l'Allemagne et la Guerre Sous-Marine* (Paris, Pedone, 1917); by R. A. Reiss in *Les Infractions aux Règles et Lois de la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1918); and by F. Smith in *The Destruction of Merchant Ships under International Law* (London, 1917, pp. 110).

The general content and character of *La Guerre Allemande et la Conscience Universelle* (Paris, Payot, 1918) by Prince Albert of Monaco have been made known through summaries in the daily press. Two volumes of the war-time utterances of Maximilian Harden have appeared under the title *Krieg und Frieden* (Berlin, Reiss, 1918). G. Choisy has added *L'Allemagne Secrète* (Paris, Albin Michel, 1918) to the French indictments of Germany.

Forty Days in 1914 by Maj.-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice (London, Constable) narrates the history of the August advance and the first battle of the Marne.

A strategical study of the Verdun battles is essayed by Joseph Reinach in *L'Année de Verdun* (Charpentier).

The Dardanelles Campaign, by H. W. Nevinston (London, Nisbet), is one of the best of the many accounts of the Dardanelles expedition which have appeared.

On the same subject is Maj.-Gen. Sir C. E. Callwell's study, *The Dardanelles*, announced by Messrs. Constable as forthcoming at an early date.

Volume IV. of Sir A. Conan Doyle's history of the Great War, *The British Campaigns in France and Flanders* (Hodder and Stoughton), deals with the operations of 1917. The same publishers announce *The Naval History of the War* by Sir Henry Newbolt and *The Aerial History of the War* by C. G. White.

Captain Raymond Recouly of the French General Staff, noted as a military critic, has prepared a biography of Marshal Foch which the firm of Charles Scribner's Sons is to publish this spring.

The fortunes of several cities in the war zone in France are recorded in the following volumes: P. H. Courrière, *Comment fut sauvé Paris: l'Ourcq, 5-10 Septembre 1914* (Paris, Perrin, 1918); Commandant Cassou, *La Vérité sur le Siège de Maubeuge* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919); E. Colin, *Saint-Dié sous la Botte: une Mission imposée par les Allemands en 1914* (*ibid.*); Capitaine Thobie, *La Prise de Carençy par le Pic et par le Mine* (*ibid.*, 1918, pp. vii, 247); and P. L. Péchanard, bishop of Soissons, *Le Martyre de Soissons, Août 1914-Juillet 1918* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1918, pp. 434).

The organization and work of the English navy are dealt with by Admiral Viscount Jellicoe in *The Grand Fleet, 1914-1916* (Cassell). The naval side of the war is also treated by Archibald Hurd and H. H. Bashford in *Sons of Admiralty* (Constable).

Heroes of Aviation, by Laurence L. Driggs (Boston, Little, Brown, 1918, pp. xxvi, 301) is a popular account, drawn largely from periodicals devoted to aviation, such as *La Guerre Aérienne*, of the adventures and combats, mainly of allied aviators, on all fronts. Of especial interest to Americans are the chapters dealing with the Lafayette Escadrille and American Aces. The appendix contains lists of aces to August 1, 1918, and of officially confirmed American victories in the air.

Two further issues of the *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, put forth by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, are a treatise of 302 pages on *The Effects of the War upon Insurance, with Special Reference to the Substitution of Insurance for Pensions*, by Professor W. F. Gephart of St. Louis, and a survey of *The Financial History of Great Britain, 1914-1918* (pp. 101), by President Frank L. McVey of the University of Kentucky.

Though *German Colonies: a Plea for the Native Races*, by Sir Hugh Clifford (Murray), is avowedly intended as a brief against the restoration of the German colonies, the student cannot afford to ignore the historical sketch of European methods in dealing with native races which it presents.

The American Association for International Conciliation has brought out a small volume entitled *A League of Nations* (pp. 132), including an annotated reading list (pp. 47) on international organization. *The Society of Nations: its Past, Present, and Possible Future*, by Rev. Thomas J. Lawrence, reader in international law in the University of Bristol, England, is published in New York by the Oxford University Press. *The Economic Basis of the League of Nations*, by J. L. Garvin, editor of the *London Observer*, will shortly be issued by the Macmillan Company.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. S. Davis, *The Roots of the War*, III., IV. (Century Magazine, February, March); J. Reinach, *La Rentrée de la Surprise dans la Guerre* (Revue de Paris, August 1);

Maj.-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, *The First and Second Battles of the Marne* (Harper's Magazine, January); J. Isaac, *La Deuxième Bataille de la Marne* (Revue de Paris, September 15); General Malletterre, *How the War was won*, I. (Harper's Magazine, March); R. La Bruyère, *L'Échec de la Guerre Sous-Marine* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1, 15); Admiral Degouy, *Les Insurrections dans la Marine Allemande* (Revue de Paris, December 1); J. Lefranc, *Les Progrès de l'Aviation et l'Effort Allemand* (*ibid.*, July 1); J. Chopin, *Les Tchéco-Slovaques en Russie* (*ibid.*, August 15); Dr. Simon, *Une Campagne au Hedjaz [1916-1917]* (*ibid.*, September 1); H. A. Gibbons, *The Armistices and Peace Negotiations* (Century Magazine, February).

(See also pp. 553-554, *infra*.)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

For the last five years there has been in preparation a *Repertory of British Archives*, which will soon be issued by the Royal Historical Society. The publication is to consist of (1) a classified list of public records, (2) a synopsis of local records, (3) a directory of British archives. Part I., which deals with England, is ready for the press; part II. is to cover the archives of the Dominions and the crown colonies.

Mr. Arthur Hassall is the compiler of a useful volume for reference in *British History chronologically arranged*, 55 B. C.-A. D. 1914, which the Macmillan Company is soon to publish.

Mr. J. L. Sanford's *Introduction to English History* contains a curiously miscellaneous collection of facts concerning England and English history. Twenty-six of its ninety pages are devoted to the Magna Carta; lists of tribes of England and Wales at the time of the Roman invasion, of the English and the Scottish kings, of the English and Welsh shires are among the other scraps of information here presented.

Sir R. H. I. Palgrave has for some years been preparing for the press a complete edition of the historical works of his father, Sir Francis Palgrave. The first volumes of this edition are soon to come from the Cambridge University Press.

From a body of material which the researches of scholars in various fields have considerably increased during the last hundred years, Mr. Archibald B. Scott has written *The Pictish Nation: its People and its Church* (T. N. Foulis).

That a book may well be both scholarly and readable is shown by a short but excellent study of *Henry II.* by L. F. Salzmann (Constable).

Administrative records in the Chancery and the Exchequer have furnished much of the material for a forthcoming work by J. C. Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II.* (Cambridge University Press).

The Cambridge University Press announces for early publication *The People's Faith in the Time of Wyclif*, by B. L. Manning.

Before his death the late Professor Alexander R. MacEwen of the United Free Church College in Edinburgh had carried his masterly study of the Scottish church forward for a period of fourteen years, 1546-1560, and this material, though it stops abruptly, has been published as volume II. of the author's *History of the Church of Scotland* (Hodder and Stoughton). For the general reader a work of very different character has recently appeared in Mr. Ninian Hill's concise *Story of the Scottish Church from the Earliest Times* (Glasgow, MacLehose).

A slight but entertaining bibliographical study is presented by *Bulletin no. 30* of the Department of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, *English Courtesy Literature before 1559*, by F. B. Millett.

Volume IV., no. 2, of the *Smith College Studies in History* consists of a group of three studies relative to Sir John Eliot by Miss Mary B. Fuller, associate professor of history in Smith College. The first relates to Eliot and the case of John Nutt, a pirate; the second, to the Parliament of 1621 and the relation of King James to it; the third, to the *Negotium Posterorum* and the Parliament of 1625.

Houghton Mifflin Company announces for early publication *Contributions of the British Empire to Civilization*, by Lord Charnwood.

A volume promising to be of interest to students of American history is Dr. R. H. Fox's *Dr. Fothergill and his Friends: Chapters in Eighteenth Century Life*, announced by Messrs. Macmillan. Dr. Fothergill was a Quaker physician of London who had considerable relations with the American colonies.

A presentation of British foreign policy as a continuous and consistent development, seems to be the most valuable contribution offered by the Hon. Arthur D. Elliot's *Traditions of British Statesmanship: Some Comments on Passing Events* (Constable).

J. A. Hobson's *Richard Cobden: The International Man*, published by Mr. Fisher Unwin, is the latest addition to the latter's series of *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*.

The Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell, in his two recent books of recollections, seems not to have exhausted his reminiscent vein, for we are now presented with a third, *Prime Ministers and some Others* (Fisher Unwin), in which are found tales of eleven prime ministers, chief of whom, judged wholly by the vividness of the impression which he made on Russell, seems to have been Disraeli.

No student of Irish affairs can afford to neglect Mr. P. S. O'Hegarty's *Sinn Fein: an Illumination* (Dublin, Maunsel), despite its obvious bias, for it sets forth the growth of the Sinn Fein movement with knowledge and vigor.

G. P. Putnam's Sons announce for early publication *The British Em-*

pire and a League of Peace, a pamphlet by Professor George Burton Adams.

A volume of *Occasional Addresses, 1893-1916* (London, Macmillan, 1918, pp. x, 194) by Mr. Asquith has been published.

The leading article in the *Victorian Historical Magazine* for September is one on the Administration of Captain Lonsdale, by Professor Ernest Scott, a contribution to the history of British empire-building.

Documentary publications: *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln*, II., *Record of Visitations held by William Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln, A. D. 1436-1449*, pt. I., ed. A. H. Thompson (Lincoln Record Society); *Lincoln Wills*, II., A. D. 1505-May, 1530, ed. C. W. Foster (*id.*); *Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Church of St. Mary, Lincoln, 1536-1547*, ed. R. E. G. Cole (*id.*); *Liverpool Town Books, 1550-1862*, I., 1550-1571, ed. J. A. Tremlow (Liverpool, University Press); *The Assembly Books of Southampton*, I., 1602-1608, ed. J. W. Horrocks (Southampton Record Society); *Historical Records of Australia*, series I., *Despatches to and from Sir Thomas Brisbane*, II., January, 1823-November, 1825 (Sydney, Library Committee of Commonwealth Parliament).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. L. Poole, *St. Wilfrid and the See of Ripon* (English Historical Review, January); *id.*, *The Chronology of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica and the Councils of 679-680* (Journal of Theological Studies, October); M. M. Bigelow, *Becket and the Law* (Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, October-December); Gaillard Lapsley, *Knights of the Shire in the Parliaments of Edward II.* (English Historical Review, January); L. Cust, *Portraits of King Henry VIII.* (Burlington Magazine, XXXI.); Miller Christy, *Queen Elizabeth's Visit to Tilbury* (English Historical Review, January); G. G. Dixon, *Notes on the Records of the Custom House, London* (*ibid.*); L. E. Levinthal, *The Early History of English Bankruptcy* (University of Pennsylvania Law Review, January); G. Rageot, *M. Lloyd George* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1); *Unwritten History: Unpublished Correspondence of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George* (Atlantic Monthly, February).

FRANCE

From reports made to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres by M. Charles V. Langlois, director of the Archives Nationales, we learn that the rich archives of the Département du Nord, at Lille, were preserved from German destruction by the care of M. Bruchet, the archivist; that despite the destruction of Reims, its archives are saved, M. Langlois himself having seasonably transported them to Toulouse; that the municipal archives of Cambrai were entirely destroyed in the deliberate and needless burning of the Hotel de Ville;

that at Douai, where methodical pillage of libraries and collections by experts had prevailed down to the expulsion of the inhabitants in last October, much casual and wanton destruction occurred in the six weeks intervening between that date and German evacuation; and that the archives of the Aisne, at Laon, and of the Ardennes, at Mézières, were found in great disorder, with evidences of much plundering. At Laon the archives of the *seigneurie* of Roncy, bought in 1908 of a lady who has since married a German official, had, "curiously enough", entirely disappeared! Careful inventories will in all cases be taken, and losses published, "de manière à ce que, quand même 93 professeurs et savants ridiculement affublés du titre d'*Excellenz*, ou aspirant à en jouir, déclaraient encore, sans en rien savoir, 'Ce n'est pas vrai', nul ne les prendrait au sérieux".

E. Griselle has edited *Lettres de la Main de Louis XIII.* (Paris, Société des Bibliophiles Français, 1919, pp. xxxii, 688, in two vols.). The collection contains 502 letters from the years 1617-1626, with appendices and index.

Professor H. Lemonnier has edited for the Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français the fifth volume of the *Procès-Verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture, 1671-1793* (Paris, Champion, 1918) which covers the years 1727-1743. The *Correspondance de Soufflot avec les Directeurs des Bâtiments concernant la Manufacture des Gobelins, 1756-1780* (Paris, Lemerre, 1918, pp. 328) has been edited by J. Mondain-Monval, who has also published *Soufflot, sa Vie, son Oeuvre, son Esthétique, 1713-1780* (*ibid.*).

There has recently appeared the third volume of Pierre de la Gorce's *Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française* (Paris, Plon, 1918). A volume on *Les Bénédictins de Saint-Vanne et la Révolution* (Paris, Champion, 1918, pp. 325) is by J. E. Godefroy; and one on *Louis XVI., Roi et Martyr, et sa Béatification* (Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie, 1916, pp. 205) is by Abbé A. Delassus.

The last fruit of the diligent editorial labors of the late Alexandre Tuetey was the publication of the *Correspondance du Ministre de l'Intérieur relative au Commerce, aux Subsistances, et à l'Administration Générale, 16 Avril-14 Octobre 1792* (Paris, Leroux, 1917, pp. xlvii, 760), prepared for the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française*.

La Jeunesse de Joseph Joubert and *Joseph Joubert et la Révolution* (Paris, Perrin, 1918-1919) are the first two volumes of an extended work by A. Beaunier. In addition to Joubert's fame as a moralist he is interesting because of his acquaintance with personages prominent in the political, intellectual, and literary life of the revolutionary period.

To the *Cambridge Historical Series* there is soon to be added a *His-*
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tory of *Modern France* in two volumes, by Professor Émile Bourgeois. The work is to cover the period from the restoration of the Bourbons to the election of President Poincaré.

Histoire de Trois Générations, 1815-1918, by Jacques Bainville, deals with the more important events in French history from the time of Waterloo till the present war (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale).

A. de Chambure has presented a survey of French journalism during the war in *Quelques Guides de l'Opinion en France pendant la Grande Guerre, 1914-1918* (Paris, Celin, Mary, Elen et Cie., 1918, pp. xxvii, 223). C. Maurras has turned his clever pen upon *Les Chefs Socialistes pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1918, pp. 336). Léon Daudet shows his customary virulence in *Le Poignard dans le Dos: Notes sur l'Affaire Malvy* (*ibid.*, pp. 352).

Biographies and character sketches of Clemenceau are the order of the day, as witness: *Clemenceau* (Paris, Payot, 1918) by C. Ducray; *Clemenceau, suivi d'une Étude de Louis Lumet avec Citations de G. Clemenceau sur les États-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, Crès, 1918) by G. Geffroy; *Georges Clemenceau, sa Vie, son Oeuvre, avec des Pages Choisis, annotés par Louis Lumet* (Paris, Larousse, 1919, illustrated) by the same author; *Clemenceau* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1918) by G. Lecomte; *Clemenceau* (Paris, Mendel, 1918) by A. Mailloux; and *Notre Clemenceau jugé par un Catholique* (Paris, Jouve, 1918, pp. 160) by J. Raymond. Some of the earlier war-time utterances of Clemenceau are collected in the two volumes *La France devant l'Allemagne*, and *Dans les Champs du Pouvoir* (Paris, Payot), while his more important later speeches are circulated in separate pamphlets.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Batiffol, *Paris en Danger*, 1636 (*Revue de Paris*, July 1); L. Madelin, *Le Rhin Français* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 1); R. Lote, *Comment les Philosophes du XVIII^e Siècle ont préparé la Révolution* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, October 19); P. Orsi, *Come si arrivò alla Rivoluzione Francese, dai Dispacci degli Ambasciatori Veneti* (*Nuova Antologia*, September 16); Comte de Calan, *Le Recrutement Régional des Partis Politiques de 1789 à 1914*, III. *Un Pays d'Extrême Gauche, la Provence* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, October); J. Monteilhet, *L'Avènement de la Nation Armée* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, September, November); G. Pariset, *La Guerre et l'Opinion en France pendant la 1^{re} Coalition, 1792-1797* (*Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, November); A. Mathiez, *Danton et la Paix* (*Revue des Nations Latines*, November 1, 15, December 1, January 1); *id.*, *Les Deux Versions du Procès des Hébertistes* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, January); A. Chuquet, *Décembre 1812: le Retour de l'Empereur* (*Revue de Paris*, December 1, 15).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Recent publications of documentary materials for Italian history in the Middle Ages include C. Cipolla and G. Buzzi, *Codice Diplomatico del Monastero di S. Colombano di Bobbio fino all' anno MCVIII*. (Rome, Istituto Storico Italiano, 1918, 3 vols., pp. xvi, 433; 380; 280); the second volume (1363-1385) of the *Repertorio Diplomatico Visconteo, Documenti dal 1263 al 1402* (Milan, Hoepli, 1918); A. Cutrera, *L'Archivio del Senato di Trapani dal Sec. XIV. al XVIII*. (Trapani, Modica, 1917, pp. 107); and *Documenti per servire alla Storia di Sicilia*, second series, vol. IX. (Palermo, Scuola Tip. Boccone del Povero, 1917, pp. 384) published by the Società Siciliana di Storia Patria.

The Jews at Florence during the Renaissance have furnished the subject for a thorough work by U. Cassuto entitled *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell'Età del Rinascimento* (Florence, Galletti and Cocci, 1918, pp. vii, 447).

To the series of elaborate histories of the Society of Jesus in various countries and provinces which have been appearing in recent years, A. Monti has added *La Compagnia di Gesù nel Territorio della Provincia Torinese* (Chieri, Ghirardi, 1917, pp. 654).

C. Montalcini and A. Alberti have prepared *Assemblee della Repubblica Cisalpina* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1917, 2 vols., pp. ccxvi, 824; 845).

Pietro Silva has devoted to Italy's part in the Seven Weeks' War *Il Sessantasei, Studi Storici* (Milan, Treves, 1917, pp. 320).

To a fuller understanding of Italian problems two recent books make a useful contribution: *La Guerra Europea: Scritti e Discorsi*, by Antonio de Viti de Marco (Rome, Unità), and *I Problemi dello Stato Italiano dopo la Guerra*, by Vittorio Scialoja (Bologna, Zanichelli).

C. A. Millares has issued the first volume of *Documentos Pontificios en Papirs de Archivos Catalanes, Estudio Paleográfico y Diplomático* (Madrid, Fortanet, 1918, pp. 274).

Sections of the *Guía Histórica y Descriptiva de los Archivos de España* relating to the archives at Simancas appeared as supplements to the January to July, 1918, issues of the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos*.

No. 20 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* completes Señor Aguilar's extended notes on Miranda, which began in no. 19. It also carries nearly to completion the summary view of the classification of the Archivo General de Indias, which the archivist, Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, and Don Germán Latorre have been issuing in installments. This has now been issued as a book, *Catálogo: Cuadro General de la Documentación* (Seville, Centro de Estudios Americanistas, 1918, pp. 167). The book, though not running into great detail, will hereafter be an indispensable manual for all workers in the Archives of the Indies.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. de la Sizeranne, *Autour d'un Buste de Béatrice d'Este* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1); *id.*, *Béatrice d'Este et Ludovic le More* (*ibid.*, October 15); *id.*, *Isabelle d'Aragon et Bianca Sforza* (*ibid.*, November 15); F. Masson, *Les Derniers Jours de Murat, 19 Mai-13 Octobre 1815*, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); A. Monti, *La Diplomazia di Governo Provvisorio* [Lombardy, 1848] (Nuova Antologia, October 1); L. B. Holland, *The Origin of the Horseshoe Arch in Northern Spain* (American Journal of Archaeology, October-December); C. Espejo, *La Renta de Salinas hasta la Muerte de Felipe II.* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January, March, July, 1918); A. G. A. Palencia, *Fragmentos del Archivo Particular de Antonio Perez, Secretario de Felipe II.*, I.-II. (*ibid.*, March, May).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Volume II. of *Luther's Correspondence*, edited by Professor Preserved Smith and Dr. C. M. Jacobs, the first volume of which appeared in 1913, has recently come from the press of the Lutheran Publication Society (Philadelphia).

Messrs. Allen and Unwin announce for early publication a new work by W. H. Dawson, *The German Empire, 1867-1914*, in which the major emphasis is placed upon Anglo-German relations.

The third and last volume of Sir Adolphus W. Ward's *Germany, 1815-1890*, has appeared from the Cambridge University Press. This volume covers the years 1871-1890.

Some episodes in Prussian expansion are recorded by Capitaine Carteron in *Les Anciennes Ambitions Maritimes et Coloniales de la Maison de Hohenzollern, les Tentatives du Grand Électeur: Étude d'Histoire Diplomatique* (Paris, Tenin, 1918, pp. 147); by H. Wendt in *Schlesien und der Orient: ein Geschichtlicher Rückblick* (Breslau, Hirt, 1916, pp. x, 244), which is the twenty-first volume of the *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Schlesischen Geschichte*; and by Dr. Georg von Frantzius in *Die Okkupation Ostpreussens durch den Russen im Siebenjährigen Kriege* (Berlin, Ebering, 1916, pp. 127), for which Russian sources have been utilized.

Professor W. W. Willoughby has brought out through Messrs. Appleton a volume entitled *Prussian Political Philosophy: its Principles and Implications*.

The American Association for International Conciliation has brought together in a single volume, *The Disclosures from Germany*, three of its earlier publications (nos. 127, 130, and Special Bulletin, November, 1918), the Lichnowsky Memorandum, the Reply of Herr von Jagow, translated and edited by Professor Munroe Smith, Memoranda and Letters of Dr. Muehlton also prepared by Professor Smith, and the Dawn of Germany, by Dr. James B. Scott. The first two of these have already been noticed in this journal (XXIV. 153, 318).

Prince Maximilian of Baden intended to render an account of his administration as German Chancellor in the Upper Chamber of the Parliament of Baden. Unable to carry out this plan, he permitted the publication of his proposed address in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* for December; a translation has been printed in the *Living Age* for February 1. The important address which Count Czernin delivered on December 12 in defense of his policy as Foreign Minister and Premier of Austria was printed in full in the *Neue Freie Presse* of December 12. A full translation of this—as of much other German newspaper matter—is available in the office of the National Board for Historical Service.

Countess Olga Leutrum in *Court and Diplomacy in Austria and Germany: What I Know* (London, Unwin, 1918) has gathered information from her life in Austrian court and diplomatic circles which constitutes one of the most telling indictments of the Central Powers as responsible for the Great War. The book was addressed to her own people, the Russians, to convince them from her own knowledge of the malevolent designs of Germany and Austria against them.

Professor Wilhelm Oechsli of Zurich has lately published a new edition (Zurich, Schulthess) of his well-known and admirable *Quellenbuch zur Schweizergeschichte*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. A. Phillips, *The Ethics of Prussian Statecraft* (Quarterly Review, October); A. D. McLaren, *The German Banks and "Peaceful Penetration"* (*ibid.*, January); G. Bourdon, *Le "Pacifisme" Allemand d'Avant-Guerre* (Revue de Paris, August 1); J. Chopin, *Les Déceptions d'un Austrophile* [Palacky] (*ibid.*, July 15); G. E. Sherman, *The Neutrality of Switzerland*, I, II, III. (American Journal of International Law, April, July, October).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

In vol. III. of the *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1917) the leading element is a body of documents respecting maritime freights, 1568–1596, edited by Dr. H. E. van Gelder.

For the Vereeniging Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief, Dr. N. Posthumus intends to prepare a series of ten documentary volumes on *Buitenlandsche Handelspolitiek van Nederland in de Negentiende Eeuw*. Three volumes will be concerned with the negotiations for commercial treaties with England, 1813–1870, a fourth with negotiations with that country respecting rights in Java, three others with relations to Germany, France, Belgium, and the rest of Europe; an eighth volume will relate to America and the Barbary powers, a ninth to the East Asiatic states, while the tenth will contain the introduction.

Dr. Catharina Ligtenberg, whose book on Willem Usselinx was noticed in a previous volume of this journal (XX. 879) is to edit for the same society a volume of the *Geschriften van Willem Usselinx*.

The relations of the kingdom of the Netherlands to the Great War form the chief topic in *Gross-Deutschland, la Belgique et la Hollande* (Paris, Van Oest, 1918, pp. 221).

The series of *Les Cahiers Belges* (Paris, Van Oest) has continued to include interesting materials relative to Belgium and its participation in the Great War. Of special worth is the number containing a full discussion of *Les Traités de 1831 et de 1839* (pp. 158) by Trévire and Nervien.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Émile Cammaerts, *The Frontiers of Belgium* (Edinburgh Review, January).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Svend Dahl and P. Engelstoft have begun the publication of a *Dansk Biografisk Haandlexikon* (Copenhagen, 1918) which will include articles on persons still living as well as on those deceased.

The principal events in the political history of the inhabitants of Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine are set forth by Ralph Butler in *The New Eastern Europe*, announced by Messrs. Longmans.

An historical study written with special intent to make present conditions in Russia intelligible is *Russia from the Varangians to the Bolsheviks*, by Professor Raymond Beazley, Nevill Forbes, and G. A. Birkett (Oxford, Clarendon Press).

Baron A. Heyking, former Russian consul-general at London, has published a volume on *Problems confronting Russia and affecting Russo-British Political and Economic Intercourse; a Retrospect and a Forecast* (London, King, 1918, pp. xvi, 219).

The Prelude to Bolshevism: the Kornilov Rebellion, published by Fisher Unwin, is Kerensky's personal account of Russian events with which he was concerned. The same publisher announces Trotsky's personal account of Russian events, *History of the Russian Revolution, to Brest-Litovsk*, which is said to be not propaganda but a serious attempt to describe the steps in the Revolution as historical events.

Miss Meriel Buchanan, the daughter of the British ambassador to Russia, has, in *Petrograd, the City of Trouble* (London, Collins), presented a vivid picture of events in that city down to January, 1918.

Professor O. Tafrali of the University of Jassy is the author of *La Roumanie Transdanubienne, la Dobroudja* (Paris, Leroux, 1918), and N. P. Comnène, of *La Dobrogea, Essai Historique, Économique, Ethnographique, et Politique* (Paris, Payot, 1918). *Les Roumains* (Paris, Bossard, 1918) by D. Draghicesco relates primarily to the Rumanians of Transylvania. Professor N. Jorga has presented several topics in *Pages Roumaines* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. x, 111). D. Ian-

covici has prepared a full account and discussion of *La Paix de Bucarest, 7 Mai 1918* (Paris, Payot, 1918).

A valuable contribution on Rumania's part in the war is *Notes sur la Guerre Roumaine* by N. P. Commène (Paris, Payot).

M. Gaston Gravier, who fell in battle in Artois in 1915, had before the war devoted four years in Serbia, where he was lecturer in the University of Belgrade, to studies in the history and geography of that country. One of the results is a volume on *Les Frontières Historiques de la Serbie*, finished in 1914 and now published (Paris, Armand Colin).

G. Yakchitch has issued a revised edition of his *L'Europe et la Résurrection de la Serbie* (Paris, Hachette, 1917, pp. 528). R. I. Odavitch has prepared an *Essai de Bibliographie Française sur les Serbes, Croates, et Slovènes depuis le Commencement de la Guerre Actuelle* (Paris, the author, 1918, pp. 160). E. Gascoin has written a volume on *Les Victoires Serbes en 1916* (Paris, Bossard, 1919) and Dr. P. Maridort has recorded observations *En Macédoine, 1915-1917* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1918, pp. 173).

M. Ernest Daudet is responsible for *Ferdinand I^{er}, Tsar de Bulgarie*, the first volume of a new series, *Les Complices des Auteurs de la Guerre*. The work is described by the author as "a footnote to the history of Bulgaria".

Les Bulgares peints par Eux-mêmes (Paris, Payot, 1918) is a considerable compilation by V. Kuhne, with an introduction by A. Gauvain.

The earlier history of Salonika is narrated by Professor O. Tafrali of the University of Jassy in *Thessalonique, des Origines au Quatorzième Siècle* (Paris, Leroux, 1918).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Pinon, *La Reconstruction de l'Europe Orientale* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 15); H. G. Wright, *The Revolution in Finland: Its Causes and Results* (*Quarterly Review*, January); A. Palmieri, *The Earliest Theorists of Russian Revolution* (*Catholic World*, January); E. Daudet, *L'Avènement d'Alexandre III.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 15); L. Grondijs, *La Russie en Feu, Journal d'un Correspondant de Guerre, Janvier-Mars 1918* (*ibid.*, October 15, November 1); A. Ivanov, *À travers la Russie Démente* (*Revue de Paris*, September 1); O. de L., *The Ukraine* (*Edinburgh Review*, January).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Travels in Egypt and Mesopotamia, in Search of Antiquities, 1886-1913 (John Murray, 2 vols.), by Dr. E. G. Wallis Budge, gives a full account of the excavations in Assyria and Babylonia from 1782 to 1913.

A recent *Bulletin* of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts summarizes the results of the excavations at Nuri made during the last four years under the direction of Dr. George Reisner of Harvard University.

Dr. François Villeneuve has published an excellent *Essai sur Perse* (Paris, Hachette, 1918, pp. xiv, 540) as his doctoral thesis.

Mr. E. B. Havell in *The History of Aryan Rule in India from the Earliest Times to the Death of Akbar* (London, Harrap) lays claim to no original investigation but brings together in readable form a large amount of material in the fields of archaeology, art, education, and industry.

The first volume of *A History of the Maratha People*, by C. A. Kin-kaid and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, has recently appeared from the Oxford University Press. This carries the narrative to 1680; later volumes will continue it to the fall of the Mahrattas in 1818.

In addition to what was said in our last number (p. 330) respecting the *New China Review*, it may be well to mention that orders for volume I. should be sent direct to the publishers, Messrs. Kelly and Walsh in Shanghai, and that the subscription price is now fixed at nine dollars Mexican. Six numbers per annum will be issued, the first having appeared in March of this year.

Volumes II. and III. of *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, by H. B. Morse (Longmans), cover the years 1861 to 1911, years of unusual interest in the diplomatic history of the East.

The conditions and problems of Japan since its entry into the World War are to some extent set forth in the following books, though considerable portions especially of the first two are devoted to affairs before the war: J. Dautremet, *Chez nos Alliés Japonais, Esquisse Historique, Passé, Évolution, Présent* (Paris, Garnier, 1914, pp. vi, 299); A. M. Pooley, *Japan at the Cross Roads* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1917, pp. 362); A. Bellessort, *Le Nouveau Japon* (Paris, Perrin, 1918); and F. Coleman, *The Far East Unveiled* (London, Cassell, 1918).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

La Question d'Afrique, Étude sur les Rapports de l'Europe et de l'Afrique depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Grande Guerre de 1914 (Paris, Alcan, 1918, pp. xi, 391) by R. Ronze; and *La Question Africaine* (Paris, Van Oest, 1918) by Baron Beyens are timely presentations of African affairs with some reference to their historical origins.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The cessation of warfare has made it possible for the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington to resume that portion of its work which has consisted in the preparation of guides to materials for American history in European archives. In April Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, archivist of the state of New York, sails for Holland

in order to make for the Institution such a survey of the materials for American history in the archives of the Netherlands. Professor Herbert C. Bell, of Bowdoin College, hitherto a captain in the headquarters staff of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, expects to be able to proceed to London in June, to perform there in the Colonial Office Papers a part of the preparation of an inventory of the material relating to the history of the British West Indies, especially in their relation to the continental American colonies; the complementary portion of the book will be an inventory of the archives preserved in the islands themselves, to be prepared later—except that the Department already has a full report on the archives of Jamaica, made in 1916 by Mr. Luis M. Pérez, librarian of the Cuban House of Representatives. In 1920 Dr. Amandus Johnson expects to prepare for the Institution a guide to the materials for American history in the archives of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.

The *Annual Report* of the librarian of Congress for 1918 announces a noteworthy series of accessions to the Division of Manuscripts, offering (pp. 32-44) a description of each group. The principal groups, nearly all of which have already been mentioned in these pages, are the papers of Jeremiah S. Black, Reverdy Johnson, William Wirt, Rear-Admiral Louis M. Goldsborough, John L. Bozman and John L. Kerr, Edmond Genet and James L. Petigru, two volumes of those of William Blathwayt, additional papers of Thomas Jefferson, Rear-Admiral Andrew H. Foote, and Samuel F. B. Morse, and the remainder of the papers of the family of Argenteau.

Among the recent accessions to the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress are: papers of John Lloyd, merchant of Alexandria, 1806-1867 (about 5000 pieces); additions to the papers of John Sherman (about 250 pieces); miscellaneous papers and letters of James Buchanan and Harriet Lane Johnston, 1827-1887 (about 650 pieces); letters of Brig.-Gen. John P. Hatch, 1845-1863 (about 135 pieces); letters of Edward Curtis to Samuel B. Ruggles, 1841-1853 (about 45 pieces); miscellaneous papers of Philip Mazzei, 1773-1817 (31 pieces); letters of Nathaniel P. Hobart, 1811-1832 (Protestant Episcopal Church affairs, 20 pieces); papers of Comte and Marquis de Langeron, 1761-1789 (about 460 pieces); letter-books of George, Lord Macartney, governor of Grenada and Tobago, 1777-1779 (four volumes); letter-book of letters from Baring and Company, London, to the United States treasury, 1802-1833; miscellaneous letters and papers of the Russian-American Company concerning relations between the United States and Mexico prior to the purchase of Alaska; Mexican and Central American Indian dialects, 5 volumes; sundry Revolutionary records, miscellaneous treasury records, etc. The library has also received on deposit the following, which are not yet open to investigators: letters of Anne Gilchrist to Walt Whitman, 1871-1885 (72 pieces); Walt Whitman's note-

books, 1855-1863 (24 volumes); papers of Theodore Roosevelt; papers of William H. Taft.

Ten more volumes of Professor Allen Johnson's series of *Chronicles of America* have been distributed to subscribers by the Yale University Press.

The firm of Doran will publish a *History of the United States*, in one volume, by Cecil Chesterton.

Dr. Russell M. Story's monograph on *The American Municipal Executive* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1918, pp. 231), has a chapter on the historical development of the mayoralty and, at other points, various contributions to the history of municipal development.

The January number of the *Catholic Historical Review*, completing the fourth volume of that valuable periodical, has three main articles: one by Thomas F. Meehan on Catholic Literary New York, from the foundation of the *Shamrock* in 1810 to 1840; one on the history of the Gallipolis Colony (leaving at one side the land speculation) by Rev. Laurence J. Kenny, S.J.; and one by Rev. Gilbert Garraghan, of the same society, on the St. Regis Seminary at Florissant, Missouri. Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., has a learned note on Florida's first bishop, the Franciscan Bishop Juan Juárez. There is also presented the first installment of a translation by Dr. H. I. Priestley, of the University of California, of "A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California", written in 1775 by Don Pedro Fages, and now preserved in the Museo Nacional in Mexico City. South Carolina history is illustrated by a letter written from Purysburg in 1733 by one J. B. Bourguin, a Swiss notary, to the Prince Bishop of Basel and printed from the papers of the late Dr. A. F. Bandelier.

In the December issue of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* appears an account, by J. Percy Keating, of the interesting career of John Keating (1760-1856), with some account also of his forbears. Fifteen Years of Canadian Church History is a brief paper by J. M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap. Martin I. J. Griffin's Life of Bishop Conwell is concluded.

Bulletin 59 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a collection of *Kutenai Tales*, by Franz Boas. While the larger part of the texts were collected by Dr. Boas, the volume includes also a series collected by the late Dr. Alexander Chamberlain. The tales are given both in Kutenai and in English translation. Dr. Boas adds some thirty pages of abstracts and comparative notes. There is also a vocabulary occupying 75 pages.

Under the title *Negro Population, 1790-1915* (Government Printing Office, 1918, pp. 884) the census bureau has issued an invaluable collection of statistics respecting that subject, prepared by Mr. John Cummings of the division of revision and results.

A history of the Poles in America, by W. Kruszkza, in thirteen volumes, in the Polish language, has been brought out in Milwaukee (C. N. Caspar). The title is *Historya Polika w Ameryce*.

It is announced that Mrs. Ida Husted Harper will write for the Leslie National Suffrage Commission a fifth volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*. Mrs. Harper collaborated with Miss Susan B. Anthony in the preparation of the fourth volume, which covered the period from 1883 to 1900. It is expected that volume V. will be ready by the autumn of 1920.

The Yale University Press has brought out *A Century of Science in America, with especial Reference to the American Journal of Science, 1818-1918*, by Professor Edward S. Dana.

Industry and Trade: Historical and Descriptive Account of their Development in the United States, by A. L. Bishop and A. G. Keller, is from the press of Ginn and Company.

The Story of the American Merchant Marine, by Willis J. Abbot, is announced for publication this spring by Dodd, Mead, and Company.

A miscellaneous collection of facts is brought together by Philip R. Dillon in a volume entitled *American Anniversaries: Every Day in the Year, presenting Seven Hundred and Fifty Events in United States History from the Discovery of America to the Present Day*, its title indicating the purpose of the work.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

A selection from the correspondence and miscellaneous papers of Jared Ingersoll, edited by Professor Franklin B. Dexter, is made available in advance from volume XIX. of the *Papers* of the New Haven Colony Historical Society (pp. 201-472). The papers, acquired by the society in 1903, illustrate Ingersoll's early career, his labors as agent for Connecticut in London, the celebrated episode of his service as stamp distributor for Connecticut in 1765, and his career as vice-admiralty judge in Philadelphia. The letters from that city in 1774-1776 are especially interesting.

A volume bearing the title *A Hidden Phase of American History: Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Liberty*, by M. J. Obrien, is announced for early publication by the Devin-Adair Company of New York.

Publication no. 99 of the Western Reserve Historical Society is a monograph, by Professor Elbert J. Benton, entitled *The Movement for Peace without a Victory during the Civil War*. The study is particularly of the policies of the Peace Democrats of the Northwest and becomes in great measure a narrative of the activities of Clement L. Vallandigham.

Forthcoming volumes in Scribner's *Figures from American History* are: *Robert E. Lee*, by D. S. Freeman, and *Stephen A. Douglas*, by Louis Howland.

H. J. Eckenrode has written a short *Life of Nathan B. Forrest*, which has been brought out by the B. F. Johnson Publishing Company.

Brentano of New York has issued an album of about one hundred plates, photographed from the original lithographs of the period 1854-1872, under the title *American Caricatures concerning the Civil War Period* (1918).

It is announced that Edward S. Martin is engaged upon a biography of Joseph H. Choate, which Charles Scribner's Sons will publish. Persons who have letters from Mr. Choate are asked to communicate with Mr. Martin in care of Messrs. Scribner, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York.

William Dudley Foulke is the author of a volume of reminiscences of the Civil Service Reform movement to which he gives the title *Fighting the Spoilsmen* (Putnam).

The late Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster's valuable monograph on *Clara Bacon, Humanitarian*, mentioned in our review of the last volume of the Columbia Historical Society, has been separately printed as a small volume of eighty pages, of which copies may be obtained from Miss Violet Bacon-Foster, The Marlborough, Washington, D. C.

It is announced that Charles Scribner's Sons will publish in the near future an authorized biography of Theodore Roosevelt, from the hand of Joseph B. Bishop. It is understood that in large measure Mr. Roosevelt's letters will be allowed to tell the story of his life. It is also announced that a collection of the letters to his children or to others concerning them, together with some letters from the Roosevelt sons at the front, will be brought out in a separate volume.

A new edition of James Morgan's *Theodore Roosevelt: the Boy and the Man*, containing new chapters which complete the story of Roosevelt's life, has just been issued (Macmillan).

A journalistic account, from an English pen, of various aspects of American life and of the period preceding the entry of the United States into the war is set forth in *America's Day* by Ignatius Phayre (Dodd, Mead, pp. 425).

Three brief studies of President Wilson and his policies have recently appeared in England: *The Peace President*, by William Archer (Hutchinson); *President Wilson: his Problems and his Policy*, by H. W. Harris (Headley); and *President Wilson: the Man and his Message*, by C. S. Jones (Rider).

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

A volume of President Wilson's *Addresses and Messages* has been issued by Boni and Liveright. *Messages and Addresses to the Congress and the People, January 31, 1918, to December 2, 1918; together with the Peace Notes to Germany and Austria; with an Appendix containing the corrected Text of the Armistice* is from the press of Harper and Brothers. *Americanism: Woodrow Wilson's Speeches on the War*, compiled, edited, and annotated by Oliver Marble Gale, is put forth in Chicago by the Baldwin Syndicate. Also there appears a new and enlarged edition of *President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses*, with editorial notes, etc., published by Messrs. Doran.

The Historical Branch of the General Staff has put forth in a pamphlet of thirty-nine pages (War Department Document no. 885) a useful sketch, *Economic Mobilization in the United States for the War of 1917*, in which the organization and operation of the Council of National Defense, the Shipping Board, the Food and Fuel Administrations, the War Industries Board, the War Trade Board, and the machinery of war finance, railroad control and adjustments respecting labor and employment are briefly surveyed.

With a view to a future financial history of our part in the Great War, the American Economic Association in the spring of 1918 appointed a Committee on War Finance, which was to make a critical study of fiscal events in this country throughout the war. The first report of this committee, which appeared early in the year, studies the methods of taxation used by the government, public credit, expansion, and wage and price conditions.

It is announced that Professor J. S. Bassett is preparing a volume on the war which A. A. Knopf will publish. The title of the work will be *Our War with Germany*.

The American Jewish Committee has issued, through its Office of War Records (31 Union Square, New York) of which Julian Leavitt is director, *The War Record of American Jews* (pp. 50). This record does not profess to be complete, but is only a first report, to be supplemented by additional reports as additional information accrues. Information now available indicates clearly, it is said, that the Jews of America have not only contributed their full quota to the winning of the war, but a generous margin beyond their quota.

Dear Folks at Home is the title given to a collection of letters written by United States Marines from training camps and battle-fronts, compiled and edited by K. F. Cowing and G. R. Cooper (Houghton).

Ferri-Pisani has endeavored to present the principal considerations involved in *L'Intérêt et l'Idéal des États-Unis dans la Guerre Mondiale* (Paris, Perrin, 1918, pp. 247).

A large amount of material relating to the participation of Connecticut in the World War is being assembled in the Connecticut State Library. Special questionnaires covering the records of soldiers, sailors, civilians, and organizations have been prepared and forwarded to the several war bureaus and organizations interested. The work is in charge of an advisory committee of twelve, of which Professor Charles M. Andrews of Yale University is chairman.

The Buffalo Historical Society has issued a *Popular History of the War*, a pamphlet of 36 pages, by Merton M. Wilner. It contains a chronology of the war from June 28, 1914, to November 21, 1918, a compact but comprehensive narrative of events, and several maps.

A portion of Pennsylvania's part in the war is chronicled in *The Iron Division: the National Guard of Pennsylvania in the World War*, by H. G. Proctor (Philadelphia, Winston).

(See also pp. 534-538, *supra*.)

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

A notable gift has been made to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Mr. W. B. H. Dowse. He has provided for the publication by the society of the journals of the Massachusetts House of Representatives during the whole provincial period. It will be remembered that the printed volumes, beginning in 1715, are excessively rare, and that the journals from 1692 to 1714, as well as for certain subsequent sessions, exist only in manuscript. It is not easy to see how any publication can cast a greater amount of valuable light upon our colonial history than that which is now proposed. Provision for the subsequent printing of other state records is included in the gift. The society has also received, from representatives of the late Henry Adams, the gift of his rich and remarkable library, and from Miss S. Z. Preble the papers, valuable for naval history, of her father Rear-Admiral George H. Preble. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences has deposited in the library of the society some eighty volumes of laws, legislative journals, and Massachusetts newspapers of the eighteenth century.

The October-December serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society's *Proceedings* contains, besides the papers by Mr. Bigelow and Professor Emerton elsewhere mentioned, matter commemorative of the late Abner C. Goodell, jr., and of Dr. Samuel A. Green; also an entertaining account of Mr. Henry Adams's teaching of history at Harvard, by Lindsay Swift.

In the forthcoming volume XX. of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Mr. John H. Edmonds has an interesting study of the career of Captain Thomas Pound, pilot, pirate, and cartographer,

temp. Andros, which, with accompanying documents, is printed in advance from the volume mentioned.

The Connecticut Society, Daughters of 1812, have arranged to deposit their collection of manuscripts, etc., in the Connecticut State Library, and a special bookplate for use on the collection is being prepared. The assembling of this material is in charge of a special committee.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The New York State Library, 1818-1918, is an historical sketch issued by the Library.

The Manuscripts Division of the New York State Library has acquired a large body of manuscripts relating to the Platt family in Poughkeepsie and Plattsburg. Much of the material concerns the early settlement of Plattsburg. The Division of Archives and History has in press the *Journal of Peter de Saily of Plattsburg*.

Among the contents of the January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* are: Arms and Crests for Americans, being the report of the committee on heraldry submitted by the chairman, John R. Delafield; some Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of Wawarsing, edited by R. W. Vosburgh; an account, by John R. Totten, of the Cloth of Gold and Pitcher presented by Captain Kidd to John Gardiner and his wife, of Gardiner's Island; a paper, by W. S. Gordon, concerning Gabriel Ludlow (1663-1736) and his Descendants; and Some Vital Statistics of Revolutionary Worthies, contributed by Miss Elizabeth Cowing.

The Colonial Citizens of New York City: a Comparative Study of Certain Aspects of Citizenship Practice in Fourteenth Century England and Colonial New York City, by Robert Francis Seybolt, constitutes no. 1 of the *University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History*.

Historic Green Point, by William L. Felter, is a brief account of the beginning and development of the northerly section of the borough of Brooklyn (Brooklyn, Green Point Savings Bank).

Vol. XXX. of the *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey* has come from the press. This is the second volume of the *Calendar of New Jersey Wills, Administrations*, etc., edited for the New Jersey Historical Society by A. Van Doren Honeyman.

Included in the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, issue of July, 1918, are a paper by W. H. Benedict concerning Early Taverns in New Brunswick, and the second of the papers of Edward Wall describing Raids in Southeastern Virginia Fifty Years Ago.

In the July (1918) number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* appears an extended account, by E. V. Lamberton, of

Colonial Libraries of Pennsylvania. The History of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike, by Hon. Charles I. Landis, is continued. In the department of Notes and Queries are two letters of interest from Samuel Bryan of Philadelphia, one, dated Nov. 3, 1785, to his father, George Bryan, at that time a member of the state supreme court, and another, dated May 20, 1790, to his brother.

The Macmillan Company announce for early publication a volume by Isaac Sharpless entitled *Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania*.

A Sketch of the History of Baptist Education in Pennsylvania, by F. G. Lewis, is published at Chester by Crozer Theological Seminary.

Seagrove, Pennsylvania, Chronology, vol. I., 1700-1850, including plans, facsimiles, etc., is compiled by W. M. Schnure (Middleburg, Pennsylvania, *Middleburg Post*).

The January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains the first two chapters of a study, by George A. Cribbs, of the Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania. Chapter I. deals with the Indian policy, 1682-1800; chapter II. with Indian trade, 1680-1770. An article on the Pennsylvania Canals, by James Macfarlane, is from a manuscript written in 1875. Burd S. Patterson gives a brief sketch of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania: its History, Objects, and Achievements.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The principal content of the December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is a continuation of the narrative by Henry Barnard of a tour of the South Atlantic States in 1833, edited by Bernard C. Steiner. At the opening of this installment of the narrative the writer is in Washington (January), where he meets many prominent people and listens to the speeches in Congress on nullification, etc. Thence he moves southward, pausing in each important town, as far as Savannah and Charleston, returning by water to Old Point Comfort, Norfolk and Richmond, thence via Charlottesville, Frederick, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, to New York. There is much of valuable and interesting observation on people and conditions.

The Virginia State Library has received from the Henrico County circuit court all its records prior to 1781, the transfer being made in accordance with the act of the Virginia assembly of 1918. These records comprise nineteen volumes and eighteen bundles of papers (wills, deeds, etc.), among them an excellent index to the five volumes of Colonial Records, 1677-1739. Under the direction of the state archivist, Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, the systematic arrangement of several classes of papers in the library and the indexing of the Confederate records are progressing.

The Royal Government in Virginia, 1624-1775, by Percy S. Flippin,

appears among the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

Forty years ago or more N. F. Cabell made a collection of references to Virginia agriculture, preparatory to writing a comprehensive history of the subject. This manuscript is now published by the Virginia State Library, with the title *A Contribution to the Bibliography of Agriculture in Virginia* (*Bulletin*, vol. XI., nos. 1, 2). It is edited by Earl G. Swem, assistant state librarian, who has made some additions and expansions.

The January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains a paper on Major Henry Wirz, commandant at Andersonville in the Civil War; also a number of letters from General George Weedon to Lafayette and others in June, 1781, reprinted from *Papers relating chiefly to the Maryland Line*, edited by Thomas Balch (Philadelphia, 1857).

The North Carolina Historical Commission has brought out its *Seventh Biennial Report* (*Publications*, Bulletin no. 24). The report records specifically the accessions of manuscript materials during the biennium, the progress made in the classification and arrangement of manuscripts, and also the commission's activities in the matter of erecting historical markers, of which about forty-five were erected or arranged for. The principal accessions of historical materials have been mentioned from time to time in the pages of this journal. Besides the executive papers and letter-books transferred from the governor's office (the commission now has these nearly to date), many counties have deposited their earlier records with the commission.

A History of Halifax County (North Carolina), by W. C. Allen, is from the press of the Cornhill Company, Boston.

The *Georgia Historical Quarterly* for June, 1918, published by the Georgia Historical Society at Savannah, contains an interesting account of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library, by its librarian, Mr. Leonard L. Mackall.

WESTERN STATES

The December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains a study by Professor St. George L. Sioussat of Andrew Johnson and the Early Phases of the Homestead Bill, a paper by Professor A. C. Cole entitled the Passing of the Frontier, one by Theodore G. Gronert on Trade in the Blue Grass Region, 1810-1820, and one by H. K. Murphey on the Northern Railroads and the Civil War.

The January number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* contains a paper, by Byron E. Long, on Joshua R. Giddings, which includes a number of letters to Giddings from prominent men, among them Henry Clay, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison,

Henry Wilson, Greeley, Weed, Chase, and Sumner. The letters are given in facsimile as well as printed text, the latter showing frequent errors in transcription. Professor W. H. Siebert has a paper on the Tory Proprietors of Kentucky Lands, and Mr. Carl Wittke discusses the change of attitude on the part of the German-language press in Ohio after the declaration of war.

In the *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* for November Professor A. M. Schlesinger has a short paper on the subject of Mobilizing Ohio's Historical Resources. In the January number Raymond Moley discusses Reconstruction in Civic Education. There are also three articles upon present-day problems of history teaching: the Teaching of European History after the War, by J. Warren Ayer, Reconstruction of the Methods of Teaching American History after the War, by C. P. Shively, and Principal Weaknesses of Freshmen in History, with some Consideration of the Remedy, by E. W. Dow.

A History of Cleveland and its Environs: the Heart of New Connecticut, in three volumes, is from the pen of Dr. Elroy M. Avery (Chicago, Lewis Publishing Company).

The December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a study, by E. D. Stewart, of the Populist Party in Indiana, a history of Warrick County prior to 1818, by Arvil S. Barr, a biographical account, by George Pence, of General Joseph Bartholomew (1766-1840), a pioneer of Indiana, and a sketch of Edward A. Hannegan, member of Congress from Indiana, 1833-1837, senator, 1843-1849, and minister to Prussia, 1849-1850.

In *Early Indiana Trails and Surveys* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. VI., no. 3, pp. 110) George R. Wilson, himself a civil engineer and surveyor, has given interesting historical accounts of the early trails and "traces" of Indiana and also of a number of the pioneer surveys, drawing his materials from many sources. There are several plates and maps.

The issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* which bears the date October, 1917, makes its appearance nearly a year and a half late. Much of the editorial section pertains so clearly to a date much subsequent to that worn upon the face of the magazine as to emphasize the incongruity; *e. g.*, the bulletin of the Wisconsin War History Commission quoted on pages 437-439 was not issued until April, 1918. The papers in the issue include one by George A. Brennan on Major Godfrey de Linctot, "Guardian of the Frontier", and some Historical Notes on Lawrence County, Illinois, by Mary Trace White. There is also a letter from Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame, written from Tours, France, May 10, 1870, to E. B. Washburne, minister to France, relating some of his recollections of the Black Hawk War. The January, 1918, number of the *Journal*, which comes to hand just

as these notes are going to press, has for its principal content a monograph on the Oregon Trail, by J. T. Dorris. There are two articles by Jane M. Johns concerning Lincoln, one of them, entitled a Momentous Incident in the History of Illinois, relating an incident of the senatorial election of 1855 in which the writer figured. Another paper is an account, by Charles A. Kent, of the Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, together with a reprint of the text of the treaty.

The *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for January contains a continuation of the editor's article on Father Gibault and an article by him on the Catholic Church in Illinois in the transitional period from French and English to American jurisdiction, from 1763 to the establishment of the diocese of Chicago in 1843; a paper on the Lazarists in Illinois, by Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C. M.; one on Father Huet de la Valinière, by Rev. J. B. Culemans; a picturesque narrative of the establishment of the first convent in Illinois (Sisters of the Visitation, Kaskaskia, 1833-1844), being reminiscences of Sister Mary Josephine Barber; and a letter of Bishop Quarter of Chicago, 1846, from the *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung*.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society for January contains an article by A. C. Quisenberry on the Battle of Perryville, Kentucky.

The September number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* is occupied almost entirely with a continuation of Mr. A. V. Goodpasture's narrative of the Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest, 1730-1807. The number contains a portrait of Judge Friend, Chief of the Cherokees, made in London in 1762, said to be the only existing portrait of a Cherokee chief of the period.

The January number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains the sixth annual report of the Michigan Historical Commission, two of the prize essays in the commission's prize contest on America and the Great War, an account, by Col. Roy C. Vandercook, of the work of the Michigan War Preparedness Board, and a discussion, by Professor C. H. Van Tyne, of Democracy's Educational Problem. Rev. John R. Command relates something of the Story of Grosse Ile.

Among the recent acquisitions of historical materials by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin are: the Civil War diary of Lieut. A. V. Knapp, four volumes, presented by his widow; a collection of about 200 letters written from the front during the Civil War, presented by E. O. Kimberley; the Civil War correspondence of Peter Larson, a private of the Iron Brigade, presented by his daughter; a small collection of Civil War papers of Col. Michael H. Fitch; and a collection of newspapers printed during the great blizzard of 1880-1881 on non-descript materials.

The contents of the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* include a biographical sketch of Alfred Brunson, Pioneer of Wisconsin Methodism, by Ella C. Brunson; an account, by Rev. P. Perin (to be continued), of the great forest fire which swept over north-eastern Wisconsin in 1871; a letter from a prosperous manufacturer in Cologne to a relative in Wisconsin, written in December, 1914, setting forth the German view of the war; and a number of letters from Wisconsin boys on the battle-front.

A bill has been introduced in the Minnesota legislature and favorably reported in both houses to authorize the Minnesota Historical Society to act as custodian of state and local archives. A miscellaneous body of material from the governor's office has already been tentatively transferred to the society. Among the recent accessions of manuscript material is a journal of Rev. Samuel W. Pond, for twenty years a missionary among the Sioux Indians. Some four hundred letters of the correspondence of this missionary have been loaned to the society for copying. The society has installed a photostat and is in a position to supply copies of material in its possession at a comparatively low cost.

The Minnesota War Records Commission has set forth in *Bulletin* no. 1 its plans and purposes. A bill has been introduced in the legislature to establish the commission by legislative act (see p. 344, *ante*).

The Speaker of the House of Representatives in Iowa is the title of a study by Cyril B. Upham in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. The American Occupation of Iowa, 1833 to 1860, is an account, by Cardinal Goodwin, of the settlement of Iowa during that period.

Two recent issues of the series *Iowa and War* have the titles: the State Historical Society of Iowa in War Times, and Shall the Story of Iowa's Part in the War be Preserved?

Articles in the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: the Missouri Merchant One Hundred Years Ago, by J. B. White; Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War, by R. J. Britton; and Missouri Capitals and Capitols, by Jonas Viles. The two last mentioned are to be continued.

The Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, has recently acquired, by gift, letters and autographed engravings of most of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; also a minute book of the court of common pleas of St. Clair County, Indiana Territory, held at Cahokia, 1801-1805.

A worthy addition to the growing number of local Catholic historical journals has been made by the founding of the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, with the Rev. Dr. Souvay, C. M., as chief editor.

The January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* con-

tains the second part of the study, the First Europeans in Texas, 1528-1536, by Herbert Davenport and Joseph K. Wells, the fifth installment of the Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832, edited by Professor Barker, and a paper, by W. C. Binkley, on the Last Stage of Texan Military Operations against Mexico, 1843.

The Texas State Library expects to publish during the year the papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, first president of the republic of Texas.

The *Collections*, vol. XIV. (1915-1918), of the Kansas State Historical Society has come from the press.

Charles Scribner's Sons have brought out a *History of the State of Idaho*, by C. J. Brosnan.

Mr. John E. Rees of Salmon, Idaho, is the author of a small volume bearing the title: *Idaho Chronology, Nomenclature, Bibliography* (pp. 125).

In the October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, beside continued papers hitherto mentioned, are the first part of a History of Irrigation in the State of Washington, by Rose M. Boening, a brief article concerning Western Spruce and the War, by Professor Edmond S. Meany, and one on Slavery among the Indians of Northwest America, by H. F. Hunt. The journal of the constitutional convention of 1878, which is concluded in the October number, is followed in the January number by an installment of the text of the constitution, edited, with an introduction, by John T. Condon. In the January number appears also, besides the second part of Rose M. Boening's paper on Irrigation in Washington, an analysis, by Pearl Russell, of what is known as the Pacific Railroad Reports, that is, the reports and records of the five expeditions sent out in 1853 to explore and survey available railroad routes to the Pacific.

The Eastern Washington State Historical Society, organized in Spokane in 1916, has issued a pamphlet containing its *History, Constitution, and Annual Report, 1918*.

The principal paper in the September number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* is the second installment of Dr. L. B. Shippee's study of the Federal Relations of Oregon. T. C. Elliott writes a brief account of the coming to the Columbia River in August, 1818, of the United States naval vessel, *Ontario* (Captain James Biddle), sent out by the government for the purpose of asserting title over the country. The correspondence of the Rev. Ezra Fisher (1853) continues. In the December number Mr. Elliott presents an account of the surrender at Astoria in 1818 from the papers of J. B. Prevost in the Department of State at Washington. Professor Shippee's contribution and the correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher are continued, the former to 1844.

T. C. Russell of San Francisco has brought out a line-for-line reprint of the original edition (1839) of Alexander Forbes's *California*.

Mrs. Emma O. Elmer, chief of the public documents section of the Philippine Library and Museum, has compiled a *Check List of Publications of the Government of the Philippine Islands, September 1, 1900 to December 31, 1917* (Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1918, pp. 288), which will be an indispensable manual for all students of recent Philippine history.

CANADA

Professor W. P. M. Kennedy has contributed much to the illumination of Canadian history by his edition of *Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1795-1915* (Oxford University Press). Professor Kennedy is also the author of an historical introduction to Mr. A. H. F. Lefroy's *Short Treatise on Canadian Constitutional Law* (Toronto, Caswell). *Canadian Constitutional Development*, a volume of selected speeches and despatches, edited by Professors H. E. Egerton and W. L. Grant (John Murray), is of use in the same field.

The Canadian government has published in a volume of 1013 pages (Montreal) an *Index to Dominion and Provincial Statutes from the Earliest Period down to 1916*.

The *Papers and Records*, vol. XVI., of the Ontario Historical Society contains, among other things, some account, by J. Davis Barnett, of the Books of the Political Prisoners and Exiles of 1838, an article, by Lieut.-Col. A. E. Belcher, entitled the Latest Milestones in the History of Civilization, and a History of the Windsor and Detroit Ferries, by F. J. Holton, D. H. Bedford, and Francis Cleary.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

With its November issue the *Hispanic American Historical Review* completes a first volume of such merit and usefulness as fully to justify its existence, and it may be hoped that the new journal has already passed beyond the stage of experiment. The number opens with an article of exceptional value and interest by Professor W. L. Schurz, on Mexico, Peru, and the Manila Galleon. Miss Ethel M. Crampton and Miss Laura F. Ullrick give a preliminary sketch of the Administration of Gen. José Ballivián as president of Bolivia, 1841-1847, based on the volumes of his correspondence possessed by Northwestern University. Mr. Philip A. Means describes Race and Society in the Andean Countries. Miss Mary W. Williams prints a group of letters of E. G. Squier to Secretary Clayton in 1849 and 1850, relating to the former's negotiations and efforts in Central America. Among the notes is a discussion of the Philippine *situado*, by Professor Schurz. The February number, opening the second volume, contains a study of the rebellion of Tupac-

Amaru, by Philip A. Means; a body of interesting data respecting United States merchant shipping in the Rio de la Plata, 1801-1808, collected from early American newspapers, by Charles L. Chandler, and a group of documents from the British Museum, Add. MSS. 22680, relating to the English attack on Cartagena in 1741, and an attack then proposed on Porto Bello and Panama. Mr. C. K. Jones provides a valuable survey of the materials in the Library of Congress on Hispanic America.

A History of Latin America, by Professor W. W. Sweet, is designed as a college text-book as well as for general reading (Abingdon Press).

Gaston Gaillard has discussed the relations of *Amérique Latine et Europe Occidentale: l'Amérique Latine et la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. 308).

Mexico from Cortes to Carranza, by Louise S. Hasbrouck, designed to be a popular history of Mexico, is from the press of D. Appleton and Company.

Professor W. S. Robertson's *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America* (prize essay of the American Historical Association, 1909) has been translated into Spanish by Señor Diego Mendoza and published, at Bogotá, by the National Academy of History as volume XXI. of the *Biblioteca de Historia Nacional*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. W. Crane, *A Lost Utopia of the American Frontier* (Sewanee Review, January-March); P.-G. Roy, *Les Officiers d'État-Major des Gouvernements de Québec, Montréal, et de Trois-Rivières sous le Régime Français* [cont.] (Revue Canadienne, December, January, February); H. St. G. Tucker, *Patrick Henry and St. George Tucker* (University of Pennsylvania Law Review, January); A. Aulard, *La Révolution Américaine et la Révolution Française: Franklin* (La Révolution Française, September); Rear-Admiral C. M. Chester, *The United States Marines in the Penobscot Bay Expedition, 1779* (Marine Corps Gazette, December); J. C. Fitzpatrick, *Peace and Demobilization in 1783* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, March); E. V. Wills, *The Case of Doctor Cooper* [a case under the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798] (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); F. P. Renaut, *La Question de la Louisiane, 1796-1806*, I. (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, 1918, 3); A. J. Morrison, *Virginia Works and Days, 1814-1819* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); W. K. Boyd, *Federal Politics in North Carolina, 1824-1836*, [cont.] (*ibid.*); D. R. Fox, *The Economic Status of the New York Whigs* (Political Science Quarterly, December); H. A. Forster, *Did the Decision in the Dred Scott Case lead to the Civil War?* (American Law Review, November-December); J. W. Pratt, *Naval Operations on the Virginia Rivers in the Civil War* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, February); P. J. Treat, *The Foundation of American Policy in the Far*

East (Journal of Race Development, October); E. Boutroux, *Le Président Wilson, Historien du Peuple Américain* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1); A. Chevrillon, *Parmi les Américains, Juillet-Septembre, 1918* [observations mainly at Brest] (Revue de Paris, December 1, 15, January 1); General John J. Pershing, *Official Story* (Infantry Journal, March); Sir John Willison, *Reminiscences, Political and Personal* [cont.] (Canadian Magazine, December, January, February).

The
American Historical Review

THE ENGLISH BENEDICTINES AND THEIR BISHOPS
IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE relations between the religious orders and the diocesan episcopate form not the least interesting chapter in the history of the medieval Church. It is with one phase of the story that this article deals. The black monks of St. Benedict are taken for consideration partly because the Benedictines were the largest monastic order, and partly because, unlike the Carthusians and Cistercians, their houses were for the most part not exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. The fullness of English records permits of a more thorough examination of monachism in England than seems possible in the case of any other country. As institutions vary from generation to generation, this study has been further restricted to the thirteenth century, when the medieval Church reached the height of its development.

The internal affairs of a monastery were in charge of its superior, the abbot or prior, who, according to the rule of St. Benedict,¹ was elected by the entire community or by its wiser part. The right of election "can never pass for a privilege which detracts from the legitimate authority of the bishops. . . . On the contrary, he (St. Benedict) appeals to the bishops themselves to oppose the election if the monks have chosen not a censor of their faults, but one who would flatter them, and to place over the house of the Lord a worthy governor."² After choosing its abbot, a convent made known to the bishop of the diocese the result of the election and asked that he give it his episcopal confirmation. One example, taken from a monastic chartulary, will suffice to show the process.

On the eve of St. John Baptist's Day, 1261, the prior of St.

¹ J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXVI. 879, ch. lxiv.

² Thomassin, *Ancienne et Nouvelle Discipline de l'Église*, I. iii, c. 12.

Peter's, Bath, died. The subprior and convent sent messengers to the bishop, informing him of the prior's death and praying for license to elect his successor. This license was formally granted by the bishop on the following day. The convent proceeded to elect its prior, and the election was confirmed by the bishop when the result was made known to him.³

The application to the bishop for license to elect, which was part of the procedure followed by the monks of Bath, was unusual. Freedom of election belonged to each monastic community "as a natural privilege and a common right".⁴ The priory of St. Peter was the cathedral chapter of the diocese of Bath, and, although the prior was the actual superior of the convent, the bishop held theoretically the position of abbot.⁵ It was on that account that the convent applied to him for license to elect. A similar license was sought by the abbey of Eynsham, but for another reason; the Bishop of Lincoln from whom they asked the desired permission was the patron of the abbey, *ejusdem domus patronus*.⁶ Saving, however, for exceptional circumstances, a monastery did not require episcopal permission for the election of its superior.

Confirmation of an abbatial election was not an empty formality; the diocesan might withhold his confirmation for reasons which to him seemed sufficient. The election of Thomas Whalley as abbot of Selby in 1270 was quashed by the Archbishop of York, Walter Giffard, who then appointed as abbot the same man, and sent to the convent notice of the appointment with an order that the new superior be obeyed.⁷ Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, quashed the election of Thomas de Kerdinton to the priory of Caldwell, on the ground of defective vision, paralysis, old age, and ignorance, *propter defectum persone tam pro debilitate visus quam propter morbum paralitic' et etiam propter senium et insufficientiam litterature*;⁸ an array of defects which would seem to be good warrant for the bishop's action.

After confirmation of his election, the new head of a religious

³ *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath* (Somerset Record Society, 1893), nos. 253-259.

⁴ Thomassin, *Ancienne et Nouvelle Discipline*, I. iii, c. 32.

⁵ On the relation of a bishop to his cathedral chapter when it was composed of monks, see a letter of Innocent III., in *Patrologia Latina*, CCXIV. 1076-1083. The concordat of 1205 between the bishop and chapter of Bath is summarized in A. Luchaire, *Innocent III.: le Concile de Latran* (Paris, 1908), p. 127.

⁶ *Rotuli Grosseteste necnon Lexington* (Lincoln Record Society), p. 459.

⁷ *Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York* (Surtees Soc., 1904), pp. 217-220.

⁸ *Rotuli Grosseteste*, p. 325.

house was installed by the bishop or a deputy acting for him. Records of the institution and induction of abbots and priors are to be found in the various episcopal registers.⁹ It may here be pointed out that the priors of dependent houses, or cells of greater abbeys, were not elected by the monks of the priory, but were appointed by the abbot of the mother-house. This was because the monks of such a priory were members of the community, *commonachi*, of the mother-house, and not a separate convent; and their prior ranked as an administrative official of the great monastery.¹⁰ The appointment of the prior of a dependent house required episcopal confirmation, and the bishop instituted on presentation by the abbot and convent.¹¹ A priory situated in a diocese other than that in which was the mother-house, was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese in which it was itself situated; and it was to him that the prior-designate would be presented for institution.¹² With the exempt abbeys, free from all diocesan jurisdiction, we are not here concerned; their elections were confirmed not by the bishop of the diocese, but by the pope.¹³

So important was his office that, after the election had been duly confirmed, an abbot received benediction, *munus benedictionis*, from the bishop; for his office was a spiritual one. At an earlier date this seems to have been made an occasion for requiring perquisites from the monasteries, but in 1138 a synod meeting at Westminster under the presidency of the papal legate provided that "at the consecration of bishops or benediction of abbots no cope nor ecclesiastical vestment nor anything else should be demanded".¹⁴ Similar provisions can be found among the privileges granted by the popes to individual monasteries.¹⁵

⁹ *E. g.*, *ibid.*, p. 509; *Reg. Romeyn* (Surtees Soc., 1913, 1916), I. 139; *Reg. Halton* (Canterbury and York Soc., 1913), I. 216; *Reg. Swinfield* (*ibid.*, 1909), pp. 426, 524; *Rotuli Welles* (Linc. Rec. Soc., 1912-1914), II. 136.

¹⁰ In the election of an abbot, the priors of dependent houses were summoned to take part; an indication that they were members of the community. See an account of the election of the abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, 1284, *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, R. S., vol. III., no. dcccxxxi.

¹¹ *Rotuli Grosseteste*, p. 255; *Rotuli Welles*, III. 44, 150.

¹² *E. g.*, the Bishop of Hereford instituted the prior of Bromfield, a cell of St. Peter's, Gloucester, *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 426; and the Bishop of Lincoln, the prior of St. Leonard's, Stamford, a cell of Durham, *Rotuli Welles*, III. 121.

¹³ So the Lateran Council, 1215, decreed; see *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, R. S., I. 307.

¹⁴ Wilkins, *Concilia*, I. 415.

¹⁵ *E. g.*, "Inhibemus ne quis pro benedictione abbatis . . . palefredum vel cappam seu quodlibet aliud . . . a monasterio vestro exigere vel extorquere presumat"—a Bardeney privilege. MS. Cotton. Vesp. E. XX., f. 24.

The benediction of an abbot was an occasion of great solemnity. In this the abbot might be the central figure, but care was taken that the bishop be shown the respect and honor due his position. So in an agreement made in 1237 between Archbishop Edmund Rich and the abbot and convent of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, it was stated that when the archbishop should come to bless the abbot, he was to be received by the convent with a procession and the ringing of bells.¹⁶

Of far greater importance than such ceremonial recognition of the episcopal dignity was the fact that on receiving benediction the new abbot made his pledge of canonical obedience to the diocesan, by which he admitted that he was subject to the bishop's jurisdiction.¹⁷ An abbot whose monastery had a dependent house in a diocese other than his own, took the oath of obedience to the bishop of that other diocese for the priory which his abbey had there. So we find Richard de Swinfield, bishop of Hereford, citing the abbot of Reading to appear before him to take the pledge of canonical obedience for the priory of Leominster and churches which Reading Abbey had in the diocese of Hereford.¹⁸ The abbot's profession, as it was called,¹⁹ is not recorded in Bishop Swinfield's register; but the bishop's jurisdiction was unquestionably recognized, for his exercise of it is more than once mentioned.²⁰ This particular case is the more worthy of note because the bishop had recognized the plenary jurisdiction of the abbey over Leominster, seven months before issuing his citation,²¹ an acknowledgment which he confirmed two years later.²² There was a long-standing quarrel between the bishops of Hereford and the abbots of Reading in regard to Leominster priory, a quarrel which Swinfield inherited from his predecessor,²³ but which evidently came to an end during his episcopate.²⁴

The most important exercise of episcopal jurisdiction over religious houses was the visitation, made by the bishop either in person

¹⁶ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, I. 238. Pope Gregory IX.'s confirmation of the composition is given in K. R. Misc. Bk. 27, f. 93.

¹⁷ The pledge made by the prior of St. Martin's, Dover, to the Archbishop of Canterbury is illustrative. *Reg. Peckham* (Canterbury and York Soc.), p. 207.

¹⁸ *Reg. Swinfield*, p. 21.

¹⁹ "... qui professionem suam, ut moris est, fecit. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 302.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 111, 131, 149.

²¹ On April 20, 1283. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²² On April 19, 1285. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

²³ *Reg. Cantilupe* (Canterbury and York Soc., 1907), p. 263, *passim*; *Reg. Swinfield*, pp. 28-32, 38.

²⁴ The register of his successor, Adam de Orleton, gives no indication that he had any trouble on this score.

or by deputy, with a view to maintaining faith and discipline in the monasteries and correcting any abuses which might there be found. Visitations were not formalities perfunctorily performed; they were thorough-going attempts to ascertain whether the life of the community visited was in accordance with the precepts of the Church and the monastic rule, and whether all its affairs, temporal as well as spiritual, were in satisfactory condition.²⁵

Records of visitations are to be found in the various episcopal registers, but in a number of cases no information is given other than that the bishop visited a certain monastery;²⁶ more often yet we have merely the announcement that on a given day the bishop would hold a visitation.²⁷ Further, the registers are so incomplete as records of episcopal activity that it would be rash to assume that we have a full list of the visitations of monastic houses made by any English bishop of the thirteenth century.²⁸

How searching the questions might be, by which the visitor sought to become informed as to the state of affairs in a monastery, may be judged from a set of "articles on which inquiry is to be made in the visitation of regulars", used apparently by the bishops of Ely.²⁹ These included questions as to whether the monks were obedient to the abbot, lived continently, observed silence in the cloister and at table, came regularly to service, always wore the monastic habit, and observed the fasts prescribed by the Church. Each member of the convent was asked whether in any particular there was need of correction and reformation in the person or administration of the abbot and other officials of the monastery, and also whether he knew or thought there was room for improvement in any one of the brethren. Questions were asked regarding the property of the monastery; whether the convent was in debt, and, if so, to whom and for what amount; whether any of its possessions had been alienated, and so on. An examination conducted along such lines, with questions asked of each member of the community, the lay brothers as well as the professed monks, could not but give

²⁵ On this see G. G. Coulton, "The Interpretation of Visitation Documents", *English Historical Review*, XXIX. 16-39.

²⁶ *E. g.*, *Reg. Romeyn*, I. 104; *Reg. Godfrey Giffard* (Worcestershire Hist. Soc., 1898, 1902), pp. 6, 379.

²⁷ *E. g.*, *Reg. Wickwane* (Surtees Soc., 1907), pp. 28, 54; *Reg. Romeyn*, I. 67; *Reg. Godfrey Giffard*, p. 157.

²⁸ The largest number of monastic visitations recorded in any episcopal register of the thirteenth century is in that of Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, 1265-1301. Other registers, *e. g.*, that of Grosseteste, have practically none.

²⁹ Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 9822, ff. 55, 56.

the visitor a mass of information sufficient in quantity and scope to serve as a basis of judgment on the condition of the convent.

Such a set of articles is of interest because it shows the various phases of conventual life into which the bishop made it his business to inquire when making a visitation; but it gives no information as to the state of the monasteries save, perhaps, by implication. The question *an persone aliquæ suspecte vel contra honestatem religionis ingrediuntur infra cepta monasterii* would not be asked without reason. On the other hand, that such questions were asked, does not necessarily mean any prevalence of monastic laxity, though it may be evidence that at times the monastic rule was not carried out to the letter.

Fortunately, records of the answers given to questions asked in the course of a visitation occasionally find a place in the registers. Corrections which the bishop thought ought to be made were committed to writing and sent to the abbot and convent after a visitation; and some of these we have. From such material, the answers of the monks and the orders of the bishops, some idea can be obtained as to the state of affairs which episcopal visitations of monasteries disclosed.

The register of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, contains an account of a visitation of Selby Abbey, held in 1275, by a clerk of the archbishop.³⁰ In addition to other matters, the answers of the monks to the visitor's questions are given. They indicate an unfortunate state of affairs in general, and a low state of morality in particular:

Dominus Gilebertus de Lyndeseye, juratus et examinatus, concordat de diffamatione abbatis cum prejurato; nomen mulieris ignorat. . . . Dominus Thomas de Eyton, laicus, juratus . . . dicit de germano abbatis cum prejuratis; adiciens ipsum esse conjugatum, et quod continuat alterum adulterium cum pluribus . . . Alexander Niger, monachus, tenet Cristinam Bouere et Agnetem filiam Stephani, de qua suscitavit prolem, et quamdam mulierem nomine Anekous, de qua suscitavit vivam prolem apud Crol, et aliam apud Sneyth quae vocatur Nalle, et alias infinitas apud Eboracum et Akastre et alibi, et quasi in qualibet villa unam; et fetidissimus est, et recte modo captus fuit cum quadam muliere in campis, sicut audit.

The picture is not a pleasant one. The answers given are refreshing in their frankness, and one must agree that *fetidissimus* was an adjective well chosen to characterize Alexander Black; but otherwise the visitor's account is sorry reading.

³⁰ *Reg. Walter Giffard*, p. 324 et seq. In part in *Coucher Book of Selby* (Yorkshire Arch. and Topog. Assoc., Record Series, vol. XIII.), II. ix.

Some four years later Archbishop Giffard's successor, William Wickwane, visited Selby Abbey in person and found much that needed to be corrected.³¹ The abbot did not observe the rule of St. Benedict; he did not sing mass; he did not preach; he did not teach; he seldom attended the chapter; he did not make corrections, as he was bound to do; he seldom ate in the refectory; he never slept in the dormitory; he seldom entered the choir; he seldom heard matins out of bed; he did not visit the sick—his list of misdeeds is indeed a long one. Alienation of property without the consent of the convent, committing manors to unsuitable persons, and appointing unworthy officials are included. One interesting charge against the abbot is that of using witchcraft to recover a body from the Ouse: "Item, compertum est quod abbas procuravit Elyam Faunelle, incantorem et sortilegum, ad querendum corpus fratris sui defuncti, submersi in aqua de Use, propter quod expendit magnam pecunie summam." Nor had the irregularity found there in Archbishop Giffard's time been removed: "Item, abbas notatur de incontinenia cum domina de Queneby, et cum filia Bodeman manentis ad portam monasterii, de qua suscitavit prolem, ut dicitur; pro qua adhuc pendet purgacio sibi indicta per archiepiscopum jam defunctum." It is no wonder that the abbot of Selby, already excommunicate on several counts, was removed by the archbishop. The sentence of deposition and the notice of it which was sent to the king are in the register with the account of the visitation.

There is no reason to suppose that this riot of lawlessness and debauchery represented the normal state of affairs even in this particular abbey. Forty years before Giffard's day, Archbishop Gray had visited Selby Abbey and issued a decree ordering certain reforms.³² These relate entirely to the administration of the abbey, to financial matters, and the work of the officials of the convent. Archbishop John le Romeyn, who succeeded Wickwane in the see of York, visited Selby more than once.³³ The measures taken by his immediate predecessor seem to have had the intended effect; for in the one decree which his register contains concerning Selby³⁴ the archbishop merely repeats, with slight variations, the decree issued in 1233 by Gray.

Of quite another sort were the conditions which Thomas de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford, found and attempted to remedy at Leominster priory, a cell of Reading Abbey. The finances of the

³¹ *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 22 et seq.

³² *Reg. Gray* (Surtees Soc., 1872), p. 327.

³³ *Reg. Romeyn*, I. 67, 104, 151.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 70.

priory were so disorganized that the king took it under his protection and gave the custody of its estates to one of his officials to provide for the necessary wants of the monks, and for the poor, and to use whatever might remain toward paying the indebtedness of the convent.³⁵ At Leominster the monks and the townspeople shared the same church, with much resultant friction. In directions issued to the priory after a formal visitation,³⁶ the bishop forbade the locking of the church doors which prevented the free access of the people, who ought at all times to be able to enter the church to perform their devotions. The people had complained, too, that they were not allowed to ring the bells which they themselves had bought; and the bishop directs that they shall not be hindered in that pious practice. The priory had curtailed its daily distribution of food and alms to the poor; and there was a suspicion that its endowments were being misapplied. On all these points the convent was commanded to mend its ways. The directions were not followed. A few months later, the bishop wrote again and ordered³⁷ that within fifteen days the offending doors be removed, under a penalty of twenty pounds.

With the outcome of the dispute between the monks and the townspeople, we are not here concerned. The directions issued by the bishop after his visitation may show that the zeal for pure religion was not conspicuous in Leominster; but there is evidence of nothing more reprehensible than tangled finances and an unbecoming squabble about the rights to use a church. Later in the bishop's episcopate, there was a scandal concerning the relations of the sub-prior with a nun and other women; but the case was carried to the papal court, and the outcome is not recorded in the register.³⁸

It must be borne in mind, in considering these directions issued by diocesans to monasteries after making a formal visitation, that they are the exception and not the rule. Of the visitations of which there is record in the episcopal registers, an overwhelming proportion are simply mentioned as taking place; no decrees of reformation, that is, are given. This is not conclusive evidence that in the course of such a visitation the bishop found no need of giving directions aimed at improving conditions. Such directions may have been given and not recorded in the register. The presumption would seem to be, however, that it was the grave and unusual cases which were placed on record. There is no evidence, in such records

³⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1281*, p. 128; *Reg. Cantilupe*, p. 37.

³⁶ *Reg. Cantilupe*, p. 46 *et seq.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-267.

of visitations as we have, that anything approaching the state of affairs which archbishops Wickwane and Giffard found at Selby was other than abnormal.

Visitations were not always welcomed by the monasteries. Quite apart from the fact that a strict examination is often anything but a pleasure to the person examined, especially if he has unfortunate failings which may become known, there are reasons why an abbot and convent might prefer not to be visited by their diocesan. Bishops did not travel unaccompanied, and they and their suites must needs be entertained by the monastery. The statement that Bishop Godfrey Giffard visited Pershore priory and remained two days at the cost of the house³⁹ may imply a considerable expense to the priory. It was the common practice for ecclesiastical dignitaries to receive a fee called the procuration when they visited officially the churches and religious houses within their jurisdiction. Bishop Godfrey Giffard's register contains a memorandum that he visited the abbot and monks of Winchcombe "and received his procuration there"⁴⁰ By an abuse easily understood the fee, *procuratio ratione visitationis*, was sometimes collected when there had been no visitation; the charge being, perhaps, considered fair enough since the parish or monastery which paid it had been spared the expense of entertaining the visitor and his train. Against this, a canon was passed at the council held at Oxford in 1222 under Archbishop Langton: "archidiaconis districtius inhibemus, ne aliquo modo procurationem recipiant sine causa rationabili, nisi illa die, qua personaliter visitant ecclesias; nec procurationem nec redemptionem pro visitatione extorquere praesumant."⁴¹

This canon seems to have been ineffectual. In 1268 the council of London, held by Ottobon, the cardinal-legate, passed a similar canon with a clause added to the effect that any one who received a procuration for a visitation which he had not made was suspended *ab ingressu ecclesiae* until he made restitution.⁴²

The monks objected, too, to the intrusion into their cloister of secular clerks in the bishop's retinue. The bishop himself was able to enter because he had jurisdiction over the regular clergy of his diocese, even though he himself had been a secular priest; but that was no reason why other seculars should accompany him. St. Mary's Abbey, York, obtained a privilege from Pope Urban IV. that the archbishop in his visitation should not be accompanied by

³⁹ *Reg. Godfrey Giffard*, p. 236. See also *ibid.*, pp. 165, 243.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, I. 588.

⁴² *Constitutiones Othoboni*, p. 114.

secular clerks, excepting two or three canons; and the privilege was transcribed into the archbishop's register.⁴³

It is not surprising that attempts were made by convents to become free from episcopal visitation. Certain abbeys obtained from the apostolic see exemption from all diocesan authority. Others tried to hinder the work of visitation or to prevent the diocesan from coming too frequently. The prior and convent of Durham appealed to the Holy See against the intended visitation of Archbishop Wickwane in 1281;⁴⁴ St. Mary's, York, obtained from Honorius III. a brief forbidding the archbishop to make a visitation more than once a year save in case of urgent necessity.⁴⁵

There was the further question whether the exemption which some monasteries possessed extended also to their dependent houses. This arose when Archbishop Peckham went to visit Great Malvern priory, a cell of Westminster, in 1283. "When he asked in due form to be admitted to visit them, R. called Baret, and R. de Vastoprato, proctors of the abbot of Westminster, arose and asserted that the priory of Great Malvern was privileged, and that neither the archbishop nor the bishop of Worcester ought to have any jurisdiction."⁴⁶ The priory seems never before to have claimed freedom from visitation; bishops of Worcester had visited it in 1234, 1237, 1238, and 1242;⁴⁷ Bishop Giffard had not only visited the priory but had deposed the prior in 1282;⁴⁸ but the king sent word that by entering Great Malvern the bishop had violated the rights of the abbot and convent of Westminster;⁴⁹ and in 1283 the bishop acknowledged the priory's exemption from diocesan jurisdiction and ordinary law.⁵⁰

The authority of the bishop as chief pastor was displayed not only in his visitations but also in synods, to which the religious houses as well as the secular clergy sent representatives when summoned by the diocesan. The practice of holding synods seems to have fallen into desuetude during the Middle Ages, but the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, directed that provincial synods be held an-

⁴³ *Reg. Romeyn*, I. 73.

⁴⁴ *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 155-164. The matter was complicated by the whole question of the archbishop's metropolitan rights over the dioceses in his province. Cf. *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham*, R. S., I. 161, 200. See also *Victoria County History, Durham*, II. 94.

⁴⁵ *Reg. Gray*, p. 152; *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, 1198-1304, p. 108.

⁴⁶ *Reg. Godfrey Giffard*, pp. 170-171.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 178.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 219; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1281-1292, p. 90.

nually to control ecclesiastical life and to secure the observance of ecclesiastical law.⁵¹ For some time this canon was not obeyed; it was over half a century later that Robert Kilwardby, archbishop of Canterbury from 1272 to 1278, "made a representative provincial synod the regular organ for the conduct of general ecclesiastical business" in England.⁵² Attendance at synods, either diocesan or provincial, involved to some extent a recognition on the part of those present that they were subject to the jurisdiction of the prelate by whom the synod had been summoned. In the twelfth century the abbot of Battle, summoned by the Bishop of Chichester to attend his synod, refused to go; but went later as a free agent.⁵³ The priors of Bingham and Wymondham, cells of St. Alban's Abbey, contested the claim of the Bishop of Norwich to jurisdiction over them, and the case was heard by a commission of three appointed by papal authority. Among the terms of the settlement which they made was the provision that the priors should come to the bishop's synod, or send a proctor or an excuse, and that at synod they should "sit as other priors".⁵⁴

It would seem that attendance at the episcopal synod was the normal fulfilment of one of the pledges given in the oath of canonical obedience: *Vocatus ad te, veniam, nisi canonico impedimento fuerim impeditus*. That monasteries which claimed to be exempt from ordinary jurisdiction should refuse to send representatives to synods was to be expected. Roger, abbot of St. Albans from 1260 to 1290, refused to appear at the Bishop of Lincoln's synod, and when the case was carried to the courts, the Court of Arches decided in favor of the abbot.⁵⁵ Archbishop Peckham had some trouble in much the same way,⁵⁶ but such cases are obviously exceptional.

In addition to visitations, in which the bishop went to the monks, and the synods, when the monks went to the bishop, there were other occasions on which convent and diocesan were brought together. There were certain rites the performance of which was normally restricted to the episcopate, and the monasteries at times required the services of a bishop for just such purposes. None but a bishop could confer holy orders, so the diocesan ordained the members of monastic communities. The services of a bishop were needed to consecrate the churches and chapels belonging to the monasteries,

⁵¹ Ernest Barker, *The Dominican Order and Convocation*, p. 33.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁵³ *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello* (London, 1846), p. 26.

⁵⁴ *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, I. 278.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 457.

⁵⁶ *Reg. Epist. Peckham*, R. S., I. 255.

and to bless their altars and ecclesiastical ornaments. From the bishop, too, were obtained the holy oil and chrism used in the sacraments of baptism and holy unction. "The chrism, the holy oil, the consecration of altars and churches, the ordination of monks or clerks who are to be advanced to holy orders, you shall receive from the diocesan bishop, if he is a Catholic and has the grace and favor of the apostolic see."⁵⁷ These words, or others of like import, appear again and again in briefs sent from Rome to the English convents. They are evidence of the diversity of ways in which the monks came in contact with the diocesan episcopate.

It was not only in the performance of episcopal functions for the monasteries, or in the exercise of his ordinary jurisdiction over the regular clergy, that a bishop came in contact with the Benedictines. His pastoral work, attending to the parochial life and activities of his diocese, involved him in relations with abbeys and priories scattered throughout the realm. "Of the members of Religious Orders in our Diocese", says a synodal statute of John de Pontissara, "some hold Churches to their own uses, others certain portions of particular tithes, others receive and keep annual pensions from Churches."⁵⁸ The monasteries, in other words, were the patrons of a large number of benefices and owned the advowson of many parishes. The monks did not themselves serve in their parishes; secular clerks were appointed to minister to the needs of the people. The episcopal registers are in large part records of institutions to livings, and they furnish us with some conception of the number of churches which religious houses held and also with information of the kind of clergy who were instituted. Such a register as that of Hugh de Welles, bishop of Lincoln from 1209 to 1235, gives us an idea of the importance of religious houses in one of the largest of English dioceses in the thirteenth century. The register is incomplete, there being ample evidence that all the bishop's official acts are not there recorded.

In the lists of institutions to churches in the diocese the following Benedictine houses are given as patrons: Abingdon, St. Albans, Bardeney, Beaulieu (a cell of St. Albans), Belvoir (another cell of the same house), Bury St. Edmunds, Coventry, Croyland, Durham, Eye, Eynsham, Freston (a cell of Croyland), Gloucester, Hertford (a cell of St. Albans), Humberston, Luffield, Peterborough, Ramsey, Reading, Rochester, Selby, Thorney, Walden, Westminster, Winchcombe, and St. Mary's, York.

⁵⁷ *Hist. et Cart. S. Petri Glouc.*, R. S., vol. III., no. decccix.

⁵⁸ *Reg. Pontissara* (Canterbury and York Soc.), I. 210.

Of these it is recorded that in Hugh de Welles's episcopate St. Albans presented to five churches; Bardeney to fourteen; Beaulieu to four; Belvoir to ten; Bury St. Edmunds to two; Coventry to three; Croyland to sixteen; Durham to four; Eye to three; Eynsham to fifteen; Freston to five; Gloucester to three; Hertford to two; Peterborough to fifteen; Ramsey to thirteen; Reading to two; Rochester to two; Selby to six; Westminster to seven; Thorney to nine; St. Mary's, York, to three; and the others to one each.

Some of these institutions were to perpetual vicarages, others to chaplaincies, and a few to parsonships (*ad personatum*). There are instances in which the presentation was to a mediety, that is to say, to a part of the parish, in which case the other mediety might or might not be in the gift of the monastery. In general the presentee is described as clerk or chaplain, terms which furnish no clue as to what rank he held in the hierarchy. Eight presentees were in deacon's orders, or rather seven, for one received a second benefice without having been advanced to the priesthood. Forty-eight were subdeacons. Only one presentee is described as a priest. Some of the men were not even in the subdiaconate; the abbot of Westminster presented a man who was in minor orders, *accolitus*, he is called; and the requirement that the presentee must be ordained subdeacon occurs several times. There is little evidence that a man was expected to proceed to orders higher than that of subdeacon. Only in one case, where Thorney Abbey presented a subdeacon for institution to Haddon, is the condition expressed; unless he comes up for ordination the bishop will deprive him. On the other hand, the oft-repeated injunction that the presentee shall "frequent the schools" may be evidence that the living was given in order to enable the man to complete his course of study. Certainly it is evidence that the clerks to whom the religious houses gave their churches were not always fully qualified for their duties. And the darker side of medieval clerical life is suggested by this sentence, written of a chaplain instituted on presentation of the abbot of Croyland: "*Si in domo suo vel alibi mulierem unde mala suspicio habeatur secum tenuerit, ecclesia ipsa spoliatur.*"

ALFRED H. SWEET.

THE ORIGIN OF ENGLISH POLITICAL PARTIES

OF all political movements in recent times none is of more profound and far-reaching importance than that by which representative government, a century and a quarter ago confined to Anglo-Saxon peoples, has been extended to all states possessing or pretending to modern civilization. The cause of this phenomenon is not far to seek. A triumphing democracy finding in this system a practical compromise between strong administration and popular control suited to its needs, has seized upon it as a means of expression, a weapon, and an administrative device. It has become a universal test of liberalism and a fetish of popular government. And though there are not wanting signs of its failure to meet the expectations of its most ardent champions, and portents of its imminent modification to meet ideas and conditions which it has itself largely produced, it is, none the less, regarded by most men as the best contrivance yet proposed to convert national opinion into governmental action, to make and keep central authority sensitive to popular will. Above all, perhaps, it is the only system yet devised by which democracy can be extended to wide areas.

Including an executive and a judiciary, independent of each other and, save in cases of last resort, of the legislature, its fundamental conception, that of a central motive force embodied in an assembly drawn from all districts, classes, and interests of the nation and exercising virtual sovereignty, differentiates it from all other systems. With monarchy and oligarchy, the only forms of government which prior to its appearance were available for the administration of great territories and populations, it may be fitly compared in the incidence and efficiency of its functions. But from them it differs fundamentally in the very essence of its existence, the initiative and control of government by those upon whom it operates. There it is on an equality with such pure democracies as those of Athens and the Swiss cantons. But from them it differs in that the system they represent is incapable of territorial or numerical extension beyond narrow limits.

One might naturally suppose, therefore, that under this form of government the means by which central authority related itself to popular will would be fully provided by constitutional measures, but this is far from the fact. Constitutions supply this important rela-

tion partially or imperfectly, if at all, and the severest lesson which young democracy has to learn is that no automatic devices, least of all laws and charters, can permanently insure the honesty and efficiency of popular government. For these, many forces must be set in motion within the constitutional framework to effect that vital connection between people and administration without which statutes grow inoperative or oppressive and constitutions become curiosities of political theory.

Apart from a sound and active public conscience; the moral, political and intellectual education of the people; the instruments of publicity—press, pulpit, and the hustings—which combine to keep the people, in so far as may be, united and informed, one factor has from the beginning been recognized as absolutely essential to efficient democracy. This is the political party. “Party divisions”, said Burke more than a hundred years ago, “whether on the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government”, and the history of politics since his day has confirmed his dictum in ways that not even he could have dreamed. Parties provide for the constitutional skeleton not merely flesh and blood but, what is fully as important, a nervous system. Public opinion may be formed through many agencies, but it is chiefly by parties that it is translated into action. By them the connection between the head of the state and its members is chiefly maintained. Without them politics tends to the anarchy of groups or the chaos of the mob. Great as their weaknesses and evils may become, parties are not merely inseparable from free government, they are the most potent forces for good or ill in modern political life as it has hitherto been constituted. In any adequate appreciation of recent history, therefore, the study of these organisms yields nothing in interest or importance even to that of constitutions themselves.

In certain ways this has been fully recognized. Few subjects have been as long or as widely discussed. Philosophers and statesmen have debated forms of government since there were philosophers and statesmen, and parties since there were parties. Publicist and politician have vied in their devotion to the subject. Especially in the home of representative government, a long array of writers from Bolingbroke through Burke, Bentham, and Brougham to Boutmy and Bryce have dedicated their talents to its elucidation. Controversy over the theories and practices of the two great English parties has filled two centuries with its clamor, and the inspiration of most English historians of that period has been found in their long rivalry. The concurrent spread of franchise and education in

more recent years has given the discussion wider though not higher range, while party tracts with electors' guides have brought the ancient controversy to every hearth and lodging. It would seem, therefore, in the face of all this, at once rash and useless to reopen a question so long and elaborately discussed. After such endless contributions to the argument there would seem to be nothing left worth saying; though that, indeed, does not appear to have deterred many from entering the field. Yet, with all this, as sometimes happens, certain phases of the question have remained relatively neglected. Of pot-wallopers, in and out burgesses, sixteenth tenements, and the like, thanks to the antiquarian zeal of industrious investigators, we know much. Of the manipulation of the electorate and membership of the Commons, for many purposes far more important to our understanding of English political evolution, we know only too little. It is now many years since Macaulay expressed the wish that some one would write a history of corruption in English politics. The book has not yet appeared, nor is it probable his desire will ever be fulfilled, but the lack of it marks one of many omissions in our knowledge of the past; if it were filled it might not only help our conceptions of earlier periods but might make it possible to draw from it lessons for our own.

Among these neglected fields of party history one, and that neither the least important nor the least interesting, has received curiously little attention. It is that of origin. Upon this vital point the only considerable history of English parties which has yet appeared, touches but lightly, its real story scarcely antedating a time when organizations were fully formed and in active operation. The histories of the period in which these modern parties took their rise give but scanty and unsatisfactory accounts of what is, in some respects, its most important and enduring result. And even the latest writer of party history confines himself to one side of the question and that, from the standpoint of origins, scarcely the most significant. In view of these circumstances it may seem the less presumptuous to attempt such a study as this.

The task is a perplexing one. The gradual transition from one species of ideas and organization to another is easy to apprehend in the result; it is extraordinarily difficult to realize in the process, much less to fix in formal phrase. The ever-varying complexity of motive and action, the perpetual alteration in material conditions and national conceptions, the fluctuation of principle and interest, public and private, the influence of foreign affairs outside the sphere of domestic politics yet strongly influencing them, from the sum of

which emerge a new political situation and mechanism, these are elusive materials for the writing of history. Moreover, at best we are compelled to judge largely by externals. Of the secret conclave, the verbal agreement, the private understanding which make for much in these affairs we can know little or nothing, since few or no records can remain. Forms of organization, like doctrines, are seldom if ever wholly new. To record the assembling of men into combinations based on principles and practices remodelled to meet altering conditions is at best an intangible task, yet it is to this the historian of party origins must address himself.

It is generally agreed that the system of representative government which now obtains throughout the civilized world in various forms first reached its fullest development in England, whence, with more or less modification, it has been adopted by other nations. It is further admitted that its corollary, government by party connection, originated there also, beginning with the English division into Whigs and Tories from which, in a sense, all modern parties are descended. It is further very generally recognized that this system originated at some time during the latter part of the seventeenth century and that it was in active operation, if not fully organized, as early as the Revolution of 1688.

With these admissions, however, general agreement has ended. Concerning the processes by which these groups were formed, the elements from which they were constituted, the circumstances, theories, and methods which produced them, the precise period of their appearance, and still more the identity of their founders, opinion has varied widely. Even within the limited period generally agreed upon as the time when they took their rise, one writer finds their origin in the reign of James II., others in the agitation over the Exclusion Bill, while others push it back, ministry by ministry, to the Restoration itself, and some will not admit the existence of true party life until the reign of Anne, or the establishment of the cabinet system in the reign of George I. One contends that political management, especially by corruption, which is a test of the rise of partizan strife, begins with the Revolution, another finds its origin under Danby, another under Clifford, another under Clarendon.

As to the founder of that great political connection which dominated English affairs for three-quarters of a century after the Revolution, the Whigs, the claims of such widely different leaders as Shaftesbury, Sacheverell, and Clarendon have been urged for that honor, while the latter has the unique distinction of being acclaimed the father of the Tory party as well. Even greater differences of

opinion exist as to the precise period when such devices as the caucus, the programme or platform, central organization, and the concurrent phenomena of a regular party system appeared, and as to their originators—though here, at least, the talents of Shaftesbury are generally conceded pre-eminence and priority in the earliest general use of those popular weapons, agitation and “management”. This shows the incertitude. But the same disputes arise, and must always arise, over all institutions which are the result of growth—disputes endless, inevitable, and in large measure insoluble.

In saying that the modern party system originated in the latter part of the seventeenth century we do not, of course, mean to imply that political divisions expressing themselves in groups called parties had no existence before that time. Such bodies have existed since the political world began. There were parties in Athens. There were parties in Rome under the Republic and the Empire. There were parties before Hastings, and at Runnymede, and the history of England during the fifteenth century is little more than the story of the rivalries between the so-called parties of York and Lancaster. During the reign of James I., and still more in that of his son, much of what we may even recognize as modern party method appears. The word party is, in fact, associated not merely as Burke says with “free governments” and representative systems, but with many administrative forms wholly unfree and unrepresentative.

In modern parties, however, three elements seem essential—a theory of government, a fairly stable and continuous organization, and a purpose to control administration by means of a majority in a representative assembly. Added to these are, of course, the necessary but less permanent characteristics of policies and names, often incorrectly regarded as the real test of organization. How erroneous that opinion is, two instances will demonstrate. Whatever free-trade sentiment existed in England during the greater part of the eighteenth century seems to have been confined to the Tory party; whatever protectionist sentiment obtains now, is to be found principally in the ranks of their Conservative successors. On the other hand that party in the United States which first bore the name Republican came into existence as the champion of doctrines some of which were almost if not precisely opposite to those which its namesake a hundred years later upheld most strongly.

Such divisions have not originated in modern times, nor in temporary circumstances which align men now for, now against, the same policy, nor yet, as some have plausibly maintained, in the mere desire

for the power or profit of office. Behind all these there seems to lie a deeper cause of separation, partly, as we say to-day, psychological, partly economic. Temperamentally this appears to be connected with the tendency of some minds to look back to a golden age and of others to foresee a millennium, with always an indeterminate middle group tending in quiet times to inertia and in more active periods to absorption in the two extremes. In practice these differences are allied with the defense of existing privileges by those who have, and the demand for recognition by those who would have. And on the whole the first party, commonly called conservative, seems generally to favor a more centralized, aristocratic or plutocratic form of government; the latter, or "liberal" party, a more decentralized and popular administration; the former a more military and bureaucratic system, the latter a greater reliance on militia and official rotation.

Such ideas operated in England as in other countries at all times and formed in a sense the basis of action no less in the Middle Ages than now. But for the origin of modern parties we cannot rely on general antagonisms. We must seek definite periods and principles. These have been determined very differently at different times. To the men of the eighteenth century the English political world was created by the Revolution of 1688. Some of the older Tories, indeed, dreamed of an earlier and happier day when their party held the promise of the future. But as time went on that vision faded, and with the accession of George III., a Tory monarch who accepted the Revolution, it disappeared. We have in our day abandoned the cataclysmic theory of origins, in politics as in geology, for that of a more gradual evolution. Yet in the one as in the other, we still recognize that in certain times and places changes occur which are at least far more rapid than the ordinary processes. We are not prepared to admit on that account, however, the claims of the glorious Revolution as the origin of modern political conditions. Further removed from it and its immediate results, with at once a better historical perspective and the inspiration of a triumphing democracy to enlighten us, we have exhumed the age of Cromwell from the royalist tradition which buried it so long, and recognize in it a truer basis of present political conditions than its more decorous sequel of 1688.

We do not mean, however, in the light of our evolutionary doctrine, that even here is to be found the precise origin of either modern theory or practice. For a point of departure of those ideas and conditions whose crystallization produced the modern system, we

must go back at least as far as the Reformation. When these reached their climax in a revolution like that of the civil wars of the seventeenth century by which the older balance of society and the state was readjusted more in accordance with the newer doctrines, and the nation settled back into its old forms with new powers, modern practices were for the first time possible. Such a situation is found in the event we know as the Restoration of 1660. Some time after this and before a period when these new forces are clearly discernible, as in 1688, therefore, we must conclude there were established the principles, methods, and organizations which are the direct progenitors of the party system at present in operation.

The great movement we call the Reformation was essentially on its religious and intellectual side a protest against enthroned authority by private judgment which founded itself on reason and investigation as against dogma. It was preceded or accompanied by many events and movements outside the religious field proper which materially affected its course, like the revival of classical learning, the discovery of a new world, and the rise of a scientific spirit. In some countries it affected society but slightly and politics scarcely at all; and even where it affected both its results were by no means uniform. In England, owing to a variety of causes, it produced a change in society and politics little if any less profound than that in religion. There the religious movement was stimulated and modified by royal activities, public and private. It was further accompanied and affected by a wide-spread change in economic and social conditions, the increase of commerce and agriculture, and the consequent rapid rise of the so-called middle classes which in the main embraced the new religious doctrines, and at nearly the same time, by their great increase in numbers and wealth, began to take a place in public affairs beside the older powers in the state.

The result was the remaking of the nation, economically, intellectually, socially, religiously, and politically. Catholic conservative and Catholic reformer gave way to the sharper division of Catholic and Protestant. The crown broke away from papal supremacy, the Roman church in England was disestablished and disendowed, and finally replaced by an Anglican church set up by the government, which, largely Catholic in form and organization but Protestant in doctrine, occupied the middle ground. This included moderate men of all groups, but from it the more extreme Catholics and the more advanced Protestants, or Puritans as they came to be called, alike stood aloof. As one of the concrete results of this situation there arose three parties in church and state, divided from each other,

among other things, by the varying stress laid on authority. These, on account of the strongly religious character of the time and the movement, were defined in terms of the church, Catholic or conservative, Anglican or moderate, and Puritan or liberal.

Among these warring elements, Tudor dangers and Tudor governance preserved an uneasy peace throughout the sixteenth century. But as danger and governance alike declined on the accession of the Stuarts, as the Protestant and parliamentary doctrines which accompanied the continued rise of the middle classes gained ground, the Catholic party steadily grew weaker. Puritanism, developing meanwhile into a political as well as a religious force, correspondingly extended its boundaries, but in the process divided against itself. The result was that while under Elizabeth the Catholics had been the conservative element, by the outbreak of the Puritan Revolution in the reign of Charles I. they had practically disappeared as a political power among the people, and the Anglicans took their place as the conservative party. The moderate position of the latter was meanwhile assumed by a Puritan group known as Presbyterians, and the liberal ground occupied by a more radical Protestant group of advanced Puritans made up of several bodies, Baptists, Congregationalists, or Independents, and the like, presently known by the collective name of sectaries.

And as no great change in any one field of human activity is ever dissociated from other interests, the political evolution had closely paralleled that in the religious field. The doctrines of popular and national rights against the claims and encroachments of royalty had developed beside those of religious liberty, and closely connected with them. The attempt of the crown to turn back the hands of progressive liberalism in church and state served only to stimulate popular doctrines in both fields and to unite all elements against it. The result was an explosion known significantly as the Puritan Revolution. That outbreak did much to increase the numbers and power of the more advanced party, and to deepen the divisions between the previously somewhat nebulous groups, political and ecclesiastical. In particular the Third Party or more advanced element under Cromwell's leadership gained control of the army and finally secured the ascendancy in the state. From monarchy to Commonwealth, in the view of the most advanced party, the government might well have taken the final step and become a republic.

From that, the extreme republicans declared, it was prevented by the "arts" of the Protector, and when the nation seemed "likely to attain that measure of happiness which human beings are capable

of, by the ambition of one man the hopes and expectations of all good men were disappointed". But it is more reasonable to suppose, from our wider knowledge, that the pendulum would have swung back, that instead of setting up a republic two centuries before its time, the Protector would have been driven by circumstances and popular opinion to restore the older monarchical system with himself as king. Neither point was ever reached. On September 3, 1658, Cromwell died, and the fabric of government which by that time rested on little more than his great personal ability and ascendancy, fell to ruin. The various elements which supported him, but among which even he had held the balance with difficulty, at once fell apart, and English affairs were plunged into a warring chaos of religious and political anarchy. Men and ideas fought for mastery of public affairs which drifted meanwhile without guidance or direction.

The Protector's son Richard, who succeeded to his father's title "as peacefully as ever Prince of Wales came to the throne", found himself unable to control the officers of the army who drove his chief adviser, Thurloe, from power, dissolved the existing Parliament and, compelled by public opinion, summoned the remnants of the old Long Parliament. That body, torn by the conflicting interests of civil and military leaders, struggling for personal ends or ideals beyond the bounds of possibility, provoked the army oligarchs; and neither in army nor in Parliament was found a man strong enough to bear the burdens which Cromwell laid down. The new Protector left Whitehall; Charles's agents strove in vain to bring about his restoration; over-sanguine royalists rose in his behalf only to be suppressed, for the Council of State, in which executive power rested, though it was unable to construct was still able to protect itself against its enemies.

The situation was cleared up by the commander of the forces in Scotland, Monk. Supported by the civil leaders in the Council, by Parliament, and by public opinion in general, he made his way to London, despite Lambert's attempt to stop his progress. There he became the head of a new Council, dissolved the old Parliament, purged the army, secured the disaffected leaders, and summoned a new Parliament, the so-called Convention. With this he laid down the lines of a new political development. The conflict was transferred to the House of Commons, and there a coalition majority of Anglicans and so-called Presbyterians voted to restore monarchy. They made no terms, but the fact that the new monarch owed his crown to Parliament altered his position; for thenceforth the crown

was to contend for control of affairs not against Parliament, not without Parliament, but in Parliament, which thenceforth was supreme.

With this the whole position of the party system changed. "Roundhead and Cavalier were, in effect, no more; Whig and Tory not yet in being", and the Convention was divided between groups who took their names and opinions from the times just past—Royalist, Anglican, Presbyterian, Independent, Sectary. Such were the names applied to the existing groups, and these, it will be observed, were now defined largely in terms of church rather than of state. The Reformation spirit was still in evidence, but it was soon to turn to a more worldly quality. For in these various groups resided not merely an ecclesiastical difference, but a divergence of ideals in regard to government and policy, which, in general, found the royalists as the extreme exponents of authority in church and state, and so advanced to the extreme individualism of the most radical of the sectaries. Between these the so-called Presbyterians held the middle ground, and had it not been for events and sentiments beyond their power to control, they might—as they still hoped to do—hold the balance between the two extremes and so direct the coming policy.

In two directions, however, the political balance, hitherto not unfavorable to the Presbyterians, was weighted against them. The return of the king and court introduced a new element into affairs wholly favorable to Royalists and the Anglicans who might better henceforth be called the Royalist-Anglicans. The disbanding of the forces by land and sea, a measure dictated at once by prudence and economy, correspondingly weakened the cause of the sectaries, much of whose potential strength lay in the army and navy. The seizure and proscription of their leaders further diminished their power of union and left them still more at the mercy of their enemies. The filling up of the Lords by the entry of the bishops as well as of new peers aided the party of church and crown still more, and established a bulwark of conservatism which the efforts of thirty years were scarcely able to disturb. Thus, though nothing was actually taken away from the Presbyterians, their relative position was much changed, and the Council which was constituted with not more than a dozen of their number in a membership of thirty indicated the measure of their reduced importance. This was further manifested in their failure to obtain more than fair words and polite evasions in return for their efforts to secure some guaranties either from the king or the Commons for their form of worship. The most that could be gained was an act of indemnity securing

their persons, and a promise from the king to call a conference of leaders of the church to consider the religious question. Thus the Royalist-Anglicans, while their position was being strengthened, succeeded in their efforts to postpone to a more favorable time the consideration of those fundamental questions of political and constitutional importance which it was no part of their policy to settle in an assembly not summoned by the king nor controlled by his partizans.

Such were the elements from which this new political world was to be made. And in spite of the transitory nature of the Convention and its acts, certain permanent conditions of political life were foreshadowed in its course. The first was that the machinery which had sufficed for the old order would not answer for the new. It was evident that measures were no longer to be carried by gaining the royal ear nor did preferment lie that way alone. The crown, though still powerful, was now but one of several factors in affairs. It was not long before men ambitious of advancement recognized that royal favor was only one means to that end, and that even such favor was more than likely to be extended chiefly to those who had strength in Parliament. It was equally obvious that individuals as such could have at best but a limited influence among five hundred of their fellows. Some new device to direct this new power was therefore necessary, and that, as it gradually appeared, lay in but one direction, organization. It was, of course, many years before leaders were able to dispense with royal favor altogether, but as time went on the more far-sighted politicians depended on it less and less. That process is the measure of the increasing power of the Commons, and the perfection of the means used to control it, in short the development of the political party.

The full meaning of this was, of course, withheld from those who in the early months of 1661 busied themselves with the choice of members for the new Parliament which was to solve this and many other such questions. In this general election to an even greater extent than in the choice of the Convention, the men and measures of the Commonwealth were ignored. The lines between the parliamentary groups were more sharply drawn than a year before. Not a few Anglicans had been ready to admit some lay voice in church government; many Presbyterians would have accepted a limited episcopacy. A large section of the so-called Church of England, clergy and laity alike, were Presbyterian, and the term Dissenter could be applied to scarcely any beside those who, like the Quakers, were beyond any possible inclusion in an episcopal church. But with the rise of the Anglicans to power all this was changed.

For the majority, meanwhile, had grown in other ways than in numbers. They had a recognized leader in the minister, Clarendon, the beginnings of an organization, and a set of principles which they seized their advantage to put in practice.

Their position was rapidly defined and established by legislation. Foremost among their measures was a series of statutes often known as the Persecuting Acts. Passed under alarm of sectary plots, these established the doctrine of conformity to a state church as the basis of religious and political privilege. By the Act of Uniformity Presbyterian ministers and laymen were driven from the church; by the Corporation Act Dissenters were excluded from borough corporations which returned four-fifths of the membership of the Commons. The Conventicle Act made Nonconformist assemblies unlawful, and the Five Mile Act separated the dissenting ministers from their congregations. Control of the church and the Commons having thus been, as it was thought, effectually secured, the fear of the sectaries was again invoked to secure the repeal of the old Triennial Act. By this time was gained to reconstitute the boroughs in the Royalist-Anglican interest, and to leave the life of this ultra-loyal Parliament dependent on royal will. But reactionary legislation did not end here. Another series of statutes confirmed and completed the ascendancy of church and crown. The ancient dignity and power of the crown was restored in so far as possible. The militia was put in royal hands and a standing army organized avowedly to guard against the sectaries. The right of petition and publication was closely restricted, and arbitrary imprisonment freely practised, ostensibly against the same danger. The feudal burden of taxation was lifted from the landed classes and replaced by an excise on the people at large, upon whom was presently imposed an equally unpopular hearth tax. The indigent Cavaliers were voted a sum for their losses, and were much more largely recompensed by place and pension. Foreign affairs—apart from the unpopular marriage of Charles to the Catholic Infanta of Portugal and the no less unpopular sale of Dunkirk to the French—were comparatively neglected.

Such, in brief, was the Clarendonian programme. In it may be recognized certain ideas which echo the traditions of pre-rebellion royalism, and others which anticipate the doctrines of future Toryism. On these grounds Clarendon has sometimes been described as an old royalist, sometimes as the founder of the Tory party. But at least two circumstances prevent the identification of his policy with that of either of these schools. On the one hand, he made no

attempt to perpetuate the fatal doctrine of unparliamentary taxation. On the other, he opposed all attempts to grant the crown power to dispense with Parliament in ecclesiastical affairs. In consequence the minister has sometimes been called the founder of the Whigs.

In fact Clarendon and his followers were neither Whigs nor Tories, nor even pre-rebellion Cavaliers. Though they were nearer the position of moderate Toryism and old parliamentary royalism, they were essentially a party of transition, occupying middle ground between the old and new conservatism. Under stress of circumstance many of them in later years entered the Tory ranks. But at the outset they were essentially a party of church and crown, upholding the king against parliamentary encroachment, and the bishops against dissent, yet only less fearful of unlimited monarchy than of wider liberty in church and state, no less opposed to pure prerogative than to complete parliamentary supremacy. Their leader resisted with equal vigor a permanent income which would make the crown independent of Parliament, and the investigation of royal accounts by commissioners of the Commons. And even the Persecuting Acts, which were largely political rather than religious in their aims, never excluded Dissenters as such from Parliament. Fully enforced they would have destroyed nonconformity in its political if not in its religious aspects. But that proved impossible and, accompanied by complete schism between Anglican and Presbyterian clergy, their chief result was a division in English politics, society, and religious affairs which remains the chief permanent contribution of the Clarendonians to the development of English politics.

Yet scarcely did the Clarendonian victory seem assured when it proved at once transient and illusory. The Nonconformists were, indeed, driven from place in church and borough, the revolutionaries suppressed, the taxes collected, the foreign policy carried out. At first the fear of setting out on his travels again, and the novel pleasures of royalty, restrained the king. The minister seemed indispensable despite his virtues. The country was filled with uninquiring loyalty and the fear of the sectaries, and the extravagance of a dissolute court had not as yet demoralized finance, despite the fact that the financial system, never of the best, was now complicated by the hatred of an unpopular tax. But as soon as England felt the full pressure of the Clarendonian policy it became evident that two powerful elements were antagonized—those desiring enlargement of the prerogative and those desiring wider parliamen-

tary powers. And, curiously enough, these found a meeting-place on the common ground of greater religious freedom.

Upon the passage of the Persecuting Acts which they had so vainly opposed, many Presbyterians conformed enough to secure their political rights, without abandoning their stand for toleration and popular government. The rest threw in their lot with the sectaries, oppressed in pocket and faith, and offering a fertile field for political opposition extending from electoral contests to mob violence and conspiracy. In the former activity, at least, they gained the aid and sympathy of their so-called occasional or semi-conformist brethren. England was henceforth divided into two camps, conformist and nonconformist, the one with, the other without full political privilege, and a permanent separation was assured by which the dissenting element was crystallized into a well-defined group thenceforth to be reckoned with in all political arithmetic. Into the church the Dissenters never returned, but before the roll of acts against them was complete they began to find their way back into the borough corporations, from which legislation proved powerless to exclude them. Thence they were able presently to reinforce the liberal party in the Commons.

In such manner and on such lines was the division into parties begun. Within three years after the Restoration two well-defined groups stood fairly opposed to each other in church and state, in Parliament and country alike. Their initial separation had come on the question of limitation of authority, first of the king, then of the bishops. The Royalist-Anglicans, successful in both contentions for a time, remained the dominant power in the state. The Presbyterians, failing in both, now fell back, with the sectaries, on the principle of toleration.

That principle meanwhile found support on different grounds and in a far different quarter, from no less a person than the king himself. Charles was not impelled to toleration by abstract theory, much less by love of Protestant nonconformity. Nor, as Clarendon believed, was he influenced wholly by the young and ambitious men whom the chancellor had repressed and antagonized. Whatever religious sympathies he had lay in the direction of Catholicism, as his simple political prepossessions were all for absolutism. His motive therefore was rather to relieve Catholic disabilities and to increase the royal prerogative. In neither of these designs was he likely to find support from Clarendon. He turned therefore to other quarters. The first step was to establish a following of his own in Council and Commons, composed largely of courtiers and

placemen, in short King's Friends, dependent on his favor and following his lead, equally removed in principle and in personnel from the Clarendonians and their opponents. To this group the young men neglected by the chancellor were attracted, especially those "frequent and confident speakers" who aspired to gain by royal support the position denied them by the minister. The royal managers took advantage of the by-elections to enlarge this group in the Commons, where even "the king's menial servants, as well below as above stairs", found place in increasing numbers. At the same time the minister's friends in the Council were gradually replaced by those of the king, and thus was built up that group presently known collectively as the Court.

With the rise of this group we come at once into closer touch with the development of modern political management and method. In these the Clarendonians were at first even more old-fashioned than in their principles. Beyond admonitions to the departing Convention with such personal influence as could be exerted by ministers, courtiers, and royalists generally, and some interference with the posts, Clarendon seems to have made little effort to carry the general election of 1661, nor perhaps under the circumstances was much necessary. When Parliament assembled he uttered some rebuke of the license which had accompanied the elections, sharpened, no doubt, by the somewhat exorbitant bill for hospitality incurred in the election of his own son. But besides this, neither then nor later does the chancellor seem to have concerned himself much with the direct choice of members, perhaps through inability, perhaps in accordance with the more dignified traditions in which he had been reared. In the management of the House, once chosen, on the other hand, he showed diligence and system. With the treasurer he directed the ministerial lieutenants in the Commons, who met sometimes with the chancellor and treasurer, sometimes without them, to plan measures and methods. Among them one, Sir Hugh Pollard, acted as a sort of House manager. Here lay the germs of a political mechanism, with at least the beginnings of party leadership, a cabinet, a ministry, and party whips. And if "all places of trust and profit" went to those who supported the minister, this was not new in English politics, nor was it long confined to his following. On the other hand, in so far as the opposition held together at all, it was by personal conferences of leading men, whose party was, in general, rather an active guerrilla force, "without intelligence, command or pay", than a disciplined body. Neither with them nor with the Clarendonians did electoral management proper begin.

That, as we have seen, owed its origin chiefly to the new power or party of the court. In its activities from the first were found the beginnings of electioneering management, and the parliamentary methods of later years. It was no long time before it established a new alignment of parties and policies as well.

When the bills against nonconformity were introduced, this group had made strong efforts to modify them by proposing a measure which gave the crown power to dispense with the acts. Failing this, they tried to insert dispensing clauses in the acts themselves. And when this was defeated they evolved a more radical plan. This was to unite Protestant and Catholic Dissenters, secure the power of indulgence from or in spite of Parliament, and so gain tolerance for Rome under guise of tenderness for Geneva, while incidentally exalting the prerogative. In this they were not alone. When Anglican intolerance seemed likely to stamp out freedom of belief, many men of all shades of opinion turned to the crown as the only bulwark against persecution. Presbyterian as well as Catholic councillors urged on the policy which culminated in the issue of a Declaration of Indulgence in 1663. But in this the so-called Presbyterian leaders were not followed by their namesakes in the Commons. These feared Catholicism and prerogative more than Anglican persecution. The declaration had to be withdrawn, the Nonconformist councillors were estranged from their party, and the Clarendonians for the time remained supreme. In this early conflict appears first the strength of that "boudoir cabinet" or "cabal" upon whose solemn councils in Lady Castlemaine's apartment the attention of historians has often been centred.

Against the chancellor's religious policy the alliance of King's Friends and Nonconformist councillors, deserted by those who otherwise were their natural allies, the Commons opposition, strove in vain. But on the more purely political side after 1663 they found more success. During the period of Cromwellian supremacy the mercantile classes, themselves largely Puritan, had received extensive recognition from the government, expressing itself in the Navigation Act and the war against Holland. The Restoration continued this activity. But though the Clarendonians interested themselves greatly in such matters, re-enacted the Navigation Laws and passed many measures to encourage and regulate manufactures, agriculture, and commerce, in at least two directions they failed to meet fully commercial and agricultural demands. From the operation of restrictive measures for English benefit Ireland was relieved, and English commercial interests, however furthered by diplomacy,

were not considered, in the state of the nation, worthy of war. These commercial interests lay largely in the hands of Nonconformists, against whom the Clarendonians thus joined economic to religious and political discrimination, while at the same time antagonizing a section of the landed interest by permitting Irish competition.

To some of the rising group of King's Friends opposed to the chancellor, these matters appealed with much force. Reared in the school of Cromwell they favored toleration, a highly restrictive commercial policy, economy and efficiency in administration, and a vigorous attitude in foreign affairs, basing itself on economic grounds. They took further advantage of the waning interest in purely religious matters evidenced by the smaller divisions on such questions, and of the opposition always created by such a constructive programme as that of the Clarendonians. Subordinating for a time the assault on the ministerial church policy, they attacked the chancellor on diplomatic and commercial issues. In this they regained the support they had lost by their religious policy and much beside.

Their first victory was won on the issue of a war with Holland. This, after much resistance, was forced upon the minister. The weakness, incompetence, and corruption of administration charged upon him in the course of that struggle enabled his enemies to rouse the country against him. Over his protest a measure of high protection, sometimes called the foundation of that policy in England, the Irish Cattle Bill, was enacted, and the land-owning class largely drawn away from him. Against his even more fervent protest the investigation of the finances and the auditing of administrative accounts by parliamentary commissioners was put forward, and a beginning made of appropriation for specific purposes by Parliament. And at last, in the closing months of 1667, his opponents, the King's Friends at their head, with royal aid, contrived to secure a majority against him in the Commons and, though failing to impeach him, succeeded in driving him from power, from place, and finally from England itself. With his fall the first act of Restoration politics and of the foundation of modern political parties came to an end. In it had been developed the opposing principles of administration based on the relative power and position of the executive and legislature, a definition of religious issue and policy and the relation of church and state, an alignment of groups on those issues, an economic and an administrative policy, with the beginnings of party organization and parliamentary management.

Clarendon was succeeded by a ministry of five councillors who

had opposed him, known as the Cabal. They were all Nonconformists, three nominally Protestants, one openly Catholic, and one secretly inclined to that faith. As a ministry they occupied a peculiar position. Unlike Clarendon they had the support of the king; but they had no such following as the late minister's party in Parliament. They were, in fact, almost equally removed from the Clarendonians and Presbyterians, antagonizing the former by their tolerant policy and the latter by their devotion to the prerogative. For if the Presbyterians were not minded to follow them in a policy of indulgence by royal edict, still less were the Clarendonians inclined to favor a party which encouraged nonconformity. Their main reliance therefore, apart from the popularity of certain measures they promoted, was upon the group of King's Friends in the Commons. Upon the head of the Cabal, then and since, the vials of wrath have been generously poured by all parties alike. Their position was indeed anomalous and insecure. Even more than the Clarendonians they represented a transition from old to new. In a sense they were less a parliamentary ministry than a group of personal advisers of the king, and on the whole, apart from political prejudice of its rivals, the instinct which led to the denunciation of such a system as theirs was sound. Yet the doctrines represented by the Cabal were, with perhaps two exceptions, liberal and enlightened. As privy councillors they had stood for toleration, a vigorous foreign and commercial policy, financial reform, and high protection. They signalized their entrance into power by allowing the acts against nonconformity to lapse, in so far as possible, by releasing many political and religious prisoners, by signing the Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden against France, by at least acquiescing in a measure which enabled Parliament to supervise expenditure, and by reorganizing the administration on a more businesslike and economical basis.

In this initial programme of the Cabal, taken in connection with the acts of this group before their accession to power, we may recognize at once certain doctrines which reflect the Cromwellian policies and at the same time anticipate many of the principles later associated with the name of Whig. Yet the Cabal was no more Cromwellian or Whig than the Clarendonians were Laudian or Tory. For, on the one hand, it was so far from advanced Protestantism that it included at least one Catholic, and, on the other, it departed so far from the ideas of popular government that it leaned on the king rather than on Parliament. It attracted support to some of its measures by their unquestioned excellence. But in the minds of

most men no virtue of its measures could compensate for the fundamental vice of the way it was constituted and maintained in power. This alienated the independent element of country gentlemen in the Commons no less than the Clarendonians and Presbyterians, and the ministry never attained a stable majority in the Commons. This defect it endeavored to remedy in three ways, all of importance in the evolution of parties. It pacified the disaffected elements in the nation at large so far as possible by concessions. It drew its followers in the lower house closer to itself by increasing rewards, and recruited able men by place and dignities. It adopted and greatly extended the policy begun by the court of securing through byelections members devoted to its support; and thus it contributed greatly to the evolution of political machinery, electoral and parliamentary. And it not only threw the whole weight of administration thus into the parliamentary scale, but it even invoked the royal prerogative of adjournment and prorogation as a regular weapon of parliamentary warfare, in which the speaker, as the agent of the administration, played a leading part.

The result was that in length of session and in legislation Parliament under the Cabal played a slighter part than at almost any other period of its history, while the conflict between the opposing parties in the House grew more and more acrimonious. The opposition to the Cabal in Commons and country consequently rose to a great height, especially among the Anglicans of all shades of opinion. They saw personified in the ministry the hateful policy of Catholic toleration and exaltation of the prerogative in a new form. Even the Protestant Dissenters who gained most from the measures of the Cabal, looked upon it with suspicion as favoring doctrines which they hated even more than they feared the Anglicans. For some three years this ministry by exercising all its arts was able, in spite of its enemies, to maintain its position. But in 1670 a series of events marked a turning-point in its career, in English affairs generally, and in the evolution of parties particularly.

The royal and ministerial protection of the sectaries had greatly irritated the majority in the Commons, still strongly Anglican, and it made several attempts to re-enact the Seditious Conventicles Act after its expiration in 1668. These had been frustrated by adjournment, prorogation, and similar devices of the administration. But in 1670 the measure was re-enacted, though with a clause giving dispensing power to the crown. The immediate result was a burst of Nonconformist opposition which, especially in London, took the form of riots that had almost the appearance of civil war.

In the very days when his guards were attempting to repress these disturbances the king entered on the final stage of his plan to make himself independent of Parliament in finance and religion, and incidentally and unconsciously set party development on another stage. Under cover of festivities accompanying the visit of his sister, the Duchess of Orleans, he signed at Dover a treaty unknown to his Protestant advisers with agents of his cousin, Louis XIV., by which he secured a promise of French aid in establishing Catholicism in England if and when it seemed feasible, in return for English non-interference in French schemes of aggrandizement on the Continent. Six months later Charles's nephew, William of Orange, made his first visit to England.

With these events the final transformation of parties began. To the issues already defined were now added two others, the French alliance and the question of succession. And, as such matters always tend to personify themselves in an individual, the king's brother and heir presumptive, James, duke of York, came to be identified with Catholicism, to which he was a convert, with prerogative, and the French interest. Against him, after the failure of an attempt to divorce and remarry the king in hope of a legitimate Protestant heir, two alternative candidates presented themselves to those opposed to a Catholic succession. The one was the king's illegitimate son James, duke of Monmouth, the other was the king's nephew, William of Orange. About these, as time went on, the general issues tended to crystallize, though for nearly three years more the Protestant section of the Cabal, at first ignorant of the Dover treaty and the deeper springs of royal policy, strove to mould the king to their views and at the same time maintain themselves in or against Parliament by means of the Court party and the prerogative.

Especially was this true in political contests outside the Commons. It is often said that election management sprung full-armed from the general election of 1679. But that great contest was less the origin than the climax of those methods which developed during the reign of Charles II. Under the Cabal, especially between 1670 and 1673, were perfected nearly all those devices begun by the court ten years before which have generally been regarded as products of a later age. The flagrant abuses which then arose led the Commons to enunciate two important principles: that the choice of members should be free from royal interference, and that the House alone should control its own elections and membership. Besides the manipulation of the electorate, the management of members within the

House grew with equal pace. Bribery and corruption were more and more fully practised, the power of the crown more and more openly invoked. In spite of this, partly, no doubt, because of it, the balance gradually turned against the administration. The weight of national opinion outside Parliament was thrown against royal and ministerial authority, and found its way into the Commons through by-elections in spite of the most strenuous efforts of the court and ministry.

In this final struggle the factions in Parliament tended to divide on slightly different lines. The old Clarendonians and Presbyterians remained, but sunk to less importance as groups in new divisions. They were, said a great politician of the time, but clogs to the real issue which lay between the rising parties of Court and Country. The former had as a nucleus the King's Friends, courtiers, placemen, pensioners, with high prerogative and high church men, some old Cavaliers, lords' sons, and such as from principle or interest adhered to royal or ministerial or ecclesiastical leadership. The Country party on the other hand united the "Switzer band" of Presbyterians with many of that middle group of independent country gentlemen which now tended to be absorbed in the extremes, and with new men coming in through by-elections. It not merely gained adherents from this latter source, it was recruited by men of a different stamp. A new generation was entering politics at this turning-point between revolution and revolution, to take its place beside the old Cavaliers and Presbyterians. The opposition presently began to rival the court in numbers and ability, if not in leadership and organization, and a set of well-defined principles took the place of its older policy of mere opposition. Its weakest point was in its leadership, which was still a loose oligarchy of its principal men, but some germs of a caucus system made their appearance, and a more united and effective conduct of their common interests in and out of the House naturally followed.

Such changes naturally had their effect on the public outside. After the final burst of Anglican zeal and Nonconformist resistance in 1670, the fear of the Catholics replaced the fear of the sectaries. The Dissenters publicly repudiated a tolerance which identified them with the Catholics, and the more reasonable Anglicans recognized the position of their former antagonists. In the face of a common danger the more moderate men of all Protestant persuasions began to draw together, and it was no long time before measures were introduced looking toward toleration for Protestant Nonconformists. Thus, as the lines were more sharply drawn, the in-

determinate centre, whose votes had earlier turned the issue in the Commons toward Anglican triumph, swayed the other way, and finally divided as we have seen to the advantage of the Country party. The climax of the situation and of this phase of party evolution was reached in the circumstances accompanying the second Dutch war which began in the spring of 1672. As a preliminary to the measures determined upon, Parliament was prorogued and thus precluded from any possible interference with the plans of the administration. The declaration of war was prefaced by two arbitrary acts. To secure a sum of ready money, payment from the exchequer was suspended, and to pacify a section of the opposition a Declaration of Indulgence was issued granting permission to the Dissenters to establish conventicles licensed by the crown. Hostilities were begun before war was declared, by a treacherous and futile attempt to seize the homeward-bound Dutch Smyrna fleet. Here appeared the policy of the Court in its most extreme form—toleration by royal prerogative, finance by royal edict, a vigorous, mercenary foreign policy, and the exclusion of Parliament from all three, while behind these lay the secret arrangement between the king and his cousin, Louis XIV., and the avowed Catholicism of the heir to the English throne.

When the Houses met again the Country party, now with a clear majority in the Commons on such questions, set forth in turn their policy. They repudiated the obligations the ministry had incurred by the stop of the exchequer on the ground that this involved unparliamentary taxation. They forced the king to recall the Declaration of Indulgence and resolved that the power to regulate ecclesiastical as well as financial affairs belonged to Parliament alone. They demanded that the troops raised for the Dutch war be disbanded, on the same ground of parliamentary control. They declared for peace with the Dutch and hostility to France, an encroachment on the royal prerogative, the king declared later, without precedent save in time of revolution. Finally a bill was introduced for the ease of Protestant Dissenters and the programme completed by the passage of the Test Act which excluded Catholics from all office, civil and military.

The result was decisive. James and his allies were driven from place and power. The king's Catholic policy was destroyed at a blow, and Catholicism eliminated from open activity in English politics. The prerogative in foreign affairs was attacked, and the question of the Protestant succession brought into the realm of practical politics. The defense of his prerogative and his pension, de-

rived from the French alliance, and of his house, personified in James, henceforth absorbed the king's energies.

Meanwhile two of the Protestant section of the Cabal, Shaftesbury and Buckingham, advised of the king's bad faith, and marking the signs of the times, trimmed their course to meet or direct the storm. The former was dismissed and at once entered into direct relations with the Country party. He was followed by others, among whom Buckingham was most prominent. The opposition was thus strengthened not merely by its new allies in the Lords; in the person of Shaftesbury was supplied the principal element it had hitherto in great measure lacked, a recognized leader of ability and resource. He, in turn, found ready to his hand a political weapon and a situation peculiarly suited to his genius and purpose. He did not create the party, nor was he in any real sense its founder. But he took command of the able men of the new generation, like Sacheverell, who had done so much to give the party its new form, as well as of the older Presbyterian leaders whom the new men had themselves in some measure replaced. Shaftesbury was a master politician, and under his guidance the party took on new form and vigor. It was gradually welded into a machine, including all elements from the liberal Lords to the London mob, Presbyterians, moderate country gentlemen, and sectaries.

The evolution of the Country party was now nearly complete. It had increased its numbers till it was prepared to contend with its opponents on fairly equal terms. It had developed a set of principles based on toleration, commercial interest, liberty of the subject, Protestantism, and parliamentary supremacy. It had acquired a leader, and a small but able following in the Lords. It needed but one thing, some force to counterbalance the more effective organization of the court. That was quickly supplied. In 1675 was founded the so-called Green Ribbon Club which, from its headquarters at King's Head Tavern, soon became the recognized centre of the party, the seat of its executive and of its inner councils. There party policies were formulated by the group of leaders about Shaftesbury, and methods improved or invented to further them. Systematic political management in and out of the House was developed. The loose political connection was drilled and disciplined into a party, and the last superiority of the court was equalized by this new leadership and organization which rapidly developed the principles and practices of the later Whig party.

Against this, on the part of the court, the Council was reorganized by the introduction of moderate Protestant lords. The conduct

of affairs was placed in the hands of the ablest upholder of church and crown, Thomas Osborne, presently created Earl of Danby. He began at once to unite more closely the courtiers in the Commons, the Clarendonian remnant, old high church and prerogative men, King's Friends, placemen and pensioners, into a reorganized Court party. In the Lords, the crown could rely on a steady majority of spiritual and temporal peers. In and out of the House it extended still further the policy of corruption and management. It gave up the Catholic policy. And though the king held to his French connection and pension, Danby repudiated both, and like Shaftesbury before him, though on different grounds, sought to mould the king to his own plans, and stand between king and Commons, directing both along conservative lines. With this the circle was complete.

The parliamentary session of 1675 saw the first engagement between the forces thus constituted and officered. On the part of the court the royal pretension to supremacy in church affairs and a Catholic policy were tacitly abandoned for a programme of extreme conformity to be enacted by Parliament and enforced by the crown. One of the earliest measures was a passive obedience bill introduced into the Lords. To this was added a plea for the traditional balance of king, Lords, and Commons, and the resistance to parliamentary encroachment on the prerogative especially in foreign affairs. Insistence on ministerial rights, the undiminished power of the executive, and the direct legitimate succession completed a programme which combined the ideas of Clarendon and the court, modified to meet the existing situation. Against this the Country party sought to identify the court with Catholicism and arbitrary government, both of which they denounced. They protested against a standing army and a French policy. They demanded greater liberty of the subject, free and frequent parliamentary sessions, control of finance and a voice in foreign affairs for the Commons, toleration, ministerial responsibility, and general parliamentary supremacy, in short the principles of the Bill of Rights.

With this the plea for strong government and the superiority of the executive stood out clearly against that for popular government and the superiority of the legislature. For some three years the political conflict was confined to these issues. Perhaps if the ordinary political processes had not been interrupted, or personal rivalries had not been so acute, the situation might have gradually worked itself out along evolutionary rather than revolutionary lines. But neither side would wait, perhaps neither side could wait. The Popish Plot accelerated the movement of affairs, which hurried on

to the crisis of the Exclusion Bill. After a brief interval of quiet, reaction and revolution revived with the accession of James. Country and Court in that troubled decade from 1675 to 1685 gave place to Petitioner and Abhorrer, and these to Whig and Tory. Corruption rose to a height not exceeded under the arch-tempter Walpole; the prerogative was strained to the breaking-point; political agitation was carried to a height scarcely short of revolution. But, apart from change of name and greater intensity of rivalry, English party principles, methods, organization, even personnel, changed little after 1675. The Tory party which emerged from the Revolution differed in no essential particular from the Court party which completed its evolution under Danby. The Whigs were to all intents the Country party with its allies and leaders in the Lords.

The details of political practice alter with changing conditions. But it was not until the electorate itself was revolutionized in the nineteenth century that even these departed in any radical degree from the lines laid down between 1660 and 1675. There, if anywhere, it would appear, are to be found the beginnings of English parties on the lines we have laid down.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

THE COALITION OF EUROPE AGAINST NAPOLEON¹

THE Europe of the kings was for fifteen years at war with Napoleon, as it had been with the Revolution of which he was the heir; like the Revolution he cast down the bastiles of feudalism and carried everywhere the gospel of equality; at Austerlitz he gave a mortal blow to the Holy Roman-German Empire, and thenceforward national aspirations had freedom to express and realize themselves; when he was vanquished, the people were vanquished with him, and fell back for a time under the yoke of the kings and of the Holy Alliance.

There was, then, whatever may be thought of it in England and in America, nothing in common between the great emperor whom all the peoples of France and of other countries surrounded with a kind of worship during his captivity in St. Helena—and it was a memory they have never ceased to celebrate—and the cowardly bandits who but yesterday flooded Europe again with blood, and will have forever the curses of humanity.

Not that Napoleon did not have ambition; he was very ambitious; he wished to reign and for a brief time did reign over Europe. But the essential fact which history will record is that he made war upon the kings, defenders of the feudal privileges of the old régime. And if the kings, when conquered, at last appealed to the peoples, it was but to oppress them anew and to restore the sway of privilege. Napoleon had to do with coalitions of kings only; long victorious over kings and emperors, he was at last conquered by the kings, and therein again his history is absolutely contrasted with that which has been enacted in our time.

And finally, it is because the coalitions of these kings were only dynastic coalitions that they were so hard to form, that they were constantly weakened and for a long time made impotent by rivalries; it is because they were not inspired by the great breath of liberalism which has made yesterday's allies victorious; it is because the great forces of the Revolution were on the side of Napoleon,

¹ This study has been made easier for me by the works which I have already published and which I ask leave to mention: *La Politique Orientale de Napoléon* (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1904); *Napoléon en Italie* (*ibid.*, 1906); *Napoléon et l'Europe*: I. *La Politique Extérieure du Premier Consul* (*ibid.*, 1910), II. *Austerlitz, la Fin du Saint Empire* (*ibid.*, 1912), III. *Tilsit, la Rivalité de la France et de la Russie* (*ibid.*, 1917).

that he was for a long time the victor. And his defeat was a defeat of the Revolution.

It is in this light that the history of the coalition of Europe against Napoleon should be studied, if one wishes to understand its meaning and its historic bearing.

It is our habit in France to distinguish, among coalitions against Napoleon the Emperor, the third, brought to an end after Austerlitz by the treaty of Pressburg, the fourth, ended in 1807 by the treaty of Tilsit, the fifth, ended by the treaty of Vienna, and the sixth, which alone was general, and which finally destroyed the empire. For the allies were always at odds with each other, even in the sixth. The facts will readily show why.

I.

England had resigned herself to the Peace of Amiens (1802). She was directly threatened by the armaments of the camp of Boulogne, and she no longer had any allies. But the far-reaching enterprises of the First Consul obliged her soon to resume her arms, for if it was his purpose to extend wherever he could the influence of France, she on the other hand had the right to defend herself as soon as she was directly menaced.

Now the First Consul in reality extended his hegemony over the greater portion of Europe, and so the upsetting of the balance was already disturbing to everyone. He left French garrisons in Holland, now become the Batavian Republic, under the pretext of preparing there more easily his expedition against Santo Domingo. He drew up the Act of Mediation of the Swiss Confederation, and remained its mediator, which gave him a position as arbitrator that could not fail to become a real suzerainty. And in fact he did in Switzerland about what he pleased.

The Recess of the Germanic Diet of 1803 was framed and voted under his eyes. He ordained according to his own fancy the new arrangement of Germany. All the Catholic ecclesiastical states were secularized save one, the bishopric of Ratisbon. All the free cities were mediatized but six; the crumbled dust of the German states was moulded together again into a moderate number of states of medium size, and the Diet, which hitherto had had a Catholic majority, found itself with a Protestant majority in all of its three colleges, which, as Seeley has rightly observed, was equivalent to a revolution, and announced the approaching fall of the house of Austria. In the meantime the First Consul already exercised a sort of protectorate over the new Germany.

Immediately upon the treaty of Amiens he annexed Piedmont to France and divided it into departments. He caused himself to be elected president of the Cisalpine Republic, renaming it the Italian Republic. Already a king-maker, he set a Bourbon upon the throne of Etruria, and began to dominate nearly all Italy. Spain was his ally, or rather his vassal, and her best ships of war were at Brest, under the command of French admirals. In fact, the power of Bonaparte was already continental.

That power made his maritime enterprises so much the more threatening. On the side of the West Indies, already master of most of the Antilles, master again of Louisiana after 1801, master of the whole island of Santo Domingo, and resting upon an alliance with Spain, herself mistress of almost all of Central and South America, he gave such a military importance to the Santo Domingo expedition, under pretext of suppressing the negro insurrection there, that everyone was justified in being alarmed as to its results; and such alarm there was, in the United States, until, war having been resumed in Europe, Bonaparte sold them Louisiana.

To the East Indies, until lately the fairest colonial empire of France, the First Consul sent General Decaen, noted for his hatred of the English, with a great number of officers evidently intended to organize sepoy, making it plain that France intended once more to contest India with the English. The remembrance of the Bailli de Suffren was not so remote! Finally Colonel Sébastiani was charged with a "commercial" mission in the Levant, in Tripoli, Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian Islands; on his return his report was published in the *Moniteur Officiel* with the concluding words, "six thousand Frenchmen will be sufficient to reconquer Egypt."

Hence it was that England resolved to keep Malta, which under the terms of the treaty of Amiens she was to restore to the Knights of St. John. This was the determining cause of the break, and the beginning of the coalition of Europe against Napoleon. He at once occupied Hanover and the Neapolitan ports, so taking up posts in the heart of Germany and in the extremest parts of Italy.

The Russian government, which had undertaken to guarantee the new territorial equilibrium of Germany and was disturbed at every fresh undertaking of France in the Mediterranean, protested against the occupation of Hanover and of Naples. Prussia could not fail to be disquieted by the position which France had taken in Germany, at the very ports of Berlin. Austria took up an observant attitude. All Europe was in a state of alarm, that is to say, the Europe of the kings, which was naturally made anxious by the enlargement of

scope which the First Consul's ambition would be sure to give to the ideas of the Revolution.

In that alarm lay the germ of the coalition, but how much time it needed to ripen and to come to action! It required more than two years after the breaking of the Peace of Amiens.

The seizure of the Duke of Enghien and the violation of the territory of Baden led to new notes from Russia, which, from that time on, found herself almost in a state of hostility with France. On May 18, 1804, Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of the French. On August 15 he with solemn ceremony distributed his eagles to the regiments of the Grand Army, then collected at Boulogne and ready for imperial conquests. On December 2, Pope Pius VII. consecrated the new emperor in Paris, at Notre Dame. All this was far from reassuring to the Europe of the kings, which however had yet made no movement.

But events hastened forward with logic not to be escaped. The Italian Consulta requested its president, now become emperor, to take the title of King of Italy. He announced the title to the Austrian Emperor, at the same time informing him that, in order to ensure the separation of the two crowns, that of France and that of Italy, he reserved the latter for his brother Joseph. But Joseph having refused—of which, however, there is no decisive proof—Napoleon was obliged, quite against his will—at least so he said—to assume in person the iron crown of the old Lombard kings. He placed it upon his own head at Milan, May 26, 1805, repeating his device: “*Dieu me l’a donnée: gare à qui la touche*”. Then he annexed Genoa to France, under pretext of protecting it against the attacks of England.

Finally the coalition was formed. Great Britain and Russia had come into agreement through the convention of St. Petersburg. Austria joined it on August 9, and mobilized her armies, which Mack led to the upper Danube, toward the Black Forest.

The allies tried to secure the adherence of Prussia, which would have made the coalition general. The Tsar Alexander I. went to Potsdam, and was very pleasantly received there by King Frederick William III. and Queen Louise; cordial assurances were exchanged; the King of Prussia showed himself disposed to enter into the alliance; meanwhile, he sent Count Haugwitz to Napoleon to offer Prussia's mediation. But he did not have the time to bring this movement to completion, and the sword of the conqueror made these small endeavors futile from the start.

At Ulm at the end of October Austria's best army was obliged

to surrender, leaving open the road to Vienna. Vienna indeed was immediately occupied without striking a blow. The two allied emperors, of Austria and of Russia, gave battle jointly at Austerlitz, December 2, 1805, the anniversary of the coronation at Notre Dame; and soon Austria, by the treaty of Pressburg, laid down her arms.

This was the end of the Holy Roman-German Empire, for it was not to recover from the blow. The Emperor of Austria renounced the imperial crown of Germany, and released all his German subjects from their oath of fidelity, which most of them made haste to transfer to the Emperor Napoleon. Austria lost all influence in Italy, abandoning Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia to France, or, which was much the same thing, to the Kingdom of Italy. The Bourbons of Naples were driven from their throne for having pronounced in favor of the defeated coalition, and this time Joseph Napoleon accepted the crown of Naples, inferior though it was to the crown of Italy.

The victorious emperor, having his complaints to make of the pope, dared to write to him, "Your Holiness is sovereign in Rome, but I am its emperor". Pope Pius VII. replied, "There is no emperor of Rome". He was wrong; there was even a Roman emperor. The Western Empire had been restored with a power more formidable than that which it had in Charlemagne's time.

The coalition of all Europe was now to be expected. Quite the contrary, an almost universal negotiation began.

II.

In spite of Trafalgar, which saved the whole future, Pitt had "died of Austerlitz". Looking at the map of Europe on the wall of his study, he had said, "Roll up that map; it will not be wanted these ten years". In truth, for ten years there was no longer a Europe, because Napoleon was able to play off the rivalries of the powers one against another, according to his fancy, and to hold back almost to the last day the coalition of Europe.

The English government attempted to entice Napoleon into a negotiation with a view to arresting undertakings on his part which menaced the future of the Orient. Fox, succeeding Pitt, entered into correspondence with Talleyrand by denouncing to him a certain Guillet de la Gavrillière, who had proposed to him a plan of assassinating the emperor. Talleyrand and Napoleon at once took up the conversation, basing it on the treaty of Amiens. Fox replied that the English government sought

a secure and durable peace, and not an uncertain truce, which from its

very nature would be disquieting, not only to the contracting parties but to all the rest of Europe . . . a peace honorable to the two parties and their respective allies, and at the same time of a sort to assure as far as they can the future repose of Europe. For this reason Great Britain asks for a general peace.

Lord Yarmouth was charged with the negotiation. He demanded the restoration of Hanover; Talleyrand did not object, but demanded the restoration of Malta, but then proposed to leave Malta to Great Britain provided Sicily were taken away from the Bourbons and assigned to Joseph Napoleon as King of Naples, for, in order to ensure the freedom of the Mediterranean, it was necessary that, while England should have Malta, Sicily should belong to France or be under French influence. At the beginning of July the negotiation came to a halt upon the question of Sicily.

Then arrived from Russia Baron d'Oubril with powers to enter into negotiations, for the government of St. Petersburg was alarmed at the separate negotiation going on between France and England. Immediately he learned of the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, which assured Napoleon domination over Germany. Then Talleyrand and Clarke pressed and caressed and threatened him and extorted from him the treaty of Oubril, July 20: Russia evacuated the Bocche di Cattaro, recognized the independence of the Ionian Islands, and agreed that the Bourbons should be compensated for Sicily by receiving the Balearic Islands.

Then Talleyrand turned again toward England, thinking that thus he could force her hand. Fox reacted vigorously, insisting on retaining as the basis of negotiation the principle of *uti possidetis*, which however Napoleon rejected, in spite of the formidable advantages it offered to him. The Russian government refused to ratify Oubril's treaty; Prussia was drawn decidedly into opposition to France by the resistant position which Russia and Great Britain thenceforward took; and Fox died at the moment when, well or ill, the fourth coalition was coming into existence.

It is not necessary to review at length the circumstances which brought on the rupture between France and Prussia; they are well known. Yet, as M. Arthur Lévy has published on this subject a book of some celebrity, *Napoléon et la Paix*, to prove that Napoleon desired peace and that it was Prussia that was responsible for the rupture, it is important, on the other side, to recall the following facts. Immediately after Austerlitz Napoleon imposed upon Prussia the treaty of Schönbrunn, confirmed and aggravated on February 10 by that of Paris; he obliged her to accept Hanover, and to declare war on Great Britain. Then he formed the Confedera-

tion of the Rhine, of which he was the all-powerful protector, and to leave Germany in a sort of unstable equilibrium, he advised Prussia to form under her own suzerainty a North German Confederation. When she dutifully made the attempt, she everywhere encountered, in the Hanse towns, in Hesse-Cassel, in Saxony, objections and reluctance in which it was easy to discern the hand of French diplomacy.

Thus it was made plain to her that Napoleon wished to reign alone over Germany; she was obliged to choose between war or the suzerainty of France. She preferred war. She made the mistake of rushing into it with a light heart, relying with vanity upon the military pre-eminence which since the time of Frederick the Great she had supposed that she possessed. She was crushed at Jena and Auerstädt, and her very existence was threatened.

Yet in her misfortune was she not at least sustained by the coalition of Europe? Far from it; immediately after Jena she begged the emperor for an armistice; he required that she should abandon all her lands west of the Elbe except Magdeburg, should recognize the Confederation of the Rhine, should close her ports to the English, and should guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. She submitted. Then Napoleon demanded the delivery of all the Prussian fortresses on the Oder and the Vistula, and the withdrawal of all the Prussian troops into royal Prussia. The negotiation was broken off.

The war continued with great severity through a terrible winter, for the Russians had reached the neighborhood of the Vistula. At Eylau in February the emperor's fortune trembled for the moment in the balance. It was a favorable moment for a coalition of Europe. Napoleon feared it and made advances to Prussia; as was natural, they were not well received; the King of Prussia thought it better to come to a thorough understanding with Russia and the other governments upon the conditions of a real peace. He had good success in coming to an agreement with the tsar and signed with him the convention of Bartenstein, but it was not until April 26, two months and a half after Eylau, and it was in terms so vaguely expressed that they made clear the impossibility of definite and real agreement. Moreover, it was impossible to bring into the agreement Great Britain and Austria, both of whom were disturbed by a reorganization of Germany which would have paved the way for the military supremacy of Prussia in that country. Austria went no further than a mediation, which it was easy for Napoleon to draw out to great length, as he had done with the mediation

of Prussia before Austerlitz. Thus he gained Friedland, a victory which was less the fruit of his own genius than that of the divisions of Europe.

The interview at Tilsit blew away like smoke the faint endeavors toward coalition which for four years had been going on. The works of Albert Sorel and of Vandal have created a "legend of Tilsit" which is not in conformity with historic truth. What there came into existence has been described as a Franco-Russian entente, dividing Europe into two empires, the Empire of the West and the Empire of the East. The treaties of Tilsit did in fact secure to Napoleon the domination of the west, that is to say, of Italy and Germany. But they also prepared the way for his penetration into the Orient; they obliged Russia to surrender the Bocche di Cattaro and the Ionian Islands, to bring back her vessels into the Baltic and the Black Sea, to renounce all pretensions over Moldavia and Wallachia, and to recognize the grand-duchy of Warsaw, a first step toward the restoration of Poland. Thus we may see in them the prelude to the Russian campaign of 1812, "the second war of Poland", as Napoleon called it. These are the realities concealed beneath the sounding speeches and the exchange of embraces.

As for the particular subject with which we are occupied, the treaties of Tilsit not merely destroyed any coalition of Europe against Napoleon—with Prussia crushed, Austria kept in anxiety, Russia compromised and held by a sort of sentimental alliance—but they even formed a coalition of Europe around Napoleon against Great Britain, by assuring the union of all the Continental powers in the terms of the blockade which Napoleon had decreed at Berlin on November 13, 1806. This marks a decisive step in the organization of all Europe under the form of a Napoleonic empire.

III.

The Spanish affair brought new elements, of great interest, into the relations of Napoleon with Europe. The emperor could dispose of the crown, here as elsewhere, and indeed found no difficulty in sowing divisions among the poor Bourbons of Spain, in raising the son against the father, and father and mother against the son, and involving them all in the trap of Bayonne. He believed that he could appropriate Spain also, by promising it the benefits flowing from the new institutions of the régime of equality and from all that was represented by the French Revolution, which he thought to personify in his brother Joseph, summoning him from the throne of Naples to that of Madrid.

He was surprised by the reaction of national feeling. It was his great error of psychology. The Germans committed a like error when they threw themselves upon Belgium in 1914. The capitulation of Dupont's and Vedel's divisions at Baylen cast a sinister light upon the future of the Napoleonic edifice; the cracking of its walls could already be heard. England did not fail to profit by it; she entered into relations with the insurrectionary or rather national government at Cadiz. This did not prevent her from entering at the same time into relations with the Spanish colonies in America, which were beginning to detach themselves from the mother-country. In both cases her action was not absolutely disinterested, and brought an element of weakness to the coalition of governments and peoples against imperial France which was in course of preparation. Curious parallels could be drawn with the circumstances of the recent Great War and of its immediate consequences.

However this may be, Napoleon found himself seriously affected. He set himself to repair the damage. He accorded to Prussia the convention of September 8, 1808, and withdrew from it his army of occupation, excepting the garrisons of the fortresses on the Oder. He called the tsar to the interview of Erfurt, and for a fortnight the imperial interview was the occasion of very brilliant ceremonies; it was also the occasion of equivocal negotiations between Russia and Austria through the medium of Talleyrand.

Austria, secure against disturbance on her eastern frontiers, and almost certain of connivance on the part of the St. Petersburg government, attempted to make use of the German national sentiment, which was beginning to be manifested in a significant manner in connection with the persons of Major Schill and the Duke of Brunswick-Oels. But she was also apprehensive of that spirit, and feared that it might go too far, or might turn against herself; in fact Austria could not support revolutionary movements in Germany without running the risk of suicide. The "German Vendées" remained isolated and therefore ineffective. Napoleon suppressed them with ease.

The sentiment of national independence might create a formidable coalition against the emperor, if it were not to be a coalition of the kings. That was its weakness. So we have here the first steps toward a bankruptcy of the national movements, of which the kings made use only so far as they did not compromise their traditional authority: a game hard to play, which nevertheless succeeded, and retarded by a century those national emancipations which are at last to result from the Great War.

Yet what we call the fifth coalition, that of 1809, was far from being the general coalition which since 1803 men had been attempting to construct. Naturally Austria entered into relations with England; the question of subsidies was taken up, vaguely also that of a restoration of Prussia and Austria to their former power through the destruction of the Confederation of the Rhine. But it was not possible to go far with these conversations without endangering the continuance of harmony.

Austria also attempted negotiations with the government of Prussia; she found there favorable dispositions as respected hostility to France, but great reserve as to the consequences of the victory which was counted upon. The bear's skin could be sold at a high price, but they feared bitter disputes about the partition, a state of mind little favorable to coalition.

Prussia did indeed resume very cordial relations with Russia. Russia was her only guarantor, for it was certainly to her that Prussia owed the preservation of her political existence, and statesmen of our time ought never to forget the friendship that for two centuries closely bound Prussia and Russia together. The king and queen of Prussia made a long sojourn in St. Petersburg, from January 7 to 21, 1809. There was in fact a whole system of subterraneous passages from Vienna to Berlin, from Königsberg to St. Petersburg, from St. Petersburg to Vienna. It was not a coalition, but it might prepare the way for one.

Austria entered into the campaign too late and too soon: too late because Napoleon had warning in time to return from Spain; too soon because her diplomatic preparations had not yet brought any results. She was vanquished at Eckmühl, and again lost Vienna.

After Essling and Aspern she inflicted a perceptible check upon Napoleon, whose fortune seemed to hesitate as it had done after Eylau. The Tyrol, rising in revolt, drove out the Franco-Bavarian troops which occupied it. The war party in Prussia became active and pressed the government to intervene; the government showed itself disposed to do so, but wished guaranties as to the future. "What has Austria in mind", it asked the Austrian envoy, "as to the future organization of Germany?" On that point it was impossible to agree. The conversations once more came to an end.

From that time on Prussia attached herself to Russia, and Russia counselled prudence for the moment. For the St. Petersburg government, allied to Napoleon, was desirous above all to prevent its ally from winning victories, watched carefully the Polish agita-

tion, impeded everywhere the military operations of the army of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, but dared not break the alliance of Tilsit; a detestable course of policy, which on the whole played Napoleon's game, saved him from the evil consequences which might have come to him upon the defeat at Essling, and condemned Austria to the disaster of Wagram. Another victory of the emperor had been achieved by the divisions of his adversaries quite as much as by his own military genius.

Austria defeated, Great Britain disembarked a body of troops at Walcheren to menace Antwerp. This diversion might have accomplished something immediately after Essling; after Wagram it was ridiculous, and a few days later the British troops were obliged to re-embark, in a miserable condition.

But Austria, beaten but not crushed, struggled for three months with peace negotiations. She founded some hopes at least upon the mediation of Russia, a belligerent, and ally of the victor. The tsar's government pursued the most detestable policy; it did not even take part in the negotiations, doubtless in order to have no responsibility for the severe conditions which were to be imposed upon the conquered, and gave her over to the generosity of the victor. Napoleon profited by this to overwhelm Austria, and in the treaty of Vienna (October, 1809) inflicted upon her, on all her frontiers, mutilations which left her at his mercy. Thenceforward she had no salvation but to give herself over to him and give him an archduchess.

Once more a general peace, with England now the sole enemy unconquered—for how long?

Next the emperor suppressed the temporal power of the papacy, led the pope into captivity, and occupied Rome. The warnings of Baylen and Essling did not have the disastrous consequences which he had at first feared from them. The cloud of European coalition which had gathered at the horizon had once more been dispersed by the great sun of victory.

IV.

The moment had come for Napoleon to finish the design of his imperial edifice. Up to this time he had kept his empire in a feudal or federal form, by surrounding it with subject kingdoms, confided to the rule of his brothers, Joseph in Spain, Louis in Holland, Jerome in Westphalia, Murat at Naples. The system had its inconveniences, for his brothers, kings by his will, claimed to be kings by grace of God and, sustained by the national aspirations of their

peoples, tried to make themselves independent and escape from the imperial sovereignty, so that the empire found itself already threatened with dissolution.

Napoleon was not so constituted as to consent. And this was the chief reason for his divorce and second marriage. He wished to have a son to whom he might bequeath his whole empire, maintained in strong unity, in accordance with the traditions of the Roman Empire, and he reserved for this son the title of the King of Rome.

The boy was born on March 20, 1811. Thenceforward the emperor made it his task to take back from his brothers the thrones to which he had provisionally assigned them, and to recreate under his immediate authority a political unity already founded on common institutions and a perfect unity of command. In a word, he gradually replaced the federal system of brother-kingdoms by the dynastic or the unitary empire. This was the result of the very important *senatus consultum* of February 17, 1810, the import of which has been hitherto too little remarked by historians. Let us recall the essential terms :

Art. 1.

The Roman state is reunited to the French empire and forms an integral part of it.

Art. 6.

The city of Rome is the second city of the empire.

Art. 7.

The prince imperial bears the title and receives the honors of the King of Rome.

Art. 8.

There shall be at Rome a prince of the blood, or a great dignitary of the empire, who will hold the emperor's court there.

Art. 10.

After having been crowned in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, the emperors shall be crowned in the Church of St. Peter before the tenth year of their reign.

Great preparations were made at Rome to receive the emperor there on the occasion of his second crowning in 1813 or 1814. The gardens of Caesar the Great were planned and planted on the Pincian Hill. Excavations were made in the ruins of the Forum and the Palatine. The Quirinal was arranged into the apartments of the emperor, those of the empress, and those of the King of Rome. The decorations and mirrors were put in place; nothing

was lacking but to put the horses in the stables. The medal which was to commemorate these magnificent doings was already struck, with the impressive device: "The imperial eagle returns to the Capitol".

But before going to Rome it was necessary to finish the empire, to join the east to the west. The west was organized more and more strongly under the hand of the emperor, with the exception of Spain, which was not always docile. The decisive stroke upon the east was made ready; annexations extended the frontiers of the empire past Holland and Oldenburg, beyond the Elbe to the Baltic, with the imperial city of Danzig as an outpost. Marmont, governor-general of the Illyrian provinces, set in motion with great ability the French penetration into the Balkan Peninsula and on the road to Constantinople. The grand-duchy of Warsaw, to which after Wagram Galicia had been added, already appeared to be a revived Poland set up over against Russia to push her back toward Asia.

Russia found herself directly aimed at and threatened. She was the last of the independent powers of the Continent. With Russia conquered there would be no more Europe. There would be but one empire, the empire of Napoleon. From the day of Wagram, Russia perceived the danger. She had but ill performed the military duties attaching to her alliance with France. She refused Napoleon the hand of a grand-duchess, that she might not give him any rights over herself. She demanded of the emperor a promise that Poland should not be restored, which naturally he refused to give.

Thenceforward the conflict was inevitable and near at hand. On December 31, 1810, Russia gave up the Continental blockade, which amounted to coming to accord with Great Britain. The year 1811 was a terrible armed vigil. The very existence of Europe was at stake and a great conflict was about to begin.

There was at last a movement toward a general coalition. Was it a coalition of Europe?

Certainly England was sustaining the same cause as Russia. But she was far away, and preserved her own particular manner of fighting against the hegemony of Napoleon. And she was also engaged in, and her mind partly distracted by, her second war with the United States.

Did Prussia at least, the vanquished at Jena and at Tilsit, support Russia, the last champion of the liberties of Europe? Prussia drew more closely to France, in order not to be crushed beneath

the great apparatus of war organized by the emperor. Hardenberg, recalled to the ministry by King Frederick William III., asked Napoleon's permission first and sent in the most humble assurances of faithful devotion; he immediately solicited the honor of an alliance with France. When Napoleon refused, Prussia thought herself condemned to death, and Davout had in fact prepared a plan of military execution for her which would have been a capital execution. She came near risking her fortune in a stroke of despair. The crisis of September 27 was dramatic; she tried to arm herself for a final conflict. Napoleon himself feared the consequences of such a venture. He showed some spirit of conciliation and admitted Prussia into a sort of alliance with France by the treaty of September 24, 1812. Of the 42,000 men which she had the right to keep under arms, she put 25,000 at the emperor's disposal for the Russian campaign.

And would Austria be bolder? Former mistress of Europe, would she at least defend its liberties, side by side with Russia? But she did not love Russia, and perhaps feared a victory achieved by her more than one achieved by France. For Russia since the times of Catharine II. showed ambitions toward the Balkans that needed to be watched. Austria could not expect to be able to resume in the west, in the face of imperial France, a position of preponderance. She must then turn her face toward the east, as she did in our days, when her defeats at Magenta and Sadowa had turned her away from Italy and from Germany. Already Talleyrand in his celebrated Strassburg memoir of October, 1805, before Austerlitz, had advised Napoleon to carry Austria down into the lower Danube, even to the Moldo-Wallachian principalities and the Black Sea. Austria therefore was disposed rather to safeguard this future. Unquestionably she preserved some of those ties with St. Petersburg which Talleyrand had arranged at Erfurt, and Metternich privately kept up a correspondence the secret of which has lately been discovered. It was prudent to have an eye toward the possibility that victory might not be faithful to the flags of imperial France.

Meanwhile Austria did not fail to give Napoleon the military aid he demanded, and by the treaty of alliance of March 14, 1812, she placed at the emperor's disposal an army of 50,000 men, under the command of Schwarzenberg, which took its position on the right wing of the Grand Army and set out with it for the conquest of Russia.

Here was indeed a coalition, a coalition of Europe, but with

France against England and against Russia. The Europe of that moment was the Grand Empire. With his left resting upon the Prussian contingents and his right upon those of Austria, the emperor crossed the Niemen on June 24, 1812; less than three months afterward he was at Moscow and appeared to be in a position to construct Europe "*selon le songe qu'il rêvait*".

V.

The Napoleonic empire dissolved in the flames of burning Moscow, in the snow and ice of a terrible retreat. Russia then showed patriotic heroism in an admirable degree, and was recompensed by deliverance. She was yet to be the nucleus of the coalition of Europe. Not that that coalition was formed at once. On the contrary, in spite of the certainty of ultimate success, it was brought about slowly and with difficulty; it was never cordial or unanimous, because it was only a coalition of kings.

The imperial Grand Army having been thrown back, in a miserable condition, beyond the frontiers of Russia, it would seem that the Prussian and Austrian armies should have pressed forward at once to make the emperor's disaster complete. He had indeed feared this and, barely saved at the passage of the Beresina, he had passed through Poland and Germany incognito in order not to fall into the hands of his enemies. But the rising of Europe was not so rapid.

The Prussian contingent which was serving in the Grand Army under the command of General Yorck deserted at the end of December, 1812, and joined the Russian armies. But he was disavowed by the Berlin government, and the fragments of the French armies were able to retreat undisturbed from the Vistula to the Oder, and then to the Elbe.

Then, however, Frederick William III., almost reassured, decided upon a close alliance with Russia; this was the important, and in some respects decisive, result of his interview at Kalisch with Tsar Alexander I.

Immediately, however, those preoccupations of pure self-interest made themselves manifest which had made the coalition difficult, and which were to leave it always precarious and frail. The first condition of a true coalition is disinterested devotion to great moral causes; the coalition of the kings against Napoleon never ceased to be vitiated by egoism.

Thus the Russo-Prussian alliance at Kalisch (February, 1812) was inspired by the thought of obtaining the utmost possible profit

from victory, for Russia and for Prussia. Russia dreamed of taking all Poland, Prussia of bringing German unity into existence after its own plans and under its own hegemony. From Kalisch the two sovereigns sent forth eloquent proclamations to the people of Germany summoning them to the great crusade of liberty: admirable principles, indeed, capable of giving to the coalition a sacred character. But this was but the mask of the dynastic interests; a camouflage, arranged to deceive simple-minded populations.

From the first, the movement was alarming to Austria. For she had no faith that she could give liberty to her peoples without committing suicide, and every appeal to national sentiment was to her like a funeral knell. She continued her relations with Napoleon. She drew back her troops within her own frontiers. But she made no pronouncement. Metternich prepared himself for a close-knit diplomatic campaign, and kept the Austrian army in hand for an advantageous intervention.

He was well pleased at the defeats inflicted by Napoleon upon the Russians and the Prussians at Lützen and Bautzen. Their effect would be that the governments of Berlin and of St. Petersburg would not be able to dictate their conditions; that they would still have to reckon with the new French armies and with the emperor's genius; that, with the forces in the field still not unevenly balanced, the weight of Austria would be important. So Metternich offered his mediation, which at once brought about the armistice of Pläswitz; for two months military operations were suspended.

The two opposing parties, the emperor on the one side and Prussia and Russia on the other, solicited the intervention of Austria. Napoleon to be sure made little effort and few sacrifices for it. He did not believe that Austria would side against him; he knew well the divergence of interest that separated her from St. Petersburg and Berlin. It seems indeed that at no great cost he might have kept her with him; there is opportunity even now for a very interesting study upon the circumstances of the interview of Dresden, but this is not the time for it.

Russia and Prussia on the other hand, who had just been beaten and who no doubt would have been crushed by a combination of France and Austria, showed themselves much disposed to conciliation, gave Austria all the guaranties she required, especially in respect to their incendiary proclamations of Kalisch, disavowed the liberal doctrines which they had for a moment unfurled as a standard, and entered again into the spirit of the old régime.

Thenceforth restoration was the order of the day. Such was

the spirit of the treaty of Teplitz (September 9, 1813). Already Great Britain had signed with Prussia and Russia the convention of Reichenbach (June 14); she gave in her adherence to the treaty of Teplitz. The coalition was made, but on the principle of the restoration of the old Europe. The battle of Leipzig, October 16-19, was the battle of the nations, but the victory of the kings. They would leave to Napoleon the privilege and the glory of representing revolutionary ideas and national aspirations.

So they claimed not to be warring against France but only against Napoleon, and in the Notifications of Frankfort they accorded to France her natural frontiers, that is to say, especially, the frontier of the Rhine, without which she had no security; thus they sanctioned the work of the Revolution and the freely expressed desire of the Rhenish population to be a part of the French Republic. But thereafter they no more respected the national aspirations of France than those of the other nations of Europe.

They crossed the Rhine; France was once more invaded, as in 1792 and 1793, and their armies appeared in the basin of Paris. The war of independence, as the German historians called it, had become a war of plunder. Therefore it was that, eagerly disputing among themselves the spoils of the vanquished, they were in no true agreement and their contradictory interests constantly produced exasperation. Successful at first at La Rothière, they were defeated again and again, at Champaubert, at Montmirail, at Montereau, and thrown back upon the upper waters of the Marne. The results were such as had followed upon the defeats of Lützen and Bautzen.

The intense rivalry which separated Austria from Russia and Prussia came near bringing them again into hostilities and breaking up the coalition. Alexander I. and Frederick William III. reproached Schwarzenberg for the defeat of Blücher at Montmirail, due to the failure of the Austrian peoples to support him, and the quarrel became bitter. It has been set forth with great precision by the Austrian historian Dr. August Fournier, who calls this episode "the crisis of Châtillon". The congress of Châtillon was the scene of the episode, and if Napoleon had been willing to give more conciliatory instructions to his representative, the Duke of Vicenza, the Austrian government was quite ready to come to an agreement with him against the "*enragés*" of Prussia and Austria, so Metternich said.

But in fact, though he had married the daughter of the Emperor of Austria, Napoleon could not make common cause with the House

of Hapsburg, whose whole policy was counter-revolutionary. Moreover he hoped that he might still play off these deep rivalries against each other. And in fact the crisis of Châtillon, of which however he knew little, went far, and the coalition came near breaking up, which would have had the gravest consequences to the kings.

The situation was saved by English diplomacy, very ably represented at Châtillon by Lord Castlereagh. He showed the allies with much eloquence that their divisions, as had just been proved, ran the risk of bringing a common disaster upon them all and of saving Napoleon. They understood him. The "*enragés*" became more reasonable. Austria renounced the thought of coming to terms with France and in them caring for the interests of the Empress Marie Louise and the King of Rome. The coalition was drawn together again; this was the object of the treaty of Chaumont, March 1, 1814.

In the treaty of Chaumont, the coalition of Europe is at last represented in all of its essential traits. It brings closely together, against Napoleon and revolutionary France, the governments of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. It is based upon the principles of the old régime; the allied powers engage to remain united against the formidable doctrines that issued forth from the France of 1789, that is to say, against the freedom of the nations and their right of self-determination.

The treaty of Chaumont gave the victory to the allies and to their counter-revolutionary principles. Napoleon was beaten at Arcis-sur-Aube. Paris was taken. Napoleon was ironically reduced to the sovereignty of the island of Elba. The Bourbons were brought back to France to represent there the old régime. The revolution was stifled in the disaster of Napoleon.

VI.

The coalition of the kings was not slow to apply its principles. On April 11 the treaty of Fontainebleau sent Napoleon to his new place of residence. On May 30 the first treaty of Paris set forth in a striking form the laws which were to be imposed upon Europe.

France was brought back to her frontiers of 1792, that is to say, to the frontiers she had had in the time of the kings. Since that time, in accordance with the principle of self-determination of populations, Avignon, Mulhouse, and afterward Belgium, Luxembourg, and all the countries on the left bank of the Rhine, organized into French departments, had loudly manifested their desire to be incorporated into the French nation, in accordance with the aspira-

tions they had entertained for centuries, in accordance with the historic right upon which Roman Gaul had led a happy life for centuries. Moreover all these populations had known under French administration a striking prosperity; the names of the prefects of Coblenz and Mainz, Leçay-Marnésie and Jean Bon Saint André, are still popular there. When after Leipzig Napoleon had issued a call for volunteers, the department of Mont-Tonnerre, of which Mainz was the capital, had sent him more than any other French department. Beyond question, the populations of the left bank of the Rhine desired to remain French.

They were not consulted, and, in spite of them, against all their aspirations, against all historic right, they were distributed like cattle. The Rhine region was to be assigned to Prussia (what right had she there?) and Belgium was immediately assigned to Holland, from which she was as different as possible. The solution of the other problems presented by the victory of the kings and the defeat of Napoleon was reserved for the general peace congress which was to be held at Vienna. But it was easy to see in advance what the character of the work of pacification would be.

The congress at Vienna did not come together until October, 1814. Ever since May the kings had been enjoying their successes and passing under triumphal arches erected by their grateful subjects. Perhaps also they had refrained from hastening their meeting because of being almost sure that they would not be able to agree.

In fact they held but one session in all, in which they fell naturally into disagreement. The story is well known. The Four had made in advance their little arrangements and expected to impose them by force on all the other nations which had not been crowned with the glory of successful warfare. "The four allied powers" . . . began Metternich. "Allied!" interrupted Talleyrand, "against whom? Against France? But King Louis XVIII. is not the Emperor Napoleon, and if you are still allied against France there is nothing for me to do but withdraw." They kept him, for they might have need of him; representative of Louis XVIII., he in fact represented the ancient law or rights of nations, as he pointedly remarked to the Prussian plenipotentiaries; that is to say, he represented the principle which had restored the Bourbons to the throne of France, the principle of legitimate right.

But let us understand the matter clearly; this right of nations is not the right of peoples, on the contrary it is dynastic right, the right, claimed by kings, to dispose of the peoples. It was this right of nations which was the law of the Congress of Vienna.

Under this imposing cover of principles set forth in the most solemn language, the business of the Congress of Vienna was simply to divide the peoples of Europe like so much booty, as had been done already on the left bank of the Rhine and in Belgium.

Then the quarrels began afresh; the devouring dogs showed their fangs. Prussia and Russia wished a suitable rounding-out of their territories. Russia desired the whole of Poland, Prussia the whole of Germany or at least the political supremacy over North Germany. Thus they would, up to a certain point, have fallen in with the principle of nationalities. For this reason they were disposed to allow French influence, in conformity with that principle, to extend itself in one form or another to the Rhine, and proposed such an arrangement to Talleyrand.

But Talleyrand, representative of King Louis XVIII., represented the right of nations, not the right of peoples. He rejoiced to see the allies divided, which was in no wise astonishing, but he preferred to draw into close relations with Austria and the English Tories, who represented the venerable traditions of the old régime, and he signed with them the secret treaty of January 3, 1815: France the ally of Austria and of Great Britain against the immortal principles of the French Revolution; France the champion of the rights of kings. How could Napoleon fail to remain in the memory of the peoples as the legendary hero of the Revolution!

He came back from Elba and resumed the crown without having fired a shot, plainly therefore through the will of the French nation. At once, as after Lützen and Bautzen, as after Montmirail and Montereau, the coalition of the kings was again formed. The two opposing parties entered into convention, drew their lines anyhow across Europe, cut national aspirations to pieces, and at the end brought into existence the final act of the Congress of Vienna, an act which does little honor to those who signed it, June 9, 1815.

Waterloo, nine days after, caused no change, inspired in the minds of the victors only additional precautions against France, from whom they took away the essential fortresses that guaranteed her security, Phillippeville and Marienburg at the sources of the Oise in front of Charleroi, Bouillon in front of Luxemburg, Sarrelouis at the entrance into Lorraine, Landau at the entrance into Alsace. It was necessary that France, the cradle and central hearth of national liberties, should be put into such a position that she could be watched very near at hand, invaded in case of need, crushed if necessary; subsequent events have cast a sinister illumination upon this plan of the kings.

These precautions taken, the emperor at St. Helena, France subdued and with the knife at her throat, the kings could finally divide and enjoy their spoils.

Poland was mutilated and partitioned for the fourth time; unhappy Poland! But she did not die. The grand-duchy of Warsaw passed into the power of the tsar, under the deceptive title of the constitutional kingdom of Poland. Galicia returned to the empire of Austria. Prussia kept Danzig and Posnania. To one fragment of Poland, the republic of Cracow, the kings deigned to allow a little longer existence.

The Germanic Confederation was constituted under the hereditary presidency of Austria and vice-presidency of Prussia. The different states preserved nearly the same form and magnitude that they had had in Napoleon's time, yet rearrangements were arbitrarily effected that were founded solely on the right of the strongest. Thus the King of Saxony had shown fidelity to his benefactor Napoleon; such virtuous conduct deserved its punishment, and since Prussia, having lost Warsaw, must have some compensation, a third of the Saxon kingdom was given to her; she has kept it ever since, without having, to speak plainly, any right to it whatever.

But all this was not enough to satisfy her, and so they gave her the Rhine province, to which she could pretend no right, either historic or national. The Grand Turk would not have been more completely a foreigner to it. The inhabitants, who desired to remain French, of course were not consulted. Nay more, in the first months of the occupation, she learned that at Sarrebrück there were important coal deposits. It would be good to take them, which is one of the reasons why the gap of Sarrelouis-Sarrebrück was made in the frontier of French Lorraine. Was there in all this the least appearance of right of any sort?

And Italy, which had lately manifested in every way the most fervent national sentiment, which had begun to feel the currents of life around the three colors of her flag—what regard was paid to her? "A geographic expression", said Metternich with disdain. She was left in pieces; the kingdom of Naples, the Papal States, the grand-duchy of Tuscany, the duchy of Parma, the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, bound in chains to Austria.

Restoration indeed, but restoration of the privileges of the old régime, of the sovereignty of kings; the peoples brought back within the bounds of servitude. And since a revolt on their part could be

foreseen—for they had too well tasted of liberty not to seek to return to it—the kings formed a Holy Alliance, a mutual insurance against revolutionary fires, an armed peace of kings leagued against their peoples, and therefore a peace precarious and false. Immediately the oppressed nations shook their chains terrifyingly, and for a hundred years directed against the despotism of the kings a battle of which the Great War must be the last episode.

In the evolution of humanity toward the organization of a society founded upon right, even as in each nation every individual must have freedom for full and just development, so each nation must have its full assurance of liberty and of normal life. Before founding the Society of Nations it was necessary, it still is necessary, to give the nations their completion. That was the work of the nineteenth century, very imperfectly carried out to be sure, for Prussia introduced poisonous principles into this natural development of nationality, claiming to found the future of humanity upon force, in accordance with the maxims of barbarous times, and at many points, and not in Alsace-Lorraine alone, she has set aside the laws of national formation. At the east, at the west, and at the north of Germany there are fundamental corrections to be made.

But the profound thought of President Wilson will now be understood, when lately he contrasted as over against the obsolete work of the Congress of Vienna, the new work of the congress at Versailles. At Versailles, in the Tennis Court Oath, the deputies of the French nation swore not to separate until they had given a constitution to France. At Versailles to-day the deputies of freed humanity, on the ruins of the pretended Holy Alliance of the central empires, will found the Society of Nations on principles precisely contrary, on liberty and on right. Thus perhaps they will succeed in giving to peace a secure foundation.

ÉDOUARD DRIAULT.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

DISLOYALTY IN TWO WARS

AMONG the many interesting comparisons that now can and will be made between the war of 1861 and that of 1917 in respect to the policies and achievements of the American government, none is likely to be more striking than that concerned with the treatment of disloyal civilians. The situations confronting the authorities at the two crises were of course widely different on their face. A civil war, with hostilities raging close to the seat of government, and a foreign war, with the centre of action three thousand miles away, must present unlike problems. Yet a very casual reading in the contemporary literature of the two periods reveals a far-reaching parallelism in incidents and ideas.

For dealing with the non-military activities of Southern sympathizers the Lincoln administration had at the outbreak of war little statutory or judicial equipment. Few of the enterprises that were most helpful to the South were criminal under federal law or cognizable by the federal courts. Nor was there a Department of Justice with organization and personnel suitable to cope with the situation. Moreover Congress was not at hand to enact necessary legislation. Under all the circumstances the restraint of civilian disloyalty was taken in hand by the executive without reference to legislative or judicial sanction. Mr. Lincoln assumed that his constitutional power as commander-in-chief sufficed for all contingencies that actual war produced, and that he was therefore under no obligation, when protecting and defending the Constitution, to await the authorization of Congress or the sanction of the courts. This assumption remained to the end of the war the basis of the administration's policy.

Upon the outbreak of hostilities there ensued a great and widespread activity in seizing and incarcerating suspected persons in the North. The process was carried on with much zeal but with no semblance of regularity or system. The offenses alleged ran the whole gamut from open treason and levying war to unexpressed compassion for the traitors. As evidence warranting arrest the telegraphic allegation from an unknown source was often as effective as the seizure of correspondence or munitions of war in transit to the Confederates. The agents who actually made the arrests in-

cluded military and naval officers of the United States, federal marshals and district attorneys, and a variety of state functionaries, including sheriffs, constables, and especially city police. Finally, the officials from whom the orders for arrest proceeded showed as much diversity as the other elements in the situation. The commander of the army, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, but above all the Secretary of State shared among themselves the responsibility for filling the prisons. Of 103 prisoners in Fort Lafayette, New York, on October 14, 1861, sixty-five had been sent there by the Secretary of State. This probably is about the proportion in which the energetic Seward absorbed the functions of the administration in its early months. Neither the President nor the Attorney General appears as directly concerned in the business of civilian arrests, though some of the orders sent out by the secretaries professed to be by direction or authority of the President.

The prisoners that crowded the forts in which they were confined constituted a most heterogeneous aggregation. There were soldiers and sailors charged with military offenses; there were civilians charged with criminal offenses; there were Southerners who claimed to be alien enemies but were charged with being traitorous citizens; there were Northerners charged with offenses that were no crimes or held, in many cases, with no charge at all. All these classes indiscriminately were in the custody of the army, and no man could get a discharge except through the Secretary of War. Attempts to test and define through the judiciary the authority involved in this situation were peremptorily thwarted by the President's suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus. It became necessary, however, to introduce eventually some system into the existing chaos. Whether the end should be reached by legislation or by executive action, was a question that gave rise to an interesting conflict between the two departments of the government. The result, as the record shows, was a distinct triumph for the executive.

Some advance in classification was made during 1861 by the official as well as popular recognition of a category of "political prisoners" or "state prisoners". These, the Attorney General explained, were persons arrested not in order to be brought to trial in a civil court for an alleged crime, but in order to be held "subject to the somewhat broad and as yet undefined discretion of the President as political chief of the nation". Because they were usually arrested and held by military authority, they were known also as military prisoners. They were distinguished not only from ordinary

judicial prisoners, but also very clearly from prisoners of war; for the manner of treatment and the right to be exchanged that were assured to the latter by military law were not shared by the political prisoners.

In February, 1862, the Secretary of War issued two executive orders relating to political prisoners. The first directed that, so far as the public welfare will allow, "all political prisoners or state prisoners now held in military custody" be released on their signed parole not to give aid or comfort to the enemy. It was further directed that thereafter "extraordinary arrests" be made by military authority alone. The second order named two commissioners whose duty it should be to examine all "state prisoners" and determine whether they should be discharged, remanded, or sent to the civil courts for trial.

The procedure embodied in these orders was followed without substantial change throughout the war. Civilians were arrested by military order, held in military confinement, and subjected to examination by commissioners appointed *ad hoc* by the Secretary of War. In the later years of the war the functions of these commissioners were in some measure taken over by the Judge-Advocate General's office, which was created in the War Department. In any case it remained perfectly clear that the executive was applying a far-reaching power over the liberty of citizens, with no restraint whatever by the other departments of the government.

Congress sought to assert its own authority in the matter. It empowered the President to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, so that what he had been doing for years might have the sanction of its legislation. It added to the list of crimes various acts promotive of rebellion and obstructive of recruiting and the draft, so that offenders could be taken care of by the courts. In particular it enacted that lists of political prisoners must be promptly furnished to the federal courts and the prisoners discharged if no indictments should be found against them.

None of this legislation produced any important effect on the policy or procedure of the administration. Mr. Lincoln retained to the end his conviction that he could handle the habeas corpus matter without reference to Congress. There were few prosecutions for the new crimes that Congress created. As to the peremptory requirement that political prisoners be referred to the courts, some perfunctory attention was given to the act immediately after its passage, but the War Department soon settled back into its old procedure. Persons held in confinement by the executive "otherwise

than as prisoners of war" (to use the words of the law) were transferred, remanded, or released on the judgment, not of the federal courts, but of commissioners appointed by the Secretary of War.

This consistent policy of the administration was due not only to the initial lack of legislation and of adequate organs in the executive departments for dealing with civil war, but also to the unwavering conviction of Mr. Lincoln that the President was vested by the Constitution with a war power so broad and indefinite as to include whatever in his judgment would promote the success of the government's cause. The arrest and detention by summary procedure of civilians suspected of "disloyal practices" he believed to be indispensable to such success, and he felt justified in acting accordingly irrespective of the opinion of either Congress or the courts on the subject.

The record of our war with Germany stands in almost startling contrast to that of the Civil War. President Wilson's authority, actually exercised, surpassed in variety and scope the wildest dreams of 1861-1865. He had in his almost unrestricted control not only the entire man-power of the nation but also its commerce, industry, finance, and transportation. Even the food and health of the people were subject to his supreme regulation. The Lincoln administration might, indeed, have assumed all these sweeping powers; but there would have remained the fundamental distinction that Wilson's authority was based, both in theory and in practice, not upon the constitutional functions of the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, but upon acts of Congress.

This distinction appears perfectly in the matter with which we are particularly concerned. "Disloyalty", "aiding and abetting the enemy", "giving aid and comfort to our foes", were the current coin of fervid speech in 1918 relatively as often as half a century before. "Pacifists" and "pro-Germans" caused as much distress to agitated patriots as did Copperheads and Southern sympathizers, and produced no less astonishing exhibitions of what is now called "war psychology". But our latest war, with all its complexities, has had no "political prisoners" or "prisoners of state", no military arrests, and no suspension of the habeas corpus.

When in 1863 the *Chicago Times* denounced in extreme terms the policy and the personnel of the administration, the paper was summarily suppressed by an order of General Burnside, executed by a detachment of soldiers. When in 1917 the *Missouri Staats-Zeitung* attacked the war policy of the President and "played up Germany's military successes", the authors of the articles were ar-

rested, indicted, tried by jury, and convicted. In 1863 former Congressman Vallandigham at a Democratic meeting charged the Lincoln government with base motives and monstrous tyranny in the conduct of the war; he was seized at night by a squad of soldiers, tried by a military commission, and eventually sent beyond the Union lines into the Confederacy. In 1917 former Congressman Berger wrote and distributed Socialistic speeches and pamphlets bitterly assailing the Wilson administration; he was arrested on warrant, tried by jury, and convicted.

So far as any formal pronouncement defined the basis of the procedure in the Civil War, this is to be found in the President's proclamation of September 24, 1862, declaring that "discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting military drafts, or . . . any disloyal practice affording aid and comfort to the rebels" would subject the offender to martial law. By proclamation of September 15, 1863, Mr. Lincoln denied the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus to persons held as "aiders or abettors of the enemy". "Disloyal practices" and "aiding and abetting" thus became the basic terms upon which was built by interpretation an imposing array of offenses that could bring a man before a military court. Such, it was declared, were expressions exalting the character, motives, capacity, or resources of the enemy, overrating his success, underrating our own achievements, complaining against the officers of the government, and inflaming party spirit among ourselves.

Extreme as this appears, it is not far from what was made criminal by the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917, as amended May 16, 1918. By these laws spying and other such crimes were made cognizable by the civil as well as by the military courts, and the following were added to the list of criminal acts: Falsehoods to obstruct the sale of bonds; acts or statements causing disloyalty in the army and navy; "disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language" about the form of government of the United States, or its Constitution, flag, army and navy, or uniform; and saying or printing anything to promote the cause of the enemy or to curtail the production of things essential to the prosecution of the war.

Thus the extent to which restriction of normal liberty by the government was deemed necessary was substantially the same in the one crisis as in the other. The great difference in the methods of applying the restriction was due in large part to two facts. First, federal jurisdiction in criminal matters was in 1861 very limited, and the extension required by the new situation would probably have met with successful opposition both in and out of Congress. Sec-

ond, in 1861 there was no executive machinery for dealing systematically on a large scale with criminal cases. The Attorney General received only by the act of August 2, 1861, authority to supervise and direct United States marshals and district attorneys. Prior to that date these officials were under no specific executive department. This accounts for the utter confusion in the handling of disloyalty at the outbreak of the war. In 1917, on the contrary, the Attorney General was the head of the Department of Justice, equipped with complete authority and a numerous personnel throughout the nation. All powers vested in the President by the legislation referred to were by executive order turned over for exercise to the Attorney General in May, 1918. The secret service of the Department of Justice established at once close relations with the Military Intelligence Office of the army, and the joint activity of these two was responsible for the striking results achieved.

The spirit and record of the Wilson administration must give much satisfaction to those who seek an abiding reign of law. It would, however, be a highly sanguine student of history who would assert that the normal course of justice would have been consistently maintained in our last war if the enemy had been as near to Washington as he was in 1861, or if the conflict had lasted four years, or if great reverses had been experienced, or if our coasts had been threatened at close range by a high-seas fleet instead of by a lonely and furtive submarine.

W. A. DUNNING.

HISTORICAL WORK BY ARMY GENERAL STAFFS¹

WITH the growth of a general staff in an army, when a feeling of responsibility for the sources of information which general staff co-ordination brought together was recognized, and when the necessity for the study and authorized dissemination of the information

¹ The writer desires to make grateful acknowledgment to Col. C. W. Weeks, G. S., chief of the Historical Branch of the War Plans Division of the General Staff, and to Col. J. R. M. Taylor, U. S. A., librarian of the Army War College, for the opportunity and incentive which made possible the writing of this article.

Excellent critical bibliographies of the South African and Russo-Japanese wars are to be found in earlier numbers of this *Review*: "The Literature of the South African War, 1899-1902", by a British Officer, XII. 299-321 (1907); a supplementary communication, by Dr. H. ver Loren van Themaat, XV. 430-432 (1910); "The Literature of the Russo-Japanese War", by a British Officer, XVI. 508-528, 736-750 (1911). Inasmuch as the general staff histories of these wars were still in process of publication, reference to them in these articles is brief and incidental.

was seen, the writing of military history by army officers, except in the guise of memoirs, began to cease. The formation of a historical section in a general staff composed of officers with historical training or aptitudes, was therefore only a matter of course.

Inasmuch as the Franco-German War of 1870-1871 was the first great war the direction of which was dominated by a general staff, it would be expected that the first general staff history would deal with that war. Such is practically, if not exactly, the case. Officers of the Russian General Staff published, in the generation after Waterloo, a large history of the Seven Years' War.² A Russian history of operations of the year 1812 was written, and a translation of it into German published in 1862 and 1863, which bears every mark of the beginnings of general staff control,³ and a French work in 1865 shows in its title a further step in the same direction.⁴ The year 1867, however, saw a work by the Historical Section of the German Great General Staff on the campaign of the year 1866. It is a single volume, issued as a sort of trial effort in a new field, with none too great assurance, recognizing in the introduction that its presentation is one-sided. It seemed good enough, however, to merit the English translation which followed five years later.⁵

But it was with the Franco-German War that general staff history really began. In the introduction to the English translation made by Major Clarke of the work begun by the German General Staff in 1872 and finished in 1880,⁶ this statement appears: "The account will ever remain a standard military classic of one of the most remarkable campaigns in the world's history." The history deals almost exclusively with operations, treated in an over-strict chronological fashion, although here and there are scattered well-written criticisms and summaries. There seems to be a certain lack

² *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, von den Offizieren des Grossen Generalstabes (8 vols., 1824-1847).

³ M. Bogdanovitch, *Geschichte des Feldzuges im Jahre 1812, nach den Zuverlässigsten Quellen, auf Allerhöchsten Befehl*, translated by G. Baumgarten (3 vols., 1862-1863).

⁴ *Campagne de l'Empereur Napoléon III. en Italie, 1859*, rédigée au Dépôt de la Guerre (1862).

⁵ *Der Feldzug von 1866 in Deutschland*, redigirt von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des Grossen Generalstabes (1867). Translated into English by Colonel von Wright and Capt. H. M. Hozier, *The Campaign of 1866 in Germany* (1872, repr. 1907).

⁶ *Der Deutsch-Französische Krieg 1870-71*, redigirt von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des Grossen Generalstabes (20 Hefte in 7 vols., 1872-1880). Translated into English, *The Franco-German War, 1870-71* (5 vols., 1874-1884), by Major F. C. H. Clarke in the Topographical and Statistical Department of the War Office. Another edition of the German (5 vols., 1875-1881).

of balance, and the lack of an analytical index had to be supplied in the English translation. Nor is the work free from an occasional taint of propaganda—an unhistorical mark which reappears in nearly all the later work of the German General Staff—such as is found at the end of Heft 8, written in 1875 (pp. 1305–1306), which glowingly explains the expectant glances of the German army Parisward.

Among other reasons why the French were late in publishing general staff histories of the Franco-German War, must be taken into account the fact that French history on the modern plan was only begun with the establishment in 1868 of the *École des Hautes Études*. Also the archives of the general staff of the French Second Army and a large portion of the archives of the General Staff itself were destroyed March 18, 1871. General Ducrot was authorized by the minister of war, April 22, 1872, to publish a history of the defense of Paris.⁷ Here there is something besides a description of operations, for two chapters are devoted to political and diplomatic matters, five chapters to economic mobilization, and one book in the third volume to civilian morale.

Beginning in 1873 there were various commissions of inquiry which published documents of all kinds, but it was not until 1901, at about the same time that the General Staff began to publish hitherto unedited memoranda in the *Revue Militaire*, 1899, and in the *Revue d'Histoire*, 1901, that the elaborate French General Staff history in forty-three volumes began to appear.⁸ In the opinion even of French officers this is the poorest of all general staff histories. It was followed in 1906⁹ and in 1912¹⁰ by two volumes practically supplements, and these by two monographs by Lieut.-Col. E. Picard, chief of the Historical Section of the General Staff.¹¹ On page 293 of the second volume of *Sedan*, after mention of the present state of men and matériel, the following striking passage appears: "Voilà certes de quoi permettre à la France de regarder l'avenir avec confiance et d'envisager sans crainte l'heure où elle aurait à défendre son sol et à assurer ses destinées."

⁷ A. A. Ducrot, *La Défense de Paris, 1870–1871* (4 vols., 1875–1878).

⁸ *La Guerre de 1870–1871*, publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée (43 vols., 1901–1914).

⁹ A. Martinien, *État Nominatif des Officiers tués ou blessés, Guerre de 1870–1871*, publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée (2 vols., 1902, 1906).

¹⁰ *Id.*, *La Mobilisation de l'Armée, Mouvement des Dépôts, Armée Active, 1870–71*, publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée (1912).

¹¹ E. Picard, *1870: La Guerre en Lorraine* (2 vols., 1911); *1870: Sedan* (2 vols., 1912).

The works on the wars of 1866 and 1870 were done by the War History Section of the German General Staff, but beginning with the war with Denmark there is a slight change in the way in which authorship is expressed, the General Staff itself assuming primary responsibility. That this has the importance which has been attached to it the present writer inclines to doubt. At all events it was felt necessary first to complete the cycle of the wars of Kaiser Wilhelm I., and this was done in 1886.¹² This cleared the way for the *magnum opus* which the Historical Section was finally able to begin.¹³ Although the First Silesian War of Frederick the Great began exactly a century and a half before the German General Staff history of it was started, it had not been possible earlier to get access to the Austrian, French, and Saxon archives, or the family archives of the Wolfenbüttel, Zerbst, and other German houses. The opportunity had now come, and recognition of the fact is made, in the introduction to the first volume of the twenty-one dedicated to the wars of Frederick the Great, in the following words: "Therefore there is now material at hand enough to allow the historical presentation of the deeds which surround the name of the Great King with everlasting glory, and which opened to Prussia the road to a place as a great European power." In the fifth volume of *The Seven Years' War* there is a chapter on morale ("Geist und Werth des Heeres"),¹⁴ which has an enlightening description of the method of instilling hatred of the enemy (*Feindeshass*) into a body of recruits who have no military tradition or stimulus for enthusiasm; and in the tenth and twelfth volumes are several unhistorical rodomontades on "mit dem Schwerte in der Hand" and "der Appell an das scharfe Schwert".

The French General Staff followed the lead of the German in going back to the wars of their military genius. In 1902 a three-volume work appeared,¹⁵ followed in 1907 by one of five volumes,¹⁶ on campaigns of Napoleon.

¹² *Der Deutsch-Dänische Krieg, 1864*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte (2 vols., 1886-1887).

¹³ *Die Kriege Friedrichs des Grossen: Der Erste Schlesische Krieg, 1740-1742* (3 vols., 1890-1893); *Der Zweite Schlesische Krieg, 1744-1745* (3 vols., 1895); *Der Siebenjährige Krieg, 1756-1763* (15 vols., 1901-1913), herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte.

¹⁴ Ch. VI., pp. 51-57.

¹⁵ Comm. Saski, *Campagne de 1809 en Allemagne et en Autriche* (3 vols., 1899-1902), publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée.

¹⁶ Comm. Balagny, *Campagne de l'Empereur Napoléon en Espagne, 1808-1809* (5 vols., 1902-1907), publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée.

The Russians were over twenty years in beginning a general staff history of the Russo-Turkish War. A colonel in the German army published three volumes of critical sidelights on the war based on the memoirs of Kuropatkin, which if it did not have general staff authority was certainly for staff and military consumption. When the Russian General Staff work did appear¹⁷ it was at once translated into German, with the recognition that it was *besonders wichtig*.

The South African War was not yet finished before histories of it began. The first official works of staff interest were the Canadian reports,¹⁸ which dealt mostly with equipment and transportation. The French General Staff began in 1901 to make studies on the war, and as soon as it was over published a three-volume history¹⁹ with the statement that although no one ought to dream of writing as yet the history of the South African War, nevertheless the lively interest it had aroused, the polemics it had created, and the often hasty conclusions which had been drawn from actions in it, had made it necessary to bring to the knowledge of the military public the information at present available from creditable sources. This work was followed by the report of the English Royal Commission²⁰ "to inquire into the military preparations for the War in South Africa and into the supply of men, ammunition, equipment, and transport . . . and into the military operations", etc. The German General Staff work was next. It treated the war in Hefte 32-35²¹ of a series of historical monographs—about which more will be said below—this being the first attempt of the German General Staff to deal with events in which the German army took no part, and to utilize the experience gained by other powers beyond the confines of Europe, particularly inasmuch as Germany had be-

¹⁷ *Der Russisch-Türkische Krieg 1877-1878 auf der Balkan Halbinsel*, verfasst von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Commission des Kais.-Russischen Hauptstabes. Translated under the chief of the Austro-Hungarian staff and published by direction of the Kriegs-archiv, by V. Grzesicki and F. Wiedstruck (7 vols., 1902-1911).

¹⁸ *Organization, Equipment, Despatch, and Service of the Canadian Contingents during the War in South Africa, 1899-1900* (Department of Militia and Defence for the Dominion of Canada, Sessional papers, 1901, Supplementary Report no. 35a; *id.*, 1903, no. 35a).

¹⁹ P. V. Fournier, *La Guerre Sud-Africaine*, publié sous la direction du 2^e Bureau de l'État-Major Général de l'Armée (3 vols., 1902-1904).

²⁰ *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Military Preparations and other Matters connected with the War in South Africa* (1903); *Minutes of Evidence* (3 vols., 1903).

²¹ See note 30. Also a series of Hefte, *Die Kämpfe der Deutschen Truppen in Südwestafrika* (Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung I. des Grossen Generalstabes) from *Vierteljahrsheften für Truppenführung und Heereskunde* (1906-).

come a colonial power. These volumes were translated by English staff authority in 1905 and 1906. The English staff was last in publishing its history of the war.²²

The General Staff of the United States army was the first to publish official reports on the Russo-Japanese War, a volume of reports of military attachés appearing in 1906,²³ and an epitome of the war in 1907.²⁴ The English staff history began to appear in 1908,²⁵ the Austrian in the same year,²⁶ and the German in Hefte 37-49 of its historical monographs. The Russian General Staff history appeared in 1910 and was at once translated into English, French, and German by their respective general staffs.²⁷ The Japanese official reports in twenty volumes began to appear in 1911.²⁸

The German General Staff early recognized distinct fields for its historical publications. It took under its aegis in 1892 Moltke's correspondence;²⁹ in 1898 it began a series of monographs, with a total of fifty Hefte to date,³⁰ which gave official sanction to certain chosen diaries, memoirs, criticisms of past operations, or plans for future ones, etc.; and finally in 1901 it began a series of studies on military history and tactics, beginning with the Franco-German War

²² *History of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902*, compiled by direction of His Majesty's Government by Maj.-Gen. Sir [John] Frederick Maurice and a staff of officers (8 vols., 4 of maps, 1906-1910).

²³ *Reports of Military Observers attached to the Armies in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War* (War Department, General Staff, no. 8, 5 vols., 1906-1907).

²⁴ *Epitome of the Russo-Japanese War* (War Department, General Staff, no. 11, 1907).

²⁵ *The Russo-Japanese War*, compiled by the General Staff at the War Office (1906), continued as *Official History of the Russo-Japanese War*, prepared by the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence (3 vols. in 6, 1908-1912); *British Officers' Reports* (5 vols., 1908).

²⁶ Austrian official reports, *Einzelschriften über den Russisch-Japanischen Krieg*, Beihefte zu *Streffleurs Oesterr.-Milit. Zeitschrift* (67 Hefte, 1905-1914). *Taktische Detaildarstellungen aus dem Russisch-Japanischen Kriege*, by direction of the Austrian General Staff by Col. von Habermann and Capt. Nowak (12 Hefte, 1908-1914).

²⁷ *Russko-Yaponskaya Voina, 1904-1905* (9 vols., bound in 17 large volumes, 1910), by the Military Historical Committee. Translated into German as *Der Russisch-Japanische Krieg: Amtliche Darstellung des Russischen Generalstabes*, von Freiherr von Tettau (11 vols., 1910-1912). English translation of German translation, by K. von Donat (17 vols., 1908-1914). Translated into French as *Guerre Russo-Japonaise, 1904-1905*, traduction publiée sous la direction de l'État-Major de l'Armée, 2^e Bureau (18 vols., 1910-1913).

²⁸ *Japanese Official Reports* (20 vols., 10 of them maps, 1911).

²⁹ *Moltkes Militärische Werke*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte (15 vols., 1892-1912).

³⁰ *Kriegsgeschichtliche Einzelschriften*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Kriegsgeschichtliche Abtheilung (50 Hefte in 18 vols., 1885 [1898]-1914).

as being a new epoch in war operations.³¹ This monograph method will in all likelihood be the way in which all general staffs will deal with the publication of details of any sort as subsidiary and supplementary to the larger and more general histories.³²

The most noticeable thing in the general staff histories is the broadening of the subject field. At first nothing was treated but "operations", but gradually, as the general staffs through their coordinating branches began to understand that military operations were only part of a war, chapters of a political, topographical, and diplomatic nature were added; and the story of the mobilization of military forces was supplemented by the story of the mobilization of civic forces and industrial resources, until some of the later general staff histories devote as much as a fourth of their space to operations other than those of a strictly military nature.

Work has already been begun by the general staffs of the armies of several countries on histories of the late World War for civilization. This war ushered in a new epoch in warfare greater than did the Franco-German War in that the phrase "nations in arms" is correct and applicable. That the foreign general staff histories will give much space to civilian operations is certain, not only from the proof of increase in that direction in past histories, but from the nature of the case. The General Staff of the United States army, through its Historical Branch which is working under good auspices and with exemplary realization of its responsibilities, is preserving a good proportion in the assignment of space in its history to the various activities which carried the United States of America through to final victory.

RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN.

³¹ *Studien zur Kriegsgeschichte und Taktik*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Kriegsgeschichtliche Abtheilung (12 vols., 1901-1913).

³² The titles of several histories written by or under the direction of general staffs, and found in the Army War College library collection, are here added: *British Minor Expeditions, 1746 to 1814*, compiled in the Intelligence Branch of the Quartermaster-General's Department (1884).

Col. J. F. Maurice, *Military History of the Campaign of 1882 in Egypt*, prepared in the Intelligence Branch of the War Office (1887).

C. de La Jonquière, *L'Expédition d'Égypte, 1798-1801* (État-Major de l'Armée, Section Historique, 1899-1907).

Scritti Editi e Inediti del Generale Giovanni Cavalli, per ordine del Ministero della Guerra (Turin, 4 vols., 1910).

Crónica Artillera de la Campaña de Melilla de 1909 (Madrid, Ministerio de la Guerra, 1910).

Bosquejo de la Campaña Turco-Balcánica de 1912-13, bajo la dirección del Jefe del Depósito de la Guerra (1913).

Das Preussische Heer der Befreiungskriege 1812-1813, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Kriegsgeschichtliche Abtheilung II. (1912-1914).

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR OF 1917

WE have no precedents in the United States for official histories of the wars in which this country has been engaged. It is true that we have published voluminous reports, that we have issued state papers, sometimes with annotations, and that we have printed source-material, but so far no history properly speaking has been issued with governmental sanction.

The *Rebellion Records* are not only not history but they are hardly a model to be followed.

The Historical Branch of the General Staff of the United States Army was established in February, 1918, and assigned to the duty of preparing an official history of the participation of the United States in the European war which began in 1914. With the creation of a body to write an official history, it became necessary to decide upon the scope of the work. There are a long series of precedents in Europe for the writing of military histories, but they all describe the operations of the belligerent armies with only brief summaries of the diplomatic negotiations which began and closed hostilities, while the problems of supply and maintenance of the armies and their matériel are consigned to a subordinate place if discussed at all. They are essentially military histories, in which the moves of the pieces upon the board are described in minute detail, but in which the forces that set the pieces in play, the means of continuing them in operation, and the causes which produced the end of the movement are all ignored.

There were many reasons for this treatment. The German official history of the war of 1870-1871 is essentially a piece of adroit propaganda issued to impress the world with the invincibility of the German armies, and it furnished a model which was considered if not followed by subsequent writers and compilers of military histories. Then it must be considered that, prior to this war, armies, however large, were instrumentalities of the state rather than the state itself at war. The conception of the nation in arms remained an academic one until the war which has now closed embodied it in peoples engaged in the supply of the fighting armies. In the past, the service of supply ran from the army to bases which received what was necessary for the maintenance of the army, but about these bases the life of the community went on, disturbed perhaps, but fundamentally unchanged. In this war, with the extension of the powers of government in every one of the belligerents, with the enormously increased consumption of munitions, and with the great

size of the armies, the service of supply has run to every door however remote from the theatre of operations.

It accordingly appeared impossible to the Historical Branch to write a history of the participation of the United States upon what may be called the standard lines. The survivors of the war will be interested for fifty years or so in what they did, but posterity, concerned with the great movement of forces, with governments taking over new and strange emergency powers, with the problems of production and supply, rather than with the deeds of individuals, will want to know much which an account of operations cannot give. Then, while the causes which produced effects in war are a matter of common knowledge to the generation which has lived through one, yet these essential facts, being commonplaces, are rapidly forgotten if not recorded. The results are left but the compelling forces rapidly become matters of conjecture and of controversy.

The Historical Branch accordingly decided to describe the United States at war during 1917-1918, in place of limiting the scope of its work to a history of the operations of the American expeditionary forces in Europe and Asia. The general plan of the work, as it is at present, follows. Of course, the plan is not final; it can hardly be that until the type has actually been set up, but we hope that this plan is fairly close to that of the work as it will appear.

As now seen, the general staff history of the War of 1917 ought to consist of about seventeen volumes of some 250,000 words each. The volumes will probably be distributed as follows:

I. General military history, one volume. It will be a review of the whole European war including the participation of the United States in it (the War of 1917). This volume in addition to being a general review will serve to link up and place the subsequent volumes which will fill in the details.

II. Diplomatic relations, three volumes. These will give the diplomatic relations of the United States with the belligerents in Europe, those of the belligerents among themselves, the relations among the allies, their joint actions and programmes, and will include the proceedings of the various peace conferences.

III. Economic mobilization, four volumes. This series will describe the hurried organization of industry, labor, and finance, to meet the needs of the war, the development of basic legislation and machinery, the effort to meet policy, conservation and conversion of industry, price-fixing and priority, and, finally, the working of economic organization in connection with military requirements.

IV. Military mobilization and supply, three volumes. These

will cover organization, armament, equipment, training, and supply in the United States, organization and final training in Europe, work of the service of supply there, and finally, demobilization in Europe and the United States.

V. Military operations, five volumes. It is believed that these will be sufficient to cover the services of the combatant forces of the United States in the various theatres of operation.

VI. Military occupation. This will probably be covered in one volume, but at present, with the uncertainty of the situation, it is obviously impossible to assign definitely the number of volumes.

In addition there will be a pictorial history of the war, containing reproductions of the more important of the large number of photographs which have been taken by military photographers in the theatre of operations and in the rear of the line. This series will cover not only operations but equipment and matériel. Men of to-day will be interested in trying to distinguish themselves in groups on the French front, but posterity will be more interested in knowing exactly how the monstrous guns of to-day were used and how they looked, what the clothing and equipment of the armies were, and similar matters. We do not really know all this for even our Civil War; we have rather vague ideas on the subject for our wars prior to it; but this pictorial history will give us the opportunity to preserve this information in ordered and considered classification.

The plan which has been set forth will enable us to issue a detailed story of the war and of the activities behind the theatres of operation. It is probable that many of our statements and conclusions will be subject to revision. The subject is so vast and so much is still held as confidential abroad that where the activities of the United States and of the belligerents with which we are co-operating coincide there must inevitably be a field but imperfectly lighted. It will be many years before this field is brought under complete illumination, but after all in writing we shall be only secondarily concerned with the activities of the other belligerents. Our primary interest is in the war activities of the United States, and, with the material which is at our disposal and with our access to sources necessarily closed to general investigators, it will be our fault if we do not produce a clear and accurate statement of the play of the forces with which we deal.

We, however, make no claim that we shall say the last word upon any subject. That claim would be idle. There are too many safes and private drawers still to be opened. Furthermore, the history which we have planned will not take the place of the more detailed

and intimate stories of the activities of units both military and civil in this great war. We do, however, believe that our work will tie them together and serve as what may be called a general map of the subject. We realize that the preparation of such detailed accounts is both inevitable and expedient, and, as we conceive the functions of the Historical Branch of the General Staff, its duty will be to aid and facilitate the research necessary for their preparation, and to inform those engaged in writing them where material can be obtained and the use which is permitted under the regulations of the government.

JOHN R. M. TAYLOR, *Colonel, U. S. A.*

DOCUMENTS

Diary and Memoranda of William L. Marcy, 1857

[THE following entries in Marcy's diary, running from March 4 to April 6, 1857, are, like the entries of 1849-1851 which were printed in our April number (pp. 444-462, *ante*), supplied by Professor Thomas M. Marshall from the manuscript in the possession of Professor Charles S. Sperry. In volume LXXVII. of the Marcy Papers in the Library of Congress there is a copy of these entries. That manuscript also contains entries for April 9, 14, 17, and 18, 1857, and these have been added to Mr. Marshall's text and printed below. The further entries, however, May 14 to July 1, contain nothing of political or historical importance. Ed.]

4th Mar 57. The ceremony of inauguration of Jas Buchanan is now going on. I am prevented from being present by lameness. The last rumour is that the cabinet [is not completed]. The Prest is reported to be vacilating in the choice between Clifford of Maine and Toucey of Conn. Mr. B. has had a full and fair opportunity to ascertain between the character of the two men, and there should be no hesitation in making the selection between the two. There is no political complication to embarrass the choice. Not so I apprehend in regard to the office of P. M. Genl. The correctness of the anticipated praise of the New President for decision of character seems to be thrown into some doubt by his course in regard to the composition of his Cabinet.¹

¹ Nathan Clifford of Maine had been Attorney General, 1846-1848, in Polk's Cabinet, in which Buchanan had been Secretary of State; upon nomination by Buchanan he became a justice of the Supreme Court in January, 1858, and served as such till his death in 1881. Isaac Toucey of Connecticut had been Clifford's successor as Attorney General under Polk, 1848-1849, and was Secretary of the Navy under Buchanan, 1857-1861. The facts now known bear out Marcy's allegations as to Buchanan's vacillation. On February 17 Senator Bigler writes to him from Washington, "The impression is general here today that your Cabinet will be composed of the following names: to wit, Messrs. Cass, Cobb, Toucey, Jones, J. W. Thompson, Brown of Tennessee, and Floyd of Virginia." Jones, *Life and Public Services of J. Glancy Jones*, I. 349. On that same day Buchanan writes Jones that the latter will not be in the Cabinet: "I have finally determined on all the members of the Cabinet except the Attorney-General; and it may be desirable under all circumstances that I should appoint Judge Black to that place." *Ibid.*, I. 358. On February 21 he offers the Treasury to Cobb and the State Department to Cass; letter to Cobb in *Am. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report*, 1911, II. 397 (see also *ibid.*, 389, 395, 396, and Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men*, II. 240, 421). On the 24th Toombs writes Stephens, "Cass and Cobb have been definitely appointed, none others have been, but Floyd and Jake Thompson and A. V. Brown are pretty sure, but Toucey is in danger and Jones at sea". *Annual*

More anon on this subject. When the Cabinet is formed I shall for my own satisfaction put down my opinion in regard to the men who compose it with a view to compare the result with my anticipation.

Mon. Wash. March 17. 57. An increasing excitement prevailed the mind of all reflecting men in regard to the "Iron rule" which Mr. B. has announced that all officers holding commissions with the four years term are to be dropped and new appts made. It is called the Boys trap usually called Figure four 4.² The rule has been most distinctly and broadly enunciated in its general application to all sections of the country [as] well as to all incumbents. I have as yet seen no elaborate defence of the rule. Mr. Buchanan has made only some general remarks in vindication of it. He declared that if he did not act upon that principle his administration would be broken down in three months.³ To Mr P. Allen (Sen. of R. I.)⁴ he said that the cause of the breakdown of Mr. V. Buren's administration was the retention of office holders. This observation can hardly d[e]rive support from historical facts. Mr. V. B. if I rightly remember made many changes so much so that his was called the Spoils adm.⁵ Though but a few days have elapsed since this pronouncement was put forth it has already been much modified and sectionally abrogated. Southern men very generally denounced it and claimed—nay more—demanded—that their section of the country should be exempt from its operation. This demand has been complied with. It has already received a further restriction in its application to the departmental officers. A very suspicious departure from the Spirit of the rule was shown by one of the first acts of its author. I refer to the case of P. Clayton.⁶ Mr. C. was a whig and received the appt. of 2d

Report, 1911, II. 397, 398. On the 27th Justice Curtis writes to Ticknor, "His Cabinet is settled, with the exception of the Postmaster-General. . . . Mr. Toucey of Connecticut, Attorney-General. . . . Mr. Brown of Tennessee, Secretary of the Navy". Curtis, *Memoir of Benjamin Robbins Curtis*, I. 192-193. And it was not till March 6 that Buchanan offered the attorney-generalship to Black. *Works*, X. 114; *Reminiscences of Jeremiah S. Black*, pp. 99-100. See under March 19, *post*.

² Humorous allusion to the familiar figure-four trap. Toombs writes to Stephens, March 10, "Buck will vacate all the offices, or rather when the commissions expire consider them open". *Annual Report*, 1911, II. 398.

³ As early as December 29, 1856, Buchanan had written to John Y. Mason, minister to France, "I cannot mistake the strong current of public opinion in favor of changing public functionaries, both abroad and at home, who have served a reasonable time. They say, and that too with considerable force, that if the officers under a preceding Democratic administration shall be continued by a succeeding administration of the same political character, this must necessarily destroy the party". *Works*, X. 100. (Mason was however continued at his post.)

⁴ Philip Allen, senator 1853-1859.

⁵ In an editorial in the *New York Herald* for March 23, we read, "It is said that that sarcastic old statesman W. L. Marcy, on hearing that the policy of rotation in office had been resolved upon by the new administration, dryly remarked, 'Well, they have it that I am the author of the office seeker's doctrine, that "to the victors belong the spoils", but I certainly should never recommend the policy of pillaging my own camp'". For Taney's disapproval, see *American Historical Review*, X. 359.

⁶ Philip Clayton of Georgia, whose sister was married to a cousin of Secre-

Auditor from Genl Taylor. He became a No nothing and voted at the Charter election in Washington agt. Maury Dem and for Tower the No nothing Candidate.⁷ He is an open spoken Secessionist etc. etc. Genl P.⁸ as a kind act towards Mr. H Cobb, now Sec. of the Treasury, kept C. in during his term although Mr G. the Sec. of the Treasury⁹ urged the removal of C. One of the first appts. of Mr B——n was that of C. to be asst Sec. of the Treasury.

Thomson. Sen. of N. J.¹⁰ says he has Mr B——n's promise that the iron rule shall not be applied to his state. But what is most astounding is that the members—several of them now (17th. Mar), say that Mr B. has established no such rule, yet this very mornng he reiterated it to Gov. Thomas collr. of Baltimore.¹¹ That the rule is not adopted in good faith by Mr. B——n is becoming evident for there are several instances where he has applied or proposes to apply it where if it was worth any thing it should [not?] have operated. It is already turned into a sectional rule. It is already said that promised evasions of it are already contrived that are discreditable. It is said that the Collr at Detroit is removed for the purpose of showing a deference to it but he has been promised a better situation—and that situation has been named to him.¹² The same is said to be the case with one of the appraisers at N. Y., *White*. W. is cared for on account of intimate social relations between his family and that of Mr. B.

Judge Black, the Atty Genl [t]his day positively denies the existence of such a rule and declares that the imputation of it to Mr. B. is a manifest act of injustice. There are hundreds now in this city to whom Mr. B. has announced the rule in a most broad and emphatic manner. He did so this very day (17th Mar.) to Gov. Thomas. He certainly declared to me when I called on him that he should "*undoubtedly*" act on that rule but at the same time said that all commissions would be permitted to expire. He has also said repeatedly (not to me) that the four years term would be applied to foreign appts. by analogy, the commissions to such officers not having any limitations.

This rule has spread alarm thro the country and has done already tary Cobb, was second auditor of the treasury from 1850 to 1857, was nominated assistant secretary of the treasury March 13, confirmed the same day, resigned in December, 1860 (*cf. Annual Report, 1911, II. 523*), and became assistant secretary of the Confederate treasury.

⁷ William A. Maury, mayor of Washington 1852–1854, was in the latter year defeated by the Know-nothing candidate, John T. Towers, superintendent of printing, mayor 1854–1856.

⁸ Pierce.

⁹ James Guthrie of Kentucky, secretary of the treasury 1853–1857.

¹⁰ John R. Thomson, senator 1853–1862.

¹¹ Philip Francis Thomas, governor of Maryland 1848–1851, collector of the port of Baltimore 1853–1860, secretary of the treasury under Buchanan from December 12, 1860, to January 11, 1861.

¹² John H. Harmon had been collector of the port of Detroit since March, 1853. On March 7, 1858, Michael Shoemaker was nominated collector in his place, but Harmon received no other appointment from Buchanan—none at least of grade sufficient to bring it into the Senate journal. The Senate, it may be mentioned, adjourned March 14, 1857.

great mischief and if practically carried out will be the source of much discord in the dem ranks.

How the notion of such a rule could get into the mind of a sound thinking man is to me utterly inconceivable. It will be abandoned but not probably till it has worked much mischief and brought signal disgrace upon its Author.

Mar. 29. Went to Baltimore. Dined with Reverdy Johnson¹³ and the next day with Wilmot Johnson¹⁴ *en famille*.

Gorman¹⁵ told me that Mr B. said he could not give the naval Office (or navy agent) to Hammond because he had promised an office to Bowen when he was electioneering in Penna.¹⁶ This was a clear admission that he disposed of the offices before his election.

Mr B. ruled out Gwinn¹⁷ of Baltimore whose name was suggested for U. S. Dist Atty because he had canvassed this district to get a Delegate agt Mr. B. and said he [would] remember him during his term or as McLane¹⁸ stated it to me He (G.) should not have office during his term. McL. wrote to Cobb on the subject.

Mar. 19. Extract from an Editorial in Union¹⁹ this morning—reference to Conn.

To her position and the ability and talent of her sons, she is indebted for the place in the cabinet held by one of her truest, most reliable, and able statesmen. The name of Mr. Toucey was on all lips as soon as the election of Mr. Buchanan was made a fact; and while the claims of other States and other names were not overlooked nor underrated, the popular voice called for Mr. Toucey to be one of President Buchanan's constitutional advisers.

It is undoubtedly true that at an early period after the late Prest. Election public opinion pointed to Mr. T. as a fit person for a cabinet appt. yet Mr. B's mind vacilated for four months between Mr. N. Clifford and Mr. T. Predicated upon what Mr. B. said himself both were

¹³ Senator 1845-1849, 1863-1868, Attorney General 1849-1850.

¹⁴ A young business man of Baltimore, who in 1853 had married Margaret Schuyler Van Rensselaer of Albany.

¹⁵ Perhaps Arthur P. Gorman, afterward the celebrated senator, who at this time, a youth of eighteen, was either a page in the Senate or secretary to Senator Douglas.

¹⁶ Levi K. Bowen was nominated naval officer of the port of Baltimore February 23, 1838. John T. Hammond was the same day nominated collector of the port of Annapolis. There may be significance in the following sentences from a letter of Cobb to Buchanan before the election, August 14, 1856: "I am so impressed with the necessity and importance of a change in the electoral ticket of Maryland that I make another suggestion to you. I understand that there is a gentleman on the ticket by the name of Bowen (Levi K.) who will do anything you want him to do. Could you not write to him to come and see you and get him to arrange for his own place to be supplied with an old time whig?" Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1911, I. 379.

¹⁷ Charles J. M. Gwinn, son-in-law of Reverdy Johnson. Marcy had employed him in a special diplomatic mission in the latter part of his secretaryship.

¹⁸ Probably Robert M. McLane, commissioner to China in 1853-1854.

¹⁹ *The Washington Union* was the Democratic paper of the capital.

in and out of his Cabinet more than twenty times. Two days after the inauguration Mr. T. was ruled out and for the very substantial reason if it were true that he was a cold man and C. had higher social qualities. This ground of preference was assigned at [*sic*] late as ten O'Clock on the 5th of March but the pendulum had by *ten* Oclock next mornng swung to the other side and Mr. T. was notified of his being selected. The course of Mr B——n in relation to T. and C. is the most remarkable instance of indecision that ever fell under my observation. Mr. B. knew them both personally; they had been in a Cabinet with him, he therefore had full means of appreciating the character of each. There was no perceptible political complication which could have embarrassed him in deciding between them. Nor was there that parity of fitness which ought to have caused one moment's hesitation.

20. Mar. Dined last night with the President; the new cabinet were present (except Genl C.)²⁰ for so large a party it was a very pleasant dinner. I there met for the first Judge Black, the Atty Genl. He made a favorable impression upon me. The other members of the C. appeared kindly disposed.

Mar 24th. In the Union of this day there is an article describing the gene[ra]l condition of Kansas, at the close of the late administration and denying the charge that Gov Geary retired from the governorship of that territory because he had not been properly supported by the late Admⁿ. Gov. G. admitted to me as he did also to Genl Pierce that he had never uttered one word of complaint—or felt one sentiment of dissatisfaction at the conduct of the late admⁿ towards him. He said he had had from it all the support that had been promised to him.²¹ In the same paper there is a noticeable article upon the tender of the Prussian Mission to Jas. C. Clay son of the late distinguished H. Clay.²² This would be well were it not for its awkward attendants. A democrat of long standing and eminent service to his party and country²³ was to be removed to make place for an *old-line whig* who, notwithstanding his efforts in the late presidential campai[g]n "*has not proven faithless to his pledges as an old line whig*". In the notice of this tender of the Prussian mission to Mr Clay Mr B——n's election is glorified as a triumph over sectionalism and *proscription*. It was certainly a triumph *over* sectionalism but so far as Mr B has opened himself, his election appears to be the triumph *of* Proscription, and proscription in its very worst form. Every issue of the Union—the one now before me—contain quite a list of democrats removed from office. It is true that they are in most instances filled by democrats but the principle upon which this policy is based is inconceivably mischievous to the party, and the object for which it has been adopted most discreditable to its author. If it

²⁰ Cass, secretary of state.

²¹ John W. Geary of Pennsylvania was governor of Kansas from September, 1856, to March 4, 1857. "We are not unaware that some alleged reports of conversations with Governor Geary have been published, which seem somewhat to conflict with his valedictory address; but this conflict may be the mere result of misunderstanding, and the address itself is the best authority." *Washington Union*, March 24, editorial.

²² James B. Clay, who had just been elected to Congress as a Democrat. The article in the *Union* is taken from the *Lexington (Ky.) Statesman*.

²³ Peter D. Vroom, ex-governor of New Jersey, envoy to Prussia 1853-1857.

was a sound principle it would operate benignly every where. Mr. B. after promulgating his policy as a general rule of action to be applied every where at once recoiled from the threatened mischief. He then declared it was to have a sectional application—a noble illustration of his election being a triumph over sectionalism—it was a rule for the north—not for the south.

Then a further qualification was made and certain regions in the north were to be exempted from its operation. Shortly after personal exceptions were admitted. Finally it turns out to be a *mode* to disguise the real motive of action. The offices were made the sport of sheer personal caprice. Mr. B. had an arrear of old debts to pay, and it would have been more manly to have paid them without attempting to throw any disguise over the mode of liquidation. Genl Cass also had quite as many of such debts as Mr. B. Mr B's were *prefered* and the Genl's *deferred*, obligation[s]. No one could well complain of this order of liquidation but it must be admitted that the Genl. is placed in an awkward Situation. Some of his most devoted friends are remorselessly stripped of office to make places for the friends of the President but Genl C. proves himself to be an easy enduring man, and as it seems selfwise, regarding his own security to that of peculiar friends. I shall be curious to learn how the acct. will foot up when it is closed.

Wash. Mar. 25th. 57. The cast of the N. Y. appts was announced yesterday. It is difficult to perceive how a worse cast could have been made. The only reappt, of Fowler,²⁴ was expected, but why he should have been spared no one can, or rather no one *will* tell. Shell²⁵ is a stupid fellow, but generally thought to be honest. He wont cheat himself but has hardly sufficient capacity to prevent others from doing so. The appearance of Geo. N. Sanders name for any office is a wonderment but for one where the opportunity and temptation for frauds is the greatest is shocking. After who [what] he caused to be published agt Mr. B. and Genl C. in the Dem. Review in '52' (in the Feby no. I think) it is surprising that either should have thought him worthy of a responsible govt.²⁶

See the Dem. Review.

Rynders for Marshall!!! It is believed that Birdsall is to be Naval Officer. Low vilany seems to be current. Man Hart—!!²⁷ What are

²⁴ Isaac V. Fowler, postmaster at New York City, afterward a defaulter.

²⁵ Augustus Schell, who for several years had been chairman of the state Democratic committee, now appointed collector of the port of New York.

²⁶ George N. Sanders was appointed navy agent at New York. He had been editing the *Democratic Review* in the interest of the Young Democracy. The articles here referred to are "Eighteen-Fifty-Two and the Presidency", especially pp. 9-12, in the January number of the *Democratic Review* (n. s., I.), "The Presidency and the Review", in the February number, pp. 182-188, and "Congress, the Presidency and the Review", March, especially pp. 207, 219-221. They reflect more on Butler and Marcy, however, than on either Buchanan or Cass. Sanders, a Kentuckian, was afterward a Confederate agent in Europe. Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1899, p. 274.

²⁷ Isaiah Rynders was appointed marshal for the southern district of New York, Ausburn Birdsall naval officer, Emmanuel B. Hart (M. C. 1851-1853) surveyor of the port.

we coming to—or rather what have we come to!! More hereafter—

(Private and confidential)

WASH. Mar. 27th 57.²⁸

My dear Sir:—I never omit a duty without having a good excuse to offer. I ought have written to you before this time but while doing so I should have omitted something else which ought to have been done. The President was with me until day before yesterday and while he was here my house was thronged by his numerous warm hearted friends anxious to pay their kind respects to him and his most excellent Lady. Nothing could have been more gratifying to me that [than] this clear manifestation of regard to Mr. and Mrs. Pierce. I venture to say no occupants of the White House ever left Washington with such deep feelings of affection from the people of this city. I do not think there is more than one man in all the Old North State that can fairly pretend to enter into competition with Genl. Pierce into [in] the art of win[n]ing hearts.

Strange things have been enacted here during the last three weeks. Pierce men are hunted down like wild beasts. If a northern or free state man holding an office was at Cincinnati and there favored the nomination of Genl. Pierce [he] is under the sentence of death to be executed at any time and at furthest at the close of his term. Office holders who attended the convention at C. and favored the nomination of Mr. Buchanan are generally shoved up stairs but those who favored Genl. P. are rudely kicked down stairs. *Know nothings* are not only better liked and better used than Pierce-men, because some of them have been appointed to respectable and responsible offices. The rule of rotation is resorted to for a purpose too bad to be openly avowed. Besides this rule, another equally wise seems to be acted on. Where there are factions in our party the offices are very generally given to minor factions. This is believed to be the case in Boston, Baltimore New York etc.

April 2d. 57. It is determined that Genl. Thomas shall be removed from his position as Asst. Secretary of State.²⁹ The manner of it should be regarded by Genl. Cass as personally offensive to him, and would not have been adopted if there had been the slightest desire to be respectful.

At first Genl. C. told Genl. T. that he was as safe in his position as the Emperor of Russia was upon his throne. But afterwards Genl. C. was discovered to be wavering, and he suggested to me that he should be obliged to get some one who could have free intercourse with the man at

²⁸ In Professor Sperry's manuscript, this letter is pasted into the diary; in the Library of Congress copy, it is marked, "Letter not finished, and with no address—probably to the Ex-Sec. of the Navy, James C. Dobbin, N. C." (secretary in the late Cabinet, 1853-1857).

²⁹ John A. Thomas, for a time chief engineer of the state of New York, was employed from April, 1853, to January, 1854, as advocate of the United States in London under the claims convention of 1853 (Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I. 403), and from November 1, 1855, to April 4, 1857, was assistant secretary of state.

the W. House, and suggested Mr. Appleton.³⁰ But I had reason afterwards to suspect that was a freek which had passed off, for it was discovered that Mr. A. knew nothing about such an arrangement and was averse to it.

Yesterday Genl C. told Genl T. in presence of Mr Hunter the C C.³¹ had [that] he (Genl T.) must take charge of the heavy business of the Dept., must draw the Despatches, etc.—assigning as a reason that *he was* too old for such labor. This Genl. T. supposed, as well he might, settled his position but the next mornng Genl. C. informed the Asst. that Mr. A. was to take his place. This *had* been arranged, as it is now ascertained, at the White House and thro. Clifford without consultation or the knowledge of Genl C. Appleton dined on Sunday with Mr Buchanan and the project of displacing Thomas by Appleton was then suggested to A. He was not inclined to favor it. But it was pressed upon him and Clifford was employed to deal with Appleton on the subject. Finally Apⁿ yielded to it. Then it was opened to Genl C. but not until after he had conversed with Thomas and spoke of his taking charge of the Dept. If the Genl continues he will be called on to submit to what a high spirited man would regard as an indignity—and many of them too, and at last will be driven from his high position. Submission will not save his place no more than it will save his reputation.

April 4.³² Monypenny, the late Com^r of Indian Affairs called on me this mornng, and stated Thompson's case. His claim agt the (Menomines) is founded in fraud. The manner in which it was paid shows that the Treasury has passed into *loose hands*. The payt. was a very indiscreet act and I think the case will make some noise.

"*The Buchanan Rule.*" Apl 6th. The stereotipe reason which Mr. B. gives for his rule is that "*if Mr Van Buren had adopted the rule of rotation he would have been reelected*". I pass without remark the implication that Mr. B——n is not very stable upon the *one term* principle. The history and the logic appear to be worthy of some consideration. Mr. Van B—— did make removals,³³ not it is true in the slashing manner

³⁰ John Appleton of Maine, a cousin of Mrs. Pierce, M. C. 1851–1853, had been secretary of legation to Buchanan in London from March to November, 1855, and was assistant secretary of state from April 4, 1857, to June 8, 1860.

³¹ Chief clerk. William Hunter, who was in the service of the Department of State from 1829 to 1886, was chief clerk from 1852 to 1866.

³² In Professor Sperry's manuscript this is in another place, but it is here restored to its chronological position, which it occupies in the Library of Congress copy.

George W. Manypenny was commissioner of Indian affairs from 1853 to 1857. The claim here alluded to was that of Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, M. C. 1841–1843, 1847–1849. He had undertaken legal services for the Menominees, under a contract assigning to him one-third of what he should recover under their claim against the government. A provision for the payment, with a certain proviso, was passed in an appropriation act of March 3, 1855, but the proviso was found to be missing from the engrossed act. The matter was vigorously debated in the Senate, August 1, 4, 8, 1856; see *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1883–1890, 1901–1903, 1930–1934, and the papers in 34 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. 72* (319 pp.). Payment was finally voted. See also *Am. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report*, 1916, II. 209–210, Cobb to Hunter.

³³ Van Buren made twenty-six removals of civil officers, Buchanan 197. Fish, in *Am. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report*, 1899, I. 75, 81.

the business is now done—not to carry out a secret purpose too unworthy to be avowed, and therefore to be covered up under a Genl Rule adopted for a sinister end and never intended to be applied in *good faith*. But a word or two on the conclusiveness of this Presidential logic.

All dem. office holders are to be removed at the end of *four years* in order to bring the Dem. party [to the conclusion(?)] that the man who establishes this rule ought to continue in his office *Eight years*. A less profound man than Mr Buchanan would have concluded that the man who practised upon the four year rule would be likely to have it applied to himself. Mr. V B's administration was alleged to have established the "Spoils doctrine". How could Mr. B. say he erred egregiously in retaining incumbents in office. A man will talk wildly and inconsequently when he is hunting up false reasons for his conduct.

(Private and)

(Confidential)

WASH. April, 6th, 57.³⁴

My dear Sir:

As I am the last lingerer of the late administration I have presumed to suppose that a line from me would not be unacceptable. I have maintained friendly relations with Genl. Cass though he is evidently under some contrain[t] in communicating with me. I think he begins to feel what others clearly see, that his condition is not what it ought to be or what he is bound to make it if he intends to sustain his reputation with the country. He ought to have resisted the *rotatory rule* for he could not but know it was a sham in its very conception, but he sustained it and saw it applied in its first working to his long tried and most devoted friends. During former canvassers [*sic*] those who were most efficient in supporting Genl Cass and of course most effective in opposition to Mr. B——n were selected as the first victims and they think *as I know* that it was unseemly in the Genl to stand by and applaud their sacrifice. I tell you (in confidence of course) that the Genl. is not among his friends. The chief of the White House expressed strong doubts of the Genl's competence before he assigned him the S. Dept. He was prepared if not predisposed to find him incompetent and the recent arrangements show that in his own judgment this anticipation has been realized. Thomas who was regarded as "one of Marcy's legacies to the new administration" has been, as I all along supposed he would be, displaced and Appleton has taken the vacant place. It is generally supposed—the Genl himself supposes—that what is done, after the change, at the Dept. will be better received at the W. House. It is not the work, but the worker, that is to be considered in passing upon its acceptableness. The Genl's colleagues are not so coy as might be expected in chiming in with the W. House. I think the Genl's *selfconfidence* is a good deal impaired. Cardinals don't care how old the Pope is.

The appointments are better recd *ostensibly* than they deserve to be. The Cerberuses of the press are sopped,—letter-writers have access to the W. H. and some of the Dept[s]. The day for free comment has not

³⁴ This letter is pasted into the diary, with the annotation, "I wont send this letter". It is accompanied by an envelope addressed, "Hon. Robert McClelland, Detroit". McClelland had been Secretary of the Interior in Pierce's Cabinet, 1853-1857.

arrived. I know you have taken up an opinion that I am amiable, and as I think I deserve it I will not hazard the loss of it with you by fully opening my view of the state of things here. Here the late administration is a despised thing in official circles. Those who held office under it and are anxious to hold on ignore it. I meet with some shining faces but with more frowning brows. I am forbearing and merciful; I injure no man by openly claiming him as *my friend* or *the friend of the late admⁿ*. I am packing up and shall be off and as I believe with the cordial approbation of the new-comers. If they do as well as I wish they may do, they will be fortunate men.

Yours truly

W. L. MARCY.

Hon Robt McClelland.

April 9th. Met Hulseman, Austrian Minister,³⁵ in F. St., who informed me that Mr. Buchanan sent for him on the subject of his letter to the Sec. of State relative to the seizure of his servant the "poor (colored) woman".

After great labor Genl. Cass failed to make a reply to Mr. Hulseman's letter that would meet the views of Mr. Buchanan. So he (Mr. B.) got over the difficulty by getting Mr. Hulseman to withdraw his note and substitute one of a different character.

Hulseman expressed to me an opinion that Genl. Cass was to be merely *locum tenens*, and that Appleton, under the direction and supervision of Mr. Buchanan, was to manage foreign Affairs. He said Cass was too old for the duties of the Department.

April 14th. Mr. Bille, the Chargé from Denmark,³⁶ called on me this morning to pay his respects, before leaving Washington, and informed me that he had just signed the Treaty or Convention relative to the abolition of "The Sound Dues". The Convention executed was the one drafted by me, and he expressed his regret that he had not received full powers to execute the same before I left the State Department. He said no alteration was made in my Department³⁷ but a formal one in relation to the time or mode of its taking effect. I can hardly imagine that there can be a question hereafter as to whom the credit of this important measure is due. Though there had formerly been some efforts to get rid of this embarrassment to commerce, they seemed to have been abandoned before the inauguration of Genl. Pierce's administration. The subject was earnestly and perseveringly pursued by it. The administration was much abused abroad, and some at home, for embarking in this measure. The press of England was at one time very severe upon me for having taken up the subject, but when, finally, the measure was brought near a close, it frankly acknowledged that, for this great advan-

³⁵ The Chevalier Hülsemann was Austrian chargé d'affaires 1841-1855, minister resident 1855-1863. Cass's note to Hülsemann, in the case here alluded to, is in Moore's *Digest*, IV. 658-659.

³⁶ Torben Bille, chargé d'affaires (1852) 1854-1857. The convention alluded to below is that of April 11, 1857; the United States had dissociated itself from the negotiations resulting in the general Sound Dues treaty of March 14, and had made a separate convention.

³⁷ Draft?

tage to commerce, the world was indebted to the course of their transatlantic cousins etc.

April 17th. I have spent the last three days in Baltimore, staid at the house of a friend John C. Brune,³⁸ and never, at any place, had I more hearty welcome. I found a good deal of undeveloped dissatisfaction at the course of the new administration in regard to the offices. The cases of Thomas and Wharton are truly hard ones. They were good officers, and had given general satisfaction, and were both under circumstances which made their continuance very desirable to each of them.

April 18th. I had a brief interview with Genl. Cass to day, and he made a more favorable impression on me than he has at any other time. He conversed with me on the New Granadian difficulty. He told me the same as he had done in regard to the affairs with China, that they intended to occupy precisely the same ground taken by the late administration. The passage across the Isthmus at Panama will be guarded by our ships of war, not only at Aspinwall (Colon), Panama, but, if need be, along the line of the Rail Road.³⁹

The reply of the Government of New Granada to our propositions, is an offensive rejection of them. That Government declares its intention to execute the tonnage law, and the extortious assessment on the mail matter across the Isthmus. This government ought not to submit to either. But what surprised me more than any thing else was a counter demand of \$150,000 for damages on account of the riot on the 15th of April last.⁴⁰ It would seem from the course of that Government that it intends to provoke a war with the United States.

The allowance of the Thompson claim is likely to damage the administration more than a little. The defence of the act was a feeble one. It is alleged, by way of repelling the charge that it was done under improper influences, that claimant had not moved in the matter since the incoming of the present administration. Why should they have so promptly have taken up a case already overruled?—and as it was a transaction in relation to Indian affairs, why was the gentleman (Many-penny) at the head of Indian bureau passed by unconsulted or noticed in relation to it?

The Bully Brooks case [code] seems to have been transferred from the Halls of Congress to the Departments. A connection of Clayton the Asst. Sec., said to be a clerk in the Department, appointed after the transaction, knocked down George C. Herrick who wrote a letter which was published in the Herald reflecting upon the allowance of the claim to Thompson.⁴¹ This is not a way of refuting charges of official delinquency which will be likely to allay suspicion of the *bona fides* of the transaction.

The fact that the ruffian Sayer was, at the time of the outrage, a clerk in the Department, or was appointed to a clerkship the same day

³⁸ An eminent Baltimore lawyer.

³⁹ See Moore, *Digest*, III. 19-20.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 34-36; *International Arbitrations*, II. 1361-1384.

⁴¹ The letter, from George R. Herrick, clerk of the Senate committee on finance, is in the *New York Herald* of April 13. It reflects on Clayton because Indian accounts had been in his province as second auditor of the treasury. The assault occurred on the 17th. *Herald*, April 18.

of the outrage, very much worsens the case, for the Sec. or his assistant. If this clerk is not removed, the Sec. and his Asst. must stand before the public as approvers of the outrage. Suspicion will carry the matter further; it will charge them as having instigated the attack upon Herrick.

My knowledge of the qualities of Mr. Buchanan's mind never allowed me to hope that he would display much skill in managing the personal affairs of the government, but he has gone beyond the limit fixed by my apprehensions, in his maladroitness.

His first step—the attempt to foist Forney upon the legislature of his State for a U. S. Senator, was a signal blunder. The bitter fruits of the mistake, following so quickly, ought to have taught him a salutary lesson.

Pennsylvania had been generous towards Mr. B.—generous to such a degree that he owed it every possible return of kindness and consideration.

No one pretends that any considerable number of its legislators thought Mr. F. a fit man to be sent into the U. S. S., and most of the democrats were offended by Mr. B's. gross attempt at dictation—a few so much so as to revolt. Hence the catastrophe. I do not justify the revolters, but I do censure the bungling course of Mr. Buchanan. Considering his long experience, the error can properly be adduced as evidence of an original defect of character—a want of the spirit of discernment, but this trait was still more prominently developed in the adoption of his "*rotary rule*". This feature of his policy deserves a fuller comment than I have now time to bestow upon it, and a more severe rebuke than I am now willing to administer. If it was adopted, in good faith, it evinced greater weakness than I am willing to ascribe to him; but if it was adopted, as it is now generally believed, as a subterfuge, and to be used as a reason for doing acts for which the true motives would not bear the light, then it leaves a soil on his character which must be noticeable whenever that character is looked at. The real motive will be—nay now is very generally—patent.

Every democrat removed will say he has suffered under a vicious rule, generally reprobated, adopted without common sense, but partially executed, and never intended to be applied in good faith. What its effect will be upon the party, remains to be seen. That it will be mischievous no sound thinking man doubts, but the extent of the mischief remains to be disclosed.

The organization of the Cabinet, but more particularly the vacillation and sudden changes of mind in relation to certain selections, astonished every body. I confess it greatly exceeded my anticipations. I was satisfied that he wanted, in no inconsiderable degree, decision of character, but I dreaded more than this defect, the capriciousness of his judgment. He had likes and dislikes, which seemed to be causeless, or, if not entirely causeless, evinced a considerable degree of waywardness. This class of his judgments seemed to be those which he most persistently adhered to.

Mr. Buchanan, as I have heard from an authentic source, makes it a matter of complaint against me that I kept back from him the infor-

mation of Mr. Crampton's complicity in the enlistment business.⁴² In his suspicion on that subject he is entirely mistaken, and that he is so he might have been convinced, if he had had the fairness of bringing on an explanation on the subject. He undoubtedly supposes that we had an earlier knowledge of that fact than we had. Though Crampton was suspected of a connivance in what was going on, it was not believed that any proof of his complicity could be obtained, until a late period in the development. There was nothing disclosed against Crampton until August. This happened while I was absent from Washington, at Old Point Comfort, Virginia. I was sent for in consequence of what had come out against him. The dispatch implicating him was written shortly after my return, but by reason of the President's absence at the Virginia Springs, it was not agreed on and sent to Mr. C. until the 5th of September; but before that date I had informed Mr. Buchanan, by a private letter, that C. was implicated. My private letters will show that fact. I do not recollect the date of my letters on the subject, but it was previous to the despatch to C. of the 5th of Sept. and a copy of that despatch was at once forwarded to Mr. Buchanan.

⁴² John F. T. Crampton was British minister from 1852 to May 28, 1856, when he was dismissed by the United States government on the ground that he had taken part in violations of the neutrality of the United States through British enlistments. Moore, *Digest*, IV. 533-535.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

How the World Votes: the Story of Democratic Development in Elections. In two volumes. By CHARLES SEYMOUR, Professor of History in Yale University, and DONALD PAIGE FRARY, Instructor in History in Yale College. (Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols Company. 1918. Pp. xiii, 406; xi, 355. \$6.50.)

THIS is a praiseworthy and successful attempt to present in a single work the history and the present development of electoral systems, the world over. The first volume opens with a discussion of the several theories of the suffrage from the most ancient times, followed by a sketch of the crude systems of semi-popular government in the Middle Ages. The origin and development of parliamentary government in England down to and including the Reform Act of 1918; the extension of it to the colonies; the adaptations and modifications of English methods in the American colonies, leading up to a full consideration of the present electoral systems in the United States; and the history of suffrage in France, complete the volume.

The second volume takes up the systems of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Russia, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Spain, the Balkans, Turkey, South America, and Japan. It is partly historical, with a mass of detailed information showing to what extent the people in those countries rule and the machinery employed to enable them to express their will.

The result is a comprehensive and most useful book of reference, compact, well-written, and covering the subject in a satisfactory manner. By far the largest part of the work is information simply, which has been drawn from various sources and compiled with great industry. The ordinary reader will find matter of interest in many descriptions of systems of voting quite unlike anything known in this country—the plural votes in Belgium (discarded in the new constitution); the indirect elections in Germany under the Empire; proportional representation in Denmark. Those who were puzzled to understand by what device each electoral district in Germany, choosing seven to a dozen members, distributed its choice between five or six parties, when electing members of the congress at Weimar, will find the answer in the lucid explanation of the manner in which the result of *scrutin de liste* is worked out (I. 385). It is there described to illustrate an election in France, where the system has been several times adopted and abandoned. It has just, April, 1919, been reintroduced in that country. It was originally, the present writer believes, an invention of the Swiss.

In treating of elections and voting in the United States the authors have deviated from their general plan, and have entered the field of politics—not, however, partizan politics. They take pains, for example, to give what seem to them to be reasons for regarding the direct primary as a great improvement on the convention, not only in theory but in result, on which there is room for wide divergence of opinion. Their argument includes a fancy sketch of the proceedings of a nominating convention absolutely dominated by a boss. No doubt there were many such conventions, but they were not typical of all, and the generalization is misleading. Moreover there are serious defects in the present primary system that are not mentioned. Under it many a weak or objectionable candidate has slipped through by a narrow plurality, when there were many competitors for the nomination, who would have been eliminated after the first ballot in a convention requiring a majority to effect a nomination.

In one or two other passages the authors have introduced their personal opinions on controverted points in American practice, which seem out of place in a work which is otherwise one of information and not of political propaganda. There is a statement on page 286, volume I., about a former mayor of Boston that should be amended. Between the offense and its punishment and his election as mayor there was a long interval during which he was both an alderman and a congressman.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Folk-Lore in the Old Testament: Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend, and Law. In three volumes. By Sir JAMES GEORGE FRAZER, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York and London: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. xxv, 569; xxi, 571; xviii, 566. \$15.00.)

SOME one said of the great Arabic scholar, the late Professor De Goeje of Leyden, that he published as much as an entire academy. Sir James George Frazer's productivity is even more remarkable, and it might be said that he has written an entire library. His *magnum opus*, *The Golden Bough*, growing from two volumes in the first edition to twelve volumes in the third with an additional index volume, is the most extensive collection of illustrations of popular customs, beliefs, and rites in all parts of the world, primitive, ancient, and modern, that has ever been gathered together by any scholar or by any group of scholars. The book marked a new era in the comparative study of religious beliefs and practices. The production of such a work alone would have consumed the entire career of an ordinary scholar; but Sir James Frazer is of the extraordinary type, and so we have in addition from his pen a four-volume work on totemism and exogamy, a six-volume edition of Pausanias with elaborate and most constructive notes, a volume on *The Early History of Kingship*, another on *The Belief in Immortality*

(with a second still to come), besides minor writings which in the case of an ordinary scholar would be classified as major. Mr. Frazer now sets before us a most elaborate investigation on folk-lore in the Old Testament, in three large volumes, which will take its place as an indispensable reference-work on the table of every student of the Bible. The work, however, makes a still wider appeal, and, being written with Sir James's charm of style, should attract the attention of all intelligent readers whose tastes pass beyond the popular novel and the literary essay. The three volumes also contain much material of value to the general student of history and more particularly to the one interested in the unfolding of custom into law and of that somewhat indefinite field which the Germans call *Kulturgeschichte*.

That the Old Testament is full of folk-lore has, of course, been recognized for a long while by scholars, and some of the material found in the book of Genesis and in some books of a more historical character like Joshua, Judges, and Samuel, in which historical or quasi-historical traditions are blended with legend and popular fancies, has at various times engaged the attention of students, among whom should be mentioned the late Joseph Jacobs who was one of the pioneers in the study of folk-lore in the Old Testament. No one, however, has hitherto attempted to cover the entire large field. This was left to Frazer, who indeed, it may be added, without disparagement to others, is the only scholar living who could have attempted such a Herculean task. Even as it is there are some omissions; as for example, there is no investigation of the rite of the "red heifer" (in Numbers xix.) nor of the "burning bush" (in the book of Exodus), while of the various incidents in the legend of Samson only one is treated. The field is in fact inexhaustible.

The author arranges his material in four parts: (1) The Early Ages of the World, devoted in large part to the Biblical flood story, but including also the creation tale, the story of the fall, the mark of Cain, and the tower of Babel; (2) the Patriarchal Age, dealing with the covenant with Abraham, and for the larger part taken up with elaborate investigation of ultimogeniture throughout the primitive and ancient world; (3) the Time of the Judges and Kings, dealing with miscellaneous aspects of folk-lore, such as sacred trees, high places, and the significance of the threshold; (4) the Law, marked by a most suggestive and impressive investigation on the place of the law in Jewish history and followed by specific laws containing folk-lore elements, as the prohibition against seething a kid in its mother's milk, the custom of boring a servant's ear, cuttings for the dead, the ordeal, the ox-goring, and the golden bells.

It is difficult in such a mass of material to make a selection as an illustration of Sir James Frazer's method of investigation, which may be briefly defined as a picturesque and lucid summary of the Old Testament passages furnishing the particular custom or rite to be investigated,

followed by a mass of illustrations of similar rites and customs from all parts of the world, after which, on the basis of this illustrative material, a conclusion as to the significance of the rite or custom is set forth. One's judgment, therefore, in regard to the value of Frazer's work depends upon one's attitude towards his method. In some cases it may seem that the analogies brought forward by him are somewhat far-fetched, but in most cases it is just the enormous heaping of illustrations that strengthens our confidence in his conclusions. So, for example, in one of the most valuable chapters of the work, is taken up the curious rite of seething the kid in its mother's milk. It is perfectly clear, after sifting the overwhelming evidence brought before us of the curious belief among primitive peoples that whatever is done to the milk also affects the cow from which it is drawn, that the prohibition rests on the fear lest the boiling of the milk may in some way affect the udder of the cow. Strange as this may seem at first sight, one's skepticism diminishes with each succeeding page as one scans the accumulated evidence of the many peculiar precautions taken in regard to milk among pastoral peoples throughout the world, ranging from prohibition among some against boiling milk at all, to special regulations affecting those to whom the task of milking and attending to the cows was delegated.

Students of the early history of law will be particularly interested in the most complete collection for traces of ultimogeniture that has yet been made and which covers a greater part of the second volume. Sir James shows conclusively that most of the marriage regulations among primitive and ancient peoples rest ultimately upon economic conditions which in most cases brought it about that the older sons separated more or less definitely from close relations with the father and that the younger sons were thus in a position in which they would be more likely to benefit by the advantages of inheritance. The ramifications produced by such economic conditions are endless, and while some of the conclusions reached by the author, as, for example, what he says in connection with what he calls the "sororate" (to designate marriages with the wife's sister in the lifetime of the first wife or after her death), may be open to the objection that our author fails to take into account other conditions that might have produced the same result, yet on the whole this investigation of the entire basis upon which marriage regulations between relatives rests represents such a striking advance on previous attempts that we ought not to cavil at deficiencies in the argument here and there. A point of special importance is the proof furnished by the author that the current view of the origin of *jus primae noctis*, which assumes that this gave the right to the lord of the tenant over the female dependents about to enter the marriage state, is entirely incorrect. It was not the lord of the tenant who enjoyed the privilege of the first night, but the husband who bought that *jus* or right from the lord as a device to prevent the demons from interfering with the enjoyment of the young couple. Here again one must read consecutively the

evidence from many quarters, which Frazer produces, to show the precautions that a young married couple had to exercise, sometimes for days, sometimes for weeks and even months, before they could cohabit without danger of an attack from the demons.

Naturally, not all parts of the voluminous work have the same interest of novelty. So, for example, Sir James has comparatively little that is new to say in regard to the creation story, and in fact it is a little disappointing to find him contenting himself with giving parallels to certain portions of the tale without entering into the larger question of the manner and conditions under which the remarkable story—especially the Jahwistic account in Genesis ii.—took final shape. A similar criticism might be passed on the investigation of the flood story which is valuable chiefly for the immense collection of flood stories from all parts of the world, brought together with an expenditure of enormous labor and patience, and which is in itself an exhaustive treatise on the subject. Interested in the collection of flood stories, Frazer pays comparatively little attention to the *details* of the Biblical tale, which from the point of view of folk-lore are really more interesting than the tale as a whole. A striking feature of many of the tales in the early chapters of Genesis, which ought not to be overlooked in an investigation, is the combination of pure folk-tales showing traces of very primitive ideas with remarkably advanced and on the whole rather pessimistic speculations regarding the nature and ambitions of man.

Sir James Frazer writes evidently *con amore*. He is always absorbed by his topic, whether it is a description of the evolution of law among the Hebrews—one of the most eloquent sections of the book—or an account of oaks and terebinths of Palestine. Writing, for him, must be a pleasure, or he could not have the patience to give us so many striking descriptions of scenery of Greece, Palestine, and other countries incidental to his subject. His charming style and the heights of eloquence which he so often reaches add largely to the fascination of his work. Indeed, without his pleasing and graceful manner of presenting the topic, the ordinary reader would grow weary of wading through pages upon pages of illustrative material. Under his deft pen, even repetitions are free from dullness. Gifted also with a keen sense of humor, our author does not hesitate to deviate occasionally from his subject in order to introduce a story that is amusing as well as a folk-tale, and his little gentle knocks at some of the opponents of critical study of the Bible are all the more effective because of their half-concealed satirical implications. Sometimes, to be sure, his love of Biblical tales, many of which are of such irresistible charm, prompts him to tell them in a manner which might convey to the ordinary reader the impression that he is accepting Biblical tradition at its face value. So, for example, he conjures up pictures of domestic scenes in Jacob's family which might, if one encountered them in a Sunday-school book, provoke a smile. As a literary artist of high calibre, it is perhaps natural, under

the circumstances, that Sir James Frazer occasionally succumbs to the temptation of giving us an interesting picture, even at the risk of creating an erroneous impression in the minds of readers who do not know how sharp his critical acumen is when he chooses to exercise it.

Taken as a whole, Sir James Frazer's latest work is to be put down as one of the most important contributions made in the field of Biblical studies. The work will prove a stimulus for further investigations, and it will retain its position for all times as the most comprehensive and most authoritative collection of material bearing on the folk-lore of the Old Testament. Supplements to the work will no doubt be made to it from time to time by others—we hope by Sir James himself—but the world will probably never produce another Frazer, able to cover the entire vast field, with the sure touch of the master throughout.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Gothic History of Jordanes. In English Version with an Introduction and a Commentary by CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW, Ph.D. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. 188. \$1.75.)

THE work of which the present is an inexcusably belated review concerns the historical student because it offers an English version of an historical source not previously translated, except in the form of a thesis by the same writer presented for the doctorate at Princeton in 1908. The present work is a revision of that translation, omitting the Latin text, and fortified with an historical introduction and a commentary.

The work issues, therefore, from the classical rather than from the historical graduate seminary. In its present form, however, it appears to be addressed chiefly to the historical student. The introduction of fifty pages is devoted to matters bearing on the value of the text as an historical source: the qualifications of its author, the conditions under which he wrote, the sources which he may have used, together with a chronological table, and a genealogy of the Gothic kings of the Amal stem; while only two pages are given to the Latinity of the author. Similarly the forty-five pages of commentary contain chiefly identifications of the passages in the authorities cited by Jordanes and explanations of geographical allusions in terms of modern geography; it is burdened very little with textual or other strictly linguistic elucidations.

The volume belongs, therefore, to that still scanty and slowly increasing body of medieval historical sources rendered into English. This material is of very real and practical value for the historical profession, since it offers an opportunity to give a first-hand impression of the Middle Ages to historical and other students who are not primarily

interested in that period, and who are therefore not prepared to struggle through the pages of a Late Latin text. Such works are very few, and any addition to them is exceedingly welcome.

These works stand midway between the labored scholarship of editing a manuscript, on the one hand, and the text-book work of compiling a source-book for school use, on the other. They must be judged by this fact, and it is not disparaging to the present work to note that it takes its apparatus direct from Mommsen's great edition of Jordanes, in the *Monumenta*. The information in the introduction is most of it to be found in the elaborate study prefaced to Mommsen's text, and the citations in the commentary from authors referred to by Jordanes are most of them to be found in Mommsen's foot-notes to the text. Lest this should seem invidious, it must be said that Professor Mierow acknowledges his indebtedness, that it would be difficult gleaning any-way after Mommsen had passed over the ground, that the writer seems to have canvassed pretty thoroughly the periodical literature since Mommsen, for corrections, criticisms, and additions, and that the results of this labor appear in the introduction and commentary. Moreover, the commentary includes a great deal of information gathered from standard authorities on place-names, tribal names, and other obscurities of the text.

It may not be out of place to recall briefly the significance of Jordanes. This Romanized, Christianized Goth wrote a condensation of a history of the Goths by Cassiodorus; the total disappearance of the original work gave an unmerited value to the uncritical and badly written abbreviation. We have no sure means of knowing how much Jordanes contributed of his own knowledge or from his own researches, but the amount is generally agreed to be very little. Even allowing for the fact that his work represents Cassiodorus, it is of limited value as an historical source, for the history of the period for which it is an authority—say 400 to 550 A.D.—is much more accurately and fully preserved in other writers, such as Procopius. Jordanes is the sole authority for some things of importance, such as the battle of the Catalaunian Fields; and his account of the early history of the Goths may contain some genuine traditions. The chief interest is found, however, in its revelation of that curious cultural age transitional between classical and medieval, which we call patristic, and of that curious type, the man of barbarian race only two or three generations from tribal life and wearing the habits of Christian classical society. E. H. M.

A Short History of France, from Caesar's Invasion to the Battle of Waterloo. By MARY DUCLAUX (A. Mary F. Robinson). (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1918. Pp. ix, 345. \$2.50.)

ANY one who intends or aspires to write a short history of a large and complex subject might well take this book as his consummate model,

for Madame Duclaux knows the secret of that art as do few, if any, writers of to-day. Here within a compass of less than 350 pages we have a history of nineteen centuries told with abounding and varied knowledge, with penetrating and subtle judgment, and with remarkable literary power and charm. Every page of this book tingles with life. Every chapter is a gem of historical narration. The details of the composition and the picture as a whole are drawn and painted with delicacy, precision, and firmness of line, with mastery of coloring, with a dramatic sense that is never absent and that never loses its self-control, with rare psychological and spiritual insight and understanding. This history is not only studded with delightful vignettes of a large number of striking historical figures, is not only filled with brief but breathing incidents, but it is instinct with the genius of the French people, and it leaves with the reader the sense of the scope and sweep of French history.

Here is a characterization of Louis XI.:

To the average English playgoer, Louis XI. is a personage of a grisly yet comic odiousness, something like a French Hunchback-Richard. But to the student of history this unamiable individual appears as a great king, the precursor of modern royalty; in fact, one of the monarchs that France could least have spared. An ungrateful and rebellious son, a neglectful, indeed a cruel husband to that unhappy poetess, Margaret of Scotland; a false friend, a treacherous guest, a hypocrite, an egoist, a hypochondriac, and a miser; and with no grace of mind or person to carry off and compensate so many disadvantages (for this great prince was, to look at, the merest lout, with shabby clothes all wrinkled round his crook-kneed spindle legs, and a battered slouch hat throwing a friendly shadow on his long, coarse nose), still Louis XI. was a person of parts and a man of power. He was patient and wise, and knew how to draw the maximum profit from every disagreeable experience. As heir to the throne he had been the friend of the feudal nobles, and had raised more than one revolt against the centralizing government of his father, Charles VII. But when his time came to reign, he turned his coat with a vengeance, and so much so that his outraged associates of yesterday, incensed by his cynical apostasy, banded themselves together in an alliance oddly misnamed the League of Public Weal; but in the end Louis got the better of them all. The Universal Spider spread his web . . . and in his tangle of wars, treaties, matches and marriage contracts, last wills and testaments, contracts and bargains, he caught all the glittering flies of French feudality and sucked them dry (pp. 104-105).

Madame Duclaux, long admired as an English poet and essayist, has for many years been intimately associated with French life and letters. She explains in her preface her motive in writing this history. "I have written this little book, having in my mind's eye neither school boys nor historians, though I should indeed be proud if one and the other gave it their approval; but I had in view the class of cultivated and ignorant men and women to which I myself belong, and meant to offer them such

a book as I wish some one would write for me about Russia or Rumania or Serbia or even the United States."

Madame Duclaux wrote this book as her particular form of war-work and "out of love and infinite respect for her two countries, the two great countries of Europe". She wears her learning lightly; but he would be an indurated and purblind pedant who should fail to see the wide knowledge, the rich cultivation, the critical competence, and the literary talent which have gone into the making of this volume.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Alfred the Great, the Truth Teller, Maker of England, 848-899.

By BEATRICE A. LEES, sometime Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. [Heroes of the Nations.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. xv, 493. \$1.90.)

MISS LEES's biography of Alfred the Great, first published in 1915, has recently (1919) been reissued as a volume in the *Heroes of the Nations* series, for which the work seems to have been originally intended. That a biographical study of the career that "saved England for the English" deserves a prominent place in such a series is beyond dispute. Unfortunately, however, the materials for such a study are scanty and unsatisfactory. Miss Lees has, therefore, construed her task somewhat broadly; she has written a history of Wessex and the adjacent parts of England in the second half of the ninth century. In the first two chapters she discusses the state of Europe and England in the days before Alfred. Three important chapters describe the Alfredian state, the social life of the time, and its notable achievements in art and literature. The work closes with a discussion of the Myth of King Alfred. The remaining six chapters, comprising less than half of the volume, deal more directly with the personal life of the great king.

Without question this biography is the best account of Alfred's reign that has thus far appeared. The available literary sources seem to have been studied with intelligent care, and the author has given due recognition to the interpretations of other scholars who have explored her field, such as Chadwick, Plummer, Steenstrup, Stevenson, and others. By a close study of topographical facts and philological evidence Miss Lees has found it possible to determine quite definitely the course of the Danish invasions of southern England in the ninth century and to locate certain battle-fields, the sites of which have been in dispute; *Aclea* she identifies with Ockley (Surrey) and *Ethandune* with Edington (Wilts). She places the year of Alfred's birth at 848 and his death at 899. She holds that he was accepted as overlord by the Welsh and would like to claim a similar honor for him in the Danelaw (pp. 393, 397). Miss Lees does not regard the king's experiment with a navy as wholly successful, but she finds that there are "signs of an organized system of fortification in Wessex and English Mercia in 893", which she is in-

clined to attribute to King Alfred. Her argument that the *fyrð* had an important nucleus of professional warriors and that military service, once a personal duty, had been "modified by a gradual territorialization", is interesting but not wholly conclusive. The author is inclined to doubt the story that King Alfred sent a mission to India; but she calls attention to the fact that India in the Middle Ages was a very broad term, and that the shrine of St. Thomas, to which the English king is said to have promised alms, was not in Hindustan but in Edessa.

The most prominent fact of Alfred's career—his long struggle with the Danes—the author has studied to the last detail. She views the invasions as a part of the great viking attack on Western Europe, and by tracing the fortunes of this movement in the Frankish lands she is able to account for its successes and failures in England. A few maps would have added greatly to the reader's appreciation of this part of the work; Miss Lees has included only two and neither of these is very helpful. The volume also suffers from a poverty of foot-notes. Miss Lees does occasionally cite her authorities but not nearly so often as one would wish or expect.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Handboek tot de Staatskundige Geschiedenis van Nederland. Door I. H. GOSSES en N. JAPIKSE. [Nijhoff's Handboeken.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1918. Pp. cxxviii +, 524. Guld. 8.50.)

It is difficult to touch the history of Holland without inconsistencies in terminology, so various has been the past and so indeterminate the names applied to the land under successive political aspects. The authors of this handbook acknowledge, at the outset, that their survey begins *before* the beginning. Taking the existing kingdom of Holland in its present territorial extent, its unified administrative existence is certainly a late growth. Yet here Professor Gosses opens his section of the early narrative at 56 B.C., planning to carry it down to the year 1568, at which date Dr. Japikse starts in with his story of the development of the modern state, although that, too, was only present in potentialities. The outbreak of Dutch rebellion against Spanish domination is made a point of departure for the section of the work now brought to completion. The earlier part, that of Professor Gosses, the part whose pages are numbered with Roman numerals, is still unfinished. Dr. Japikse's narrative is contained in parts I.–IV. He presents a clear, well-told outline of the political changes through which the government has passed, down to the crucial year of 1914. There is no diversion into things social, economic, or literary, although the well-selected bibliographical lists contain matter that expands, naturally, into all those phases. Yet narrowed as it is in scope the outline is by no means a dry skeleton of itemized facts. Dr. Japikse has improved wonderfully in

style since writing his first book. That discussion of the complications between England and the Dutch Republic, 1660-1665, was fatiguing reading although a notable contribution to sixteenth-century diplomatic history. There has certainly been a marked gain in facility of expression, as well as in the authoritative attitude that comes from ripe work such as that to which Dr. Japikse has devoted himself. In this outline, it is easy to see where his own opinions are; and there are charming little phrases here and there serving to illuminate effectively the text, as where he makes the distinction between standing within a window and leaning far out of it to get a wider view—to illustrate the respective points of view of national and provincial history.

The parts covering 1568-1815 do not exhibit any very original matter nor attitude of mind, although useful in bibliographical suggestions. Far more valuable are the pages devoted to 1815-1914, together with the literature and documents listed. They form an eminently convenient survey of Dutch parties and international relations from the point of view of a modern liberal scholar. Nor is the outline devoid of color. Dr. Japikse's characterization of William I. in the difficulties of launching and stabilizing the kingdom made at Vienna, is fair and by no means over-laudatory of Holland's first sovereign from the House of Nassau. Perhaps he is rather too lenient in regard to the fashion in which the constitution was forced down Belgian throats by the disfranchising of its opponents, and he is not sympathetic to Belgian difficulties. Perhaps that is inevitable at a moment when redress for disadvantages then—1839—accepted seems unjustifiable to any Hollander. The summary of the separation of Holland and Belgium is not given without the writer's own opinion escaping from the skeleton of facts. He considers that the cleft was inevitable from the inherent incompatibility of the two units, and that Holland profited by the division even though that kingdom emerged from conflict as a little power—*kleine mogendheid*.

His discussion of political parties and international relations as they have prevailed down to the outbreak of war is distinctly valuable, as the character of Dutch party division is not easy to grasp, so different are the conditions from those prevailing here or in England. Now that proportional representation has been introduced, the existence of these many factions becomes of new importance in legislative measures. Here, too, the bibliography is very serviceable.

It may be added that the handbook is in a series of other handbooks planned by the publishers, and thus is open to the faults of such series where the work is not done *con amore*. But nevertheless this particular handbook is to be recommended.

Luxemburg and Her Neighbors, a Record of the Political Fortunes of the Present Grand Duchy from the Eve of the French Revolution to the Great War, with a Preliminary Sketch of Events from 963 to 1780. By RUTH PUTNAM. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1918. Pp. xiv, 484. \$2.50.)

THIS volume falls into that class of historical works designed to popularize for American readers the story of the peoples of the problem-areas raised by the war. As such it is very much above the ordinary book of this class, for it reveals throughout the author's special knowledge of the history of this much disputed border-land between Latin and Teuton. Indeed, the interest in the history of Burgundy and of the Netherlands is at times a little too evident, for it leads off into by-paths, interesting enough in themselves, but not essential in their detail to the story of Luxemburg proper. In a measure this is excusable, because "the little forest canton" was never permitted to live its own life. It was successively associated first with one, then with another of its neighbors. Its history is, says the author, "a record of compacts and treaties made for, and never by Luxemburg". Fortunately her writing of it is better than her theory, for she devotes at least one strong chapter to the life of the people, and occasionally throughout the rest of the work there are good passages relating to the economic and social life, that tend to lift the story out of the domain of international relations pure and simple.

The main part of the volume is in two divisions. The first is devoted to a survey of Eight Centuries of Luxemburg History from 936 to 1780. The second deals with the period from the French Revolution to the Great War. The story is told in a spirited and interesting manner. It carries the reader rapidly over the early settlement and the first overlords, through the successive periods of Luxemburg history in which are reflected in miniature so many of the larger historical movements of Western Europe. Thus we pass from the creation of the duchy and the Luxemburg emperors through the rule of the House of Burgundy, the transfer to the House of Hapsburg, the fate of the duchy in the conflict between Hapsburg and Bourbon, its vicissitudes under French domination, its erection into a grand duchy of the Germanic Confederation under the King of the Netherlands by the Congress of Vienna, its rôle in the efforts of Napoleon III. to secure compensation for the aggrandizement of Prussia, and the neutralization of the duchy in 1867, to its violation by Germany in August of 1914.

There is an occasional slip in the proof-reading, as for example the addition by Prussia of forty-one and a half millions to her population (p. 332), and some peculiarities of expression, like "the general forlornity of existence" and the use of "Charles Quint" for Charles V. The notes, which are often very suggestive, are judiciously brought in at the end, along with a summary of the treaties and conventions and an

extended list of books consulted. No estimate of their value is offered, save in a very few cases. In one of these the commendation of the faulty and wretchedly edited *Archives Parlementaires* as "very admirable and useful" is far from scholarly. The illustrations are well chosen; they really illustrate, though the tendency is rather antiquarian.

The last chapter deals with the fate of the duchy during the war, and the different proposals as to its future status. That the independence of a state of less than one thousand square miles and 259,891 inhabitants should be continued, even in these days of self-determination, is very doubtful, especially when "in economic relations, in facility of transportation and communication, Luxemburg is bound hand and foot".

Geschichte der Ukraine. Teil I. Von MICHAEL HRUSCHEWSKYJ, Professor der Geschichte an der Universität in Lemberg. (Lemberg: "Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine". 1916. Pp. viii, 224.)

THIS German edition is a translation of Professor Grushevski's Russian book *Ocherk Istorii Ukraïnskavo Naroda* (Petrograd, 1911). This volume I. of the German work traces the history of the Ukrainians—their political, economic, social, and cultural development—from the ninth to the seventeenth century. Chapters I. and II. discuss the present home of the Ukrainians, their past and present ethnographic frontiers in Russia, Austria, and Hungary, their distinct culture, their peculiar language, their national aspirations; chapters III. to XIII. deal with historical questions.

Professor Grushevski is an eminent historian and an ardent Ukrainian nationalist who played a prominent part in Ukrainian affairs during the summer and autumn of 1917. He writes history from the point of view of a Ukrainian nationalist and the reader must always keep that in mind. He proves to his own satisfaction that the Ukrainians are a people different from their neighbors, the Great Russians, that the Ukrainians have had, more or less always, a national consciousness and democratic ideal of government which they have failed to realize on account of the oppression of Poland and Russia (Moscow). It is against this reading into history and this interpretation of historical facts that the reader should be on his guard. On the whole Professor Grushevski is a scholarly historian; he sometimes misinterprets but he seldom distorts the facts. After reading his books one may end by differing with him but still respecting him.

Unfortunately for Professor Grushevski and his book, it fell into the hands of the "Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine", an organization formed at the outbreak of the war by Austria and later taken over by Germany for the purpose of pulling the Ukraine away from Russia and stirring up hatred between the Ukrainians and the Great Russians and Poles. Thanks to the Bund this object was almost realized in 1917-1918.

In the work of Professor Grushevski the Bund saw a splendid instru-

ment for its propaganda. On the plea that it was championing the cause of the oppressed Ukrainian nationality, the Bund searched the works of honest Ukrainian scholars and took such portions as suited its purpose and published them in different parts of Europe. In some cases it assumed an editorial right to make changes and improvements, "an mehreren Stellen, insbesondere in den ersten Kapiteln umgearbeitet". It is in these *ersten Kapiteln* that the propaganda work is done. It is there that we are told that "unparteiische Philologen" recognize the Ukrainian speech as a distinct language and not a dialect. At the present time philologists are no more agreed on this question than they were a century ago or they will be a century hence. Authorities of international reputation, such as Niederle, Shafarik, and Shakhmatov insist that it is a dialect and not a language, while Schleicher, Miklosich, and Jagić take the opposite view. Equally misleading and inaccurate is the statement that "Noch in ihrer Urheimat" there existed physical and temperamental differences of importance between the Great Russians, White Russians, and Little Russians (Ukrainians), and that in the course of the centuries these differences have become more accentuated until now "Zweifellos haben wir es hier mit zwei Nationalitäten und zwei besonderen Geschichten zu tun". To be sure there were differences then and there are differences now between the Great Russians and Little Russians; but according to Ripley (*Races of Europe*) the differences between the various types of Russians are less than among the Italians, Germans, and French who live in the north and in the south. Other such misstatements could be pointed out but it is hardly necessary to do so. Enough has been said to show that the historians must either keep altogether away from, or use with great care, books that are edited and translated by the "Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine", in whatever language published; and it has published in all the important languages and in all the important countries.

F. A. GOLDER.

Alsace-Lorraine, Past, Present, and Future. By COLEMAN PHILLIPSON. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1918. Pp. 327. \$8.00.)

It may be said at once that the sections of this volume dealing with the past of Alsace-Lorraine, though of no exceptional merit, are superior to those devoted to the present. The author shows well enough how the famous "question" arose. He gives a brief outline of the history of the provinces down to the Franco-Prussian War and then devotes about a hundred pages to the annexation of 1871, to the protests against the annexation, to the various grounds assigned by the Germans for the famous act, historical, racial, linguistic, strategic, and to the various utterances and proposals of German statesmen and writers as to what should be done with the provinces now acquired. There is a brief and superficial chapter on the German régime in Alsace-Lorraine since 1871.

The remainder of the volume, which is about half of it, is devoted to what the author considers the views and aspirations of Alsace-Lorraine, of France in regard to Alsace-Lorraine, and to the various solutions suggested of the ever-present and troublesome problem, such as reannexation to France, autonomy within the German Empire, erection into an independent state, or partition between the two states most persistently interested. This part of the book is, in the opinion of the reviewer, as inferior in quality and as unsound, in many respects, as the first part is, on the whole, respectable. It is dominated by certain conceptions poorly supported by the evidence, if supported at all, and abounds in extreme and hazardous statements which have been quickly belied by events. Indeed, although this book appeared only in the spring or early summer of 1918, it is, apart from the purely historical sections, in considerable measure already obsolete.

The author says in his preface that he has done his best to preserve throughout an attitude of judicial impartiality and declares that "it is ever the wisest policy to follow this principle, even if it involves giving the devil his due". In the opinion of the reviewer he gives the devil a great deal more than his due and considerably more than he is destined to receive.

While Mr. Phillipson condemns Germany's annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871, denying the validity of most of the arguments given by the Germans for that act, yet he apparently would not after all these years right the wrong then committed.

The Germans [he says, with an exaggeration of language unusual in a barrister-at-law] are just as determined to hold Alsace-Lorraine as they are to hold Berlin. To overcome this determination by force of arms will mean to break the Central Empires into fragments and to annihilate the Germanic population. To achieve such a result would necessitate such unspeakably appalling slaughter, destruction, and sacrifice on all sides as would leave Europe a shambles and without any population at all. Is the result worth the cost? Only an unreasoning fanatic would answer this question in the affirmative (p. 236).

Even if it were possible, without this assuredly excessive cost, namely the extinction of the entire population of Europe, the author would not approve.

There can be no doubt [he says] that a forcible retrocession of Alsace-Lorraine to France cannot be a true solution; for a true solution necessitates an amicable accommodation and voluntary agreement of the parties concerned. . . . If, by reason of a decisive defeat, Germany felt constrained to abandon the territory, her resulting grievance would be a far greater menace to the peace of Europe than the grievance of France proved to be after 1871; a society or partnership of nations together with disarmament agreements could not then possibly be established; the existence of a festering sore in the very heart of Europe would render impossible frank and healthful international relationships, and would perpetuate those sinister shadows, suspicions, and fears which it is the business of a salutary régime to remove and prevent.

And, again, he says that the return of the provinces to France would mean, of course, the restoration of the former boundary between France and Germany—"a defective boundary that proved such a stumbling-block to the two nations and was more than anything else responsible for the outbreak of the war of 1870"—would mean, in short, the restoration of "an untenable line of demarcation between the two countries".

These are examples of the facile and confident assertions in which this book abounds. It would be most interesting to have some proof for the statement that a defective boundary was the chief cause of the Franco-Prussian War. Moreover why is the Rhine boundary any more untenable than any other? Any boundary is untenable if you haven't the force to protect it, and any boundary is tenable if you have. The Rhine proved no more untenable in 1870 than the Vosges in our own day. There have been times when Alps and Pyrenees and even the English Channel have proved tenable boundaries, and times when they have not.

Mr. Phillippson believes that if any change is to occur in the status of Alsace-Lorraine it must be only as a result of a plebiscite. He also believes in a negotiated peace, a peace without victory:

The best way to ascertain the sense of the population is by asking, without threats or pressure, each citizen to express his true sentiments and wishes; and the best time and circumstances in which to ascertain this is not when one or other alliance of belligerents is being worsted or has been vanquished, but when neither side can properly claim an outstanding victory, and when the terms of peace can be arranged by negotiation and compromise instead of being dictated at the point of the bayonet by a victorious belligerent (pp. 212-213).

Well! the world is spinning down a different groove and many of the author's suggestions have already been cast up on the bank and shoal of time, never to be tested as hoped.

The most curious and tantalizing thing about this book is why it should cost eight dollars.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

The Epistles of Erasmus from his Earliest Letters to his Fifty-third Year. By FRANCIS MORGAN NICHOLS. Volume III. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1918. Pp. xviii, 472. \$6.50.)

AFTER an interval of fourteen years the third volume of Dr. Nichols's translations from the Erasmus correspondence makes its appearance. The first volume came out in 1901, the second in 1904, and the material for the present one was practically completed in 1908.¹ The translator was then eighty-two years of age and conscious of failing powers, but

¹ See this *Review*, VII. 548; X. 686.

his life-long habit of painstaking accuracy would not allow him to put his work out of hand, and he died in 1915 leaving the manuscript very much as it was when he wrote his preface in 1908.

This volume appears with a short introduction by Mr. Percy Stafford Allen, whose edition of the letters in the original has accompanied the work of Dr. Nichols *pari passu*, his third volume (1913) including the correspondence down to June, 1519, while the translations close with the end of 1518. The account of the relations between editor and translator given by Mr. Allen is particularly appealing to all who cherish the amenities and abhor the pedantries of literature.

The general plan of the former volumes is carried on here. No attempt at completeness is made, some letters are simply referred to, parts of others are omitted, and preference in space is given to such as tend to illustrate most fully the personality of the writer. The period covered begins, according to Dr. Nichols's chronology, with August, 1517, and a few letters are included which he places earlier in that year. Short as the period is, it is one of great activity on the part of Erasmus, and also one of the most decisive importance for his whole later life. It is the period in which his attitude toward the Protestant Reformation was being determined by the constant pressure of all parties to win the support of the greatest single intellectual force in Europe. Erasmus, conscious of his power, eager to serve the one cause that seemed to him worth while, the cause of sound learning and its application to all human affairs, betrays in his letters far more than in his more carefully considered compositions the working of his mind upon the personal problem raised by the Lutheran outbreak—on which side he should throw the weight of his opinion.

An illustration of such self-revelation is found, for instance, in the long letter to Cardinal Wolsey, set by Dr. Nichols in May, 1517, but obviously of later date (Allen, 1519). It is here that Erasmus makes the fatuous claim that he has never read more than a page or two of Luther and knows no more about him than the veriest stranger. In this period fall also the very beautiful tribute to Thomas More in a letter to Ulrich von Hutten, and the letter to Budaeus on the controversy with the French theologian Lefèvre, one of the best illustrations of Erasmus's insistence on his love of peace while at the same time he is delivering his most vicious blows at an antagonist who, according to him, has provoked him beyond endurance.

As to the detail of translation little needs to be added to what we have said in former notices. There is the same careful choice of words and phrases, the same conscientiousness in rendering the spirit of the original, and the same freedom from literalness in form. It is greatly to be hoped that some equally well-qualified scholar, with many years before him, may be tempted to carry on the good work and give to the world of English readers the sequence of the Erasmian correspondence during the remaining eighteen years of the great humanist's life.

E. EMERTON.

Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation. Veröffentlicht von den Mitarbeitern der Weimarer Lutherausgabe. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1917. Pp. vi, 285.)

FIFTEEN scholars, associated in the critical edition of Luther's works, have here erected to their hero a monument "better than bronze". Archimedes himself, surrounded by the havoc of war, could not have studied more profoundly than have they.

The first essay, by that dean of Luther scholars, Gustav Kawerau, concerned with the early collections of the Reformer's letters, is a valuable prolegomenon to the new (Weimar) edition of the same. It is now nearly four hundred years since Obsopoeus published the first farrago of Luther's epistles, and the work of editing them is not done yet. Since, in 1884, Enders began the standard text, now nearly or quite completed with the sixteenth volume, about 125 new letters have come to light; a portion of these have been incorporated into his later volumes, but the reviewer has counted forty-five published and three unpublished letters still lacking in his pages. Though something has been done both to correct Enders and to supplement him in the American version of Luther's correspondence, a text at once complete and definitive must be awaited until that planned in the Weimar edition is done, should it, indeed, ever be published under the present tragic circumstances.

In resuming the history of the strife between Luther and Zwingli, Walter Köhler has three purposes: (1) to show that the whole thing was an unfortunate misunderstanding due to the Wittenberger's confounding the Swiss with Carlstadt and the Anabaptists; (2) to prove that the difference on the real presence was no more fundamental than divergence on several other dogmas; (3) to defend Zwingli from the charge of dishonorable methods of propaganda. Köhler admits, however, that the somewhat disingenuous tactics of Zwingli only made matters worse for him in the end.

Ernest Kroker has discovered a document on Luther's courtship, revealing facts only partially known before. In 1552 Amsdorf related that before he left Wittenberg in September, 1524, Catharine von Bora, whom he calls the prettiest of the refugee nuns, came to him and complained that Luther was trying to force her to marry Dr. Glatz, whereas she preferred to marry either Amsdorf or Martin himself. Accordingly, at the next opportunity, the noble Amsdorf says to his friend: "Why the devil will you urge and force good Katie to marry that old miser?" and receives the reply, "What devil *does* she want? If she won't have Glatz, she may wait a good while for someone else". But before a year was out Catharine's waiting was at an end.

One phase of the enormous effort that has gone to make the Weimar edition so nearly perfect is dealt with by Ernst Thiele in a survey of the extant Luther autographs. Surprisingly large as is his list, it is not yet

complete. No less than three autograph inscriptions, in books once owned by Luther and now in England, are known to the reviewer, but have escaped Thiele. He excludes from his list letters, because he believes they are fully noted in Enders. This is not the case. None of the autographs now in America are known to Enders, nor are some of the autographs in England.

Two studies of the work of Luther's amanuenses Dietrich and Röser, by Freitag and Reichert respectively, not only give an impressive survey of what history owes to these self-suppressing disciples, but do something to clear up the problem of the provenance of portions of the *Table Talk*. Other articles on the hymns, on the translation of the New Testament, and on the Wittenberg press all have their interest. The volume closes with the publication of a letter from Cardinal Salviati to the Cardinal of Ravenna on the proposal to settle the schism by offering Luther and one of his friends red hats. The date, 1539, is doubted by the editor, Karl Drescher, but to the reviewer seems unobjectionable.

PRESERVED SMITH.

The Political Works of James I., reprinted from the Edition of 1616. With an Introduction by CHARLES HOWARD MCILWAIN, Professor of History and Government in Harvard University. [Harvard Political Classics, vol. I.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1918. Pp. cxi, 354. \$4.00.)

THIS is the first volume of what the Harvard Press hopes may become a series of reprints of the less accessible material for the history of political science. "The student needs to know not alone *what* the masters thought, but also *how* they thought. . . . He needs above all somehow to gain an appreciation of the whole political mind of the period." This he must attain, the editor feels, by a study of the original works *in extenso*. Only thus can he become accustomed to the "intellectual climate". Professor McIlwain believes that there was no period when the influence of England upon political thinking was so extensive as during the first decade of the reign of James I., and that the king himself was directly responsible for it. Both these considerations justify a reprint of the king's political writings.

This reprint follows the text of the edition of 1616, which was prepared with the king's sanction, and which embodied his own corrections and changes. No variant readings to the earlier editions have been given, though for the most part the references and side-notes of the original edition have been retained as foot-notes. The editor wisely refrained however from any attempt to identify those annotations left vague by the royal author or his editors. The editor has also wisely collected his own comment in a systematic and lengthy introduction, in which he treats of English thought in the sixteenth century with rela-

tion to Church and State, of James's notions of divine right, and in particular of the history of the controversy occasioned by James's *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*. This last furnishes about half of the introduction. Unquestionably, Professor McIlwain has made a fresh and original study of the material, and has verified and amplified the accounts already given by Figgis and Gooch. A good deal of material of minor importance is grouped together for the first time, and the history of the controversy over James's works is related more fully than in any previous account in English, if an account as insistently trilingual as this introduction can be said to be in English.

Inasmuch as this is the first of a series of texts intended for students, it may not be amiss to examine the *apparatus criticus* itself. It was apparently the editor's design to compel the student to apply himself earnestly both to the text and to the introduction; to make some really considerable demands on his attention; to assume an ability to follow a somewhat lengthy process of reasoning, an ability to handle considerable masses of detail, not too obviously arranged for his convenience. Throughout, an ability to read political science and ecclesiastical controversy currently in Latin (which is by no means synonymous with an ability to read Latin) is presumed. It is a book therefore aimed rather at graduate than at undergraduate students, at the larger rather than the smaller university, and will be most useful in seminar. While the average student might with profit read parts of the introduction or certain pages of the text, it is precisely this piecemeal attack upon political science that the editor wishes to foreclose and discourage. Thoroughness seems, however, to be less a positive than a comparative fact and depends primarily upon one's point of view. Would not competent and mature students get a broader grasp of the period from a careful reading of a hundred pages of James, and a hundred each of Parsons, Bellarmine, and du Perron in the original texts, than from four hundred of James alone in reprint? If the former is fragmentary is not the latter one-sided?

Nor does this careful, elaborate, and handsome reprint make the king's writings more accessible to scholars and historians. The index is brief and covers the introduction more carefully than the text itself. Many entries seem perfunctory and inconsequential. An index more useful to scholars would have analyzed James's ideas in their relation to the modern phraseology of political science rather than in their relation to James's own terminology, would have referred to the principal passages dealing with what we should now call sovereignty, the structure of the state, the legislative as distinguished from the executive, if James made any distinction, and, if not, the passages in which he treated them as different aspects of the same thing. But an elaborate index of the text on any basis would have been a great service to learning.

The format of the book is admirable, and in the main the technical book-making is excellent. There are few misprints, but some of them

one is surprised to find: Cicil, (p. lv); Alplogie, (p. lx); Bellarimine; Replique in text, Réplique in foot-note, (p. lxx); Pont-a-Mousson at least twice for Pont-à-Mousson, (p. lxx). The punctuation of the introduction is not always consistent; on page lxix, quotation marks are omitted from the French and Latin quotations in one paragraph, and employed in the next.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Maria Theresia, ihr Leben und ihre Regierung. Von EUGEN GUGLIA. In two volumes. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1917. Pp. vi, 388; 418.)

MAY 13, 1917, was the two-hundredth anniversary of Maria Theresa's birthday. In anticipation of it the Austrian historian, Eugen Guglia, had begun before 1914 a biography which should be a memorial to her, little dreaming of the war which was to deprive her descendants of the throne itself. Although the war closed to him the materials in the Austrian Ministry of War and made impossible any investigation in foreign archives, it did not otherwise seriously interrupt his work, nor does it appear to have warped with prejudice any of his conclusions.

These two volumes naturally challenge comparison with the ten on which Arneth spent half a lifetime. Guglia of course makes much use of Arneth's text and of the long extracts from the sources in Arneth's notes; anyone who writes on Austria in the eighteenth century must do so. But Guglia's work is in no sense a mere condensation or compilation from his predecessor's great work. For the latter appeared in the years 1863-1879, and in the period since that time a mass of new printed material relating to Maria Theresa and her reign has become accessible—the Khevenhüller diaries, the correspondence of the empress with the Electoral Princess Maria Antonia of Saxony, the detailed military accounts of the Silesian Wars by the Austrian and the Prussian general staffs, and a host of monographs on all phases of Austrian history. All these the author has turned to good account. He has also a strong antiquarian turn of mind and has been able to weave into his story many new and interesting points of real historical value. He paints therefore a decidedly fresh picture of the great Austrian heroine. It is also more readable than Arneth's somewhat heavy work.

Being primarily interested in drawing the character of Maria Theresa, the woman and ruler, rather than in narrating a history of her times, he relates, of military events, only so much as is necessary to make intelligible the diplomatic negotiations or measures of reform which were necessarily interwoven with the military situation. This subordination of the wars which filled so large a part of her reign leaves the author space for excellent accounts of her relations with her various ministers and of the great reforms in the bureaucratic organization, finance, justice, religion, the condition of the serfs, and of many other

matters. These were all subjects which she considered carefully and conscientiously during the first ten years of her reign in spite of the interruption and preoccupation caused by the War of the Austrian Succession; some of the reforms, to be sure, were not put into operation until the time of her less prudent son, Joseph II. There are also good chapters on the life at Maria Theresa's court, her amusements, her large family (she was the mother of sixteen children), and on the art, literature, and music of the Vienna of her day.

At the beginning of her reign the young empress-queen gave many evidences of that courageous determination, steadfastness, and wise influence on both her husband and her ministers which made her so respected and loved by her subjects. When, for instance, the King of Prussia marched without any substantial right to seize Silesia, he sent agents to offer Maria Theresa peace and Prussian support for the election of her beloved husband as emperor, on condition that she would cede forthwith a part of Silesia. Her husband and her ministers were inclined to listen to these Prussian proposals. On one occasion when her husband, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, was discussing the proposals with the Prussian emissary, Maria Theresa, who was listening in the next room, feared he might make compromising concessions; whereupon she opened the door, asking simply, "Is the Grand Duke there?" That was sufficient. In the subsequent negotiations he took the much firmer attitude which accorded with his wife's ideas of right and justice.

Later in the same year she met the Hungarian Diet. Voltaire and legend have represented her fleeing from Vienna to Pressburg before the Prussian and Bavarian attack, holding the infant Joseph in her arms, and making a spontaneous appeal in Latin to the Hungarian magnates to defend her, her children, and her lands. Whereat her loyal and enthusiastic Hungarian subjects cried out with one accord, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa!*", and talked of raising at once a volunteer army of 100,000 troops. Guglia's account, with characteristic care for precision of detail, shows the facts to be somewhat different. The purpose of the meeting was in considerable part to secure the recognition of her husband as joint governor of Hungary, a recognition which the independence-loving Hungarians had been hitherto unwilling to grant. Instead of being a spontaneous outpouring, Maria Theresa's Latin speech was probably prepared for her by her trusted councillor, Bartenstein, from whom she often requested drafts for necessary royal addresses in Latin (*cf.* p. 103, n. 1). The infant Joseph was not present at all. His place in the legend is probably due to the fact that he was sent for by his mother and was presented to the magnates at a wholly different meeting ten days later, when, however, he does not appear to have evoked much enthusiasm. The number of troops which were actually raised was less than 40,000, and even this number was not ready for more than a year, was without discipline, and soon melted away in large part through desertion. However, it is unquestioned that the

young queen spoke with emotion, and drew protestations of loyalty and support from her hearers, though what they shouted was: "Vitam nostram et sanguinem consecramus!" This exhibition of Hungarian loyalty also had a salutary effect upon the King of Prussia; he hastened to conclude with Austria the treaty of Klein-Schnellendorf.

In the vexed question of the origin of the Seven Years' War, after going over all the evidence, Guglia rejects Lehmann's contentions and holds Austria partly responsible for giving Frederick grounds for thinking that he was in danger of an attack from Austria, and that he was therefore not wholly without justification in the fall of 1756 in making what Moltke would have called a "preventive war". Altogether Guglia's biography gives the best picture of Maria Theresa's personality which has been written.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The French Revolution in English History. By PHILIP ANTHONY BROWN. (London: Crosby Lockwood and Son. 1918. Pp. xiv, 232.)

THE chief fault one finds in this book is its title; it is in fact another account of the influence of the French Revolution on contemporary English politics and writers on political and social subjects. The poets are not entirely neglected, but they receive attention only in as far as they reflect the political ferment of the time. Mr. Brown has not said the final word, but his book is probably the sanest interpretation of a difficult subject that anybody has given. His death in battle has an added element of tragedy in that it deprives him of the chance to revise this book in the light of things that he might better have understood in the psychology of men a century ago by comparing their behavior with that which has happened under our own eyes in the war just ended.

Mr. Brown's instinct for the things that matter led him to look for the roots of the political doctrines of the Revolutionary years in the decades that preceded the French débâcle. He seems to have felt also that more of the English radical movement sprang from the current industrial conditions than he quite says in so many words. Perhaps a final pronouncement on that subject can never be made; whether the British workmen would have developed organizations so soon without the news from France will always be an unsettled question. Probably Mr. Brown does not set too great store by the French influence, if we agree that French influence was at all real.

The best-reasoned chapters in the book are those that treat of the relations of Pitt's administration with the radical societies and their leaders. On this subject the author used some new material which he found in the Treasury Solicitor's Papers in the Public Record Office. Mr. Brown gives the best account extant of the organization of the radical societies and of the counter-propaganda. His statements, for

the most part, agree substantially with conclusions reached by the reviewer after further study subsequent to the publication of his own *England and the French Revolution*.

The last two chapters in the book on the Revolution's Secondary Effects, in which the author makes an excursion into the nineteenth century, are based on less extensive study and are accordingly less substantial. Perhaps in a less troublous time he might have pursued his investigation into this wider field; in that case, with the perception of the social forces at work in those years which this book reveals, he would have contributed materially toward an understanding of the early history of English democracy. Had Mr. Brown lived to edit the book himself, he would probably have remedied some deficiencies in the footnotes, though they are not serious faults. He might also have become more critical of some of his authorities and so have changed certain details. But, all in all, the work of the editors is creditably done.

One cannot help a final word of regret that a career so promising as this book and the memoir of his life by Gilbert Murray, which it contains, indicate Mr. Brown's to have been was cut short in its beginning.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

The Deeper Causes of the War. By ÉMILE HOVELAQUE. Translated by the Author. With an Introduction by Sir Walter Raleigh. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1916. Pp. 158. \$1.25.)

The Evolution of Prussia: the Making of an Empire. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT and C. GRANT ROBERTSON. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1917. Pp. 459. \$1.75.)

So long as historians seek to explain the present as the outcome of the past, they are bound to read the past in the light of the present. This means continual reinterpretation, and sometimes a return to an older interpretation. Until the last century, many Prussians and nearly all other Germans regarded the expansion of Prussia simply as the result of superior energy and greater unscrupulousness in the struggle of rival dynasties for land and power. Early in the nineteenth century, Prussian historians developed the theory of a more or less unconscious but very real purpose running through the aggrandizement of their monarchy: the protection of Germany against foreign conquest and rule. There were indeed Germans who preferred foreign rule to that of Prussia, who found the little finger of the Hohenzollerns heavier than the loins of Danish or French rulers; but in the revival of German national sentiment during the Napoleonic wars, many non-Prussian Germans began to regard Prussia as the rock on which a united Germany was to be built. After 1871, many foreign historians accepted the Prussian view: the entire history of Prussia was to be regarded, in the

light of German unity, as a process by which Prussia had earned the right to organize and control Germany.

With the development of German aspirations for world-power, supported by the pseudo-Darwinian theory that the relation of nations to each other was to be regarded as a struggle for survival, the older interpretation of Prussian history was bound to reappear. The outbreak of the World War gave it general acceptance, at least outside of Germany. In the first part of M. Hovelaque's little book, this reinterpretation of Prussian history is developed with the remorseless consequence of a mathematical demonstration. Prussia's exposed situation required, from the outset, constant preparation for war. Because of the poverty of its soil and its heterogeneous population, such preparation necessitated a high economic efficiency and an iron discipline. These "fatalities of formation and development . . . predestined Prussia, like a cancerous growth, to spread ever wider . . . her encroaching cells, and . . . condemn her to unceasing aggression or annihilation" (p. 14). "The inspiration of a providential mission other than its own aggrandizement came to it from without. Germany, mother of philosophies and mysticisms, begot the theories of German unity, of conquest . . . of the infinite superiority of the Teutonic blood, and of the duties and monstrous rights which this superiority confers" (pp. 43, 44).

The second part of M. Hovelaque's book deals with German hatred of England and German theories regarding England. In refuting these theories, he pays an eloquent tribute to the English people and to the idealism which, in his opinion, inspires British imperialism (pp. 147-158).

The author has translated his book into English which is not only clear and strong, but also idiomatic. The only Gallicism the reviewer has noted is "dissimulating" for "concealing" (p. 35).

In *The Evolution of Prussia* the same general view is implicit. The Great Elector and Frederick II., Stein, Hardenberg, and Bismarck are depicted as primarily concerned with the maintenance and expansion of Prussian power. The authors recognize, however, that all these men were actuated by a strong and controlling sense of duty. To them political morality was "a higher and more binding morality . . . independent of and superior to social morality and the canons of individual and private conduct" (p. 24). The treatment of Prussian history by these English writers is not only objective, it is also sympathetic. When we consider that this book, although probably written, for the most part, before the war, was prepared for publication in the autumn of 1915, its fairness and the restraint with which it is written are remarkable.

This volume meets a real need, because it is the only book in English that covers the rise and development of Brandenburg-Prussia and the Prussianization of Germany under the Hohenzollern dynasty, and because, on the whole, the work is well done. To treat the period prior to 1618 in thirty-four pages, and to show, in this limited space, how the

scattered territories ruled by the Great Elector were acquired by the dynasty, is not easy; but the narrative would be clearer if the material were better arranged. From 1618 on, however, the story becomes clear and is told in a readable and interesting way.

The absence of references makes it difficult to control questionable statements. In the account of the Spanish candidacy which led to the Franco-Prussian War, we are told that in July, 1870, King William "secretly counselled the withdrawal" of Prince Leopold's candidacy (p. 363). It seems clear that the king was originally opposed to the candidacy; but it is known that in June, 1870, he was persuaded by Bismarck to approve it. That after this he should have endeavored to thwart his chancellor's policy "secretly" seems out of keeping with all we know of the king's character and of his treatment of his ministers. In Mr. Grant Robertson's biography of Bismarck, published during the present year, no such statement is made, although the episode is treated more fully than in the book under review.

In an otherwise unexceptionable analysis of the German imperial constitution (pp. 372-376), it is stated that in the field of administration the central authority was conspicuously weak. This judgment seems to be based on the fact that the empire relied for the execution of its policies mainly on state officials. In spite of this, however, the federal council and the imperial chancellery seem to have been able to secure effective execution of their ordinances and decrees.

By some inexplicable inadvertence, the non-renewal of the "reinsurance treaty" of 1884, which on page 407 is correctly stated to have occurred after Bismarck's retirement in 1890, is placed, on page 431, after the Japano-Chinese War, in 1896.

The history closes with Bismarck's dismissal, but an "epilogue" deals briefly with the course of events from 1890 to 1914. One passage deserves to be quoted. After speaking of the remarkable firmness with which Bismarck "imposed limits on himself", the authors say:

In the list of his defects, crimes, or blunders, megalomania cannot fairly be placed. The intoxication of success, the fever of nationalist pride, never mastered his head. One of the most passionate of men, he was one of the coolest and most calculating of statesmen. . . . Modern Germany has been too apt to forget that 'Realpolitik'—a policy based on reality—and the 'Realpolitiker'—the statesman of 'reality'—were not discoveries of the generation after 1890. The names of Frederick and Bismarck have been invoked as the founders of a school, which they would have probably pointed out blundered in making a picture from the dreams of ambition and calling it a reality (pp. 425-426).

MUNROE SMITH.

Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871. Von ALFRED STERN. Band VII. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1916. Pp. xxv, 796.)

IT is twenty-five years since Dr. Stern began to publish his *Geschichte Europas*, of which this volume covers the period from the proclamation of the Second French Republic to the outbreak of the Crimean War. On this scale at least three more volumes will be required to bring the story to 1871, and one can only hope that the distinguished historian, who is past seventy, will be able to complete his great undertaking. We shall then have an exhaustive and definitive treatment from a single pen of perhaps the most momentous half-century in the history of Europe.

The previous volumes described the forces which precipitated the revolutionary movement of 1848; this one is, accordingly, almost exclusively a narrative of events, with little in the way of comment or criticism. In recent accounts of the nineteenth century, the great convulsion has been rather summarily treated; not unnaturally, since the tangible results were so meagre. But Dr. Stern has the perspective of the older historians. He perceives that the years 1848-1852 were a turning-point in the history of Europe (this volume begins the *dritter Abteilung*), and he writes the story in appropriate detail. Events great and small, personages famous and obscure, incessant ministerial changes, laws and projects of laws, constitutions, battles, intricate diplomatic negotiations, treaties—there is nothing or nobody omitted that played any part in the great drama. One is indeed bewildered at times, for the narrative proceeds almost day by day, and the author pauses but seldom to show the significance of events; yet if he does not offer a clue to the maze, he is able, by admirable character-sketches of the leading actors, by numerous quotations from letters, speeches, and documents, and perhaps most of all by the very simplicity of his narrative, to convey the dominant idea of any situation, such as the confusion of the Frankfort Parliament, the iron resolution of Schwarzenberg, or the cool determination of Louis Napoleon.

The difficult question of arrangement is handled with real success. Dr. Stern considers "Central Europe" as one vast arena for the conflict of democratic, nationalist, and absolutist ideals, and weaves the events in Austria, Hungary, Germany, Prussia, and Sleswick-Holstein, with their interactions and reactions, into one stupendous drama. Carrying the story down to September, 1848, he turns to Italy, whose fortunes for the entire year 1848 are set forth in a single chapter. He then recrosses the Alps, and completes the narrative for Germany and Austria to the restoration of the old governments, together with an account of the Austrian Concordat in 1855. A second chapter on Italy, which ends with the appointment of Cavour's "great ministry", completes the saga

of the revolution. From this point the method becomes rather artistic. The calm of Russia affords a marked contrast with the revolutionary storm; this leads directly to Russian relations with Turkey concerning the Principalities and the Magyar refugees; and the chapter concludes with an interesting account of the "European emigration", which, directed towards London, found under British law the opportunity to keep alive the revolutionary propaganda. It is proper, therefore, to describe the Chartist fiasco and the Irish rebellion, the vicissitudes of English politics and the exposition of 1851. Then the other constitutional monarchies, Belgium and Holland, are treated, and since the religious question was to the fore in Holland, the next subject is "the triumph of the Catholic church", which permits a brief consideration of the affairs of Spain and Portugal. But this triumph was conditioned by the support of France, so it remains to describe the history of that country from the election of Louis Napoleon to the proclamation of the Second Empire. Thus the volume ends, as it began, with the attention fixed on the leading state of the Continent. Also the final impression is that of Europe gone over to reaction, in contrast to the liberal ideas dominant in 1848. All things considered, a masterly treatment, with constant reminders that the author is writing "*die Gesamtgeschichte Europas*". The history of Switzerland from 1848 is reserved for the next volume, and so, doubtless, is that of Norway and Sweden.

In addition to the older sources, the author has laid under contribution a vast amount of recent biographical and monographic material, as well as memoirs and private papers. And as in the earlier volumes, the archives have yielded fruit: quotations from Berlin, Frankfort, Copenhagen, Bern, and Turin are frequent and interesting, and some of the documents are printed in an appendix. A long despatch from Rochow, Prussian ambassador in St. Petersburg, dated March 12, 1848, reports a conversation with the tsar, who urged Frederick William IV. to act promptly and decisively in the matter of German unity. In some letters of Pfuel in September-October, 1848, the Prussian king upbraids the minister for his irresolute handling of the assembly. According to a despatch from the Frankfort representative in Paris, dated November 10, 1849, the prince-president had invited Thiers to form a ministry, since France must intervene in the Orient to restrain Austria and Russia in their demands upon Turkey. Several interesting documents relative to the Sleswick-Holstein question are also printed. There is no formal bibliography and no index, although the latter will doubtless be supplied in the last volume of the *Abteilung*, and the very full table of contents provides a partial substitute. In view of the military operations in Italy and Hungary, some kind of a map would have been useful. The style is generally simple and the sentences not too long, although the author has a certain fondness for the descriptive or modifying clause-within-clause.

Chary as Dr. Stern is of criticism or interpretation, it is clear that

his sympathies go out to the vanquished. A free Germany, a united Italy, an autonomous Hungary, a democratic France were worthy causes. He has only scorn for the weak and insincere Prussian monarch, an intense dislike for the Austrian reactionaries, much admiration for the patriots of Italy, contempt for the intriguing president of France. These views are not deliberately expressed, but are manifested in the course of the narrative, sometimes by a stray adjective or by the mere accumulation of facts. Once or twice, indeed, he lets himself go, as in the moving description of Garibaldi's defense of Rome or the pen-portraits of Victor Emmanuel II. and Cavour. There is not the abuse of Palmerston so often found in German books, and he quotes with approval the famous paragraph at the end of the tenth chapter of Macaulay's *History*, written in November, 1848, in which the free institutions and prosperity of England are contrasted with the chaos of the Continent. Yet he writes without prejudice, is never unfair, and does not slur over the mistakes and shortcomings of the liberal leaders. But if the writing is throughout entirely objective, the clear impression is left that the failure of the movements of 1848 was a fearful tragedy; for the easy and complete triumph of reaction discredited the democratic idea, and the conservative and middle classes, alarmed by certain of its more radical aspects, henceforth put their trust in princes. A popular victory in 1848 would have meant a democratic Germany and a free Europe; no one has explained better than this Swiss historian why that victory was not achieved.

In conclusion something must be said of the preface. The author, in his first volume, had spoken of "the community of ideas and interests of the European peoples which by virtue of inward necessity binds them to one another and leads them along the same path of spiritual development". The war might appear to be the negation of this hope, but

the common roots of European (*gesamteuropäischen*) civilization are too strong to be destroyed even by the fury of the hurricane which is now sweeping over the world. The peoples of Europe, no one of whom is a chosen race, cannot, even if they wish it, get away from a close interdependence in their spiritual experiences and material needs. The time must come when broken threads are again taken up, broken bridges restored. Today, more than ever, is it a holy duty of the historian to avoid everything which may hinder or prolong this process of healing. More earnestly than ever must he take care, in Ranke's imperishable phrase, "to efface himself and let things tell their own story". It will be my greatest reward if in the last part of my *Geschichte Europas* I shall have succeeded in at least approaching this goal.

Let us indeed hope that this spirit will guide those who shall write the history of our times and the Great War.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Band V. Von JOHANNES DIERAUER. [Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten.] (Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1917. Pp. xxxvi, 807.)

THE fifth and concluding volume of Dierauer's history of the Swiss federation brings the narrative to its culmination, the adoption of the constitution of 1848. The volume begins with the formation of the Helvetic Republic in 1798, after the fall of the old confederacy, that had existed for five centuries. The new order of things did not fulfill the high expectations of ardent Swiss patriots. The French sons of liberty, who had helped to overthrow the powerful aristocracy of Bern, remained quartered on the Swiss population twenty-five thousand strong and forced upon the cantons a government little in accord with traditional Swiss liberties and privileges. Confiscation of treasure, as that of Bern's twenty-four million, and heavy war taxes levied upon five cantons and three monasteries to the amount of sixteen million livres, and subsequently the war upon the refractory forest cantons, could not but alienate the hearts of the Swiss people generally, who soon looked upon their liberators as conquerors and oppressors.

Under the new Helvetic constitution the two parties, the unionists who upheld the national idea with a strong central government, and the federalists who desired a return to the old confederacy of sovereign cantons loosely held together, grew more and more antagonistic and were soon found on the verge of civil war. Thereupon Napoleon, then First Consul for life, summoned representatives of both parties to Paris, and with conscious mastery dictated the Act of Mediation. "I", said he, "who through circumstances have gained the confidence of the French people, I should consider myself incapable of governing the Swiss." Then he held up to them, that if they should choose a Bernese, Zürich would be dissatisfied; if the choice were a man from Zürich, Bern would feel resentment; that the Catholics and Protestants stood in similar opposition; a rich man would presumably belong to the aristocracy and already on that account would not gain confidence; a man of merit without private means would require a high salary, which would be felt to be a crushing expense and a revolting innovation. With such bluffing half-truths he dashed to the ground all hopes of Swiss national union. His Act of Mediation was a skillful compromise between some of the desires of the two opposing parties, preserving much of the historical liberties of the individual states, yet combining them under one government—though dependent for its stability upon the good-will of its French neighbor and calculated to serve the interests of her ambitious ruler. The freedom of the press was destroyed, restriction of publicity was regarded as a governmental right. When the diet assembled (1803), Marshal Ney handed over the military terms accompanying the act, by which 16,000 Swiss were to be recruited for the French armies, and 8000 more if France should be attacked, all officers, from

subaltern to commanding general, to be appointed by Napoleon. After such a levy not enough men between eighteen and forty were left to the Swiss for resisting any demand whatever.

The one advantage Switzerland derived was to keep her territory safe from the ravages of the continuous wars that devastated so large a part of Europe during the next ten years, "an isle of peace in the surging world-sea". But the price was enormous, and even at that Swiss neutrality was twice violated, when in Napoleon's war against Austria in 1809 his forces crossed the Rhine at Basel, and on the return the victorious French troops, without permission, passed by way of Schaffhausen through Reinfeld and Basel to their homes.

After the overthrow of the great conqueror, reactionary elements in Switzerland, aided from without, threatened to restore all aristocratic, feudal, religious, and sundry other privileges that had obtained before 1798. Two parties now faced each other as before the Act of Mediation, the liberal and the conservative, and their attitude was no less hostile toward each other. The attempt of Swiss patriots to avoid a protectorate of the Holy Alliance, replacing that of France which had become so obnoxious, was thwarted by the narrow and selfish tendencies of the cantonal representatives. Their particularism (*Kantonli-geist*) grew to such a pitch at the diet of 1814-1815, that only the threat of intervention from the outside put an end to their quarrels. The Swiss diet succeeded in drawing up a "compact", not a constitution, which Dierauer shows was a step backward from the Act of Mediation dictated by the First Consul. Fortunately it was within the interests of the Holy Alliance to keep the cantons from plunging into civil war, and this was accomplished by maintaining a weak central organization dependent upon themselves. Far-sighted Swiss statesmen had to build their hopes on a future generation, when petty strife and selfish interest might be cast out by a spirit of broader nationality based upon a liberal constitution.

Such hopes seemed on the path of realization in the thirties, when attempts were made to reform the compact, make suffrage more general and the central authority more powerful, but it took another decade for the fruit to ripen. In the meantime there was repeated danger of intervention by the great reactionary powers, because of the maintenance by the Swiss cantons of the old right of asylum for refugees from neighboring countries. The right of neutrality, guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna, seemed at stake for the preservation of the equally precious heritage of the right of asylum. German, Italian, and Polish revolutionists found refuge in the hospitable cantons, as in former ages those persecuted for their religion. Especially noteworthy is the case of the brothers Follen(ius), two of whom came to America, one of them, Carl Follen, distinguished as a Harvard professor, Unitarian minister, and early advocate of abolition.

Toward the end of the forties, events moved rapidly toward liberal-

ism and revolution. Switzerland was endangered by a complication, the struggle with the Jesuit order, and the resulting secession of Catholic cantons in the so-called "Sonderbund". Happily the liberal movements in Prussia and Austria, and the friendly attitude of England and France, left Switzerland to attend to her own affairs. The liberal cantons waged successful war against the seceding league, and the liberal leaders rose to the emergency and framed a constitution, which, with but one revision, that of 1874, remains to the present day. An interesting fact is that in the debates the plan for a national assembly based upon popular suffrage with a veto power by the cantons, was dropped in favor of one modelled consciously after the Constitution of the United States, with two legislative houses, one based upon popular suffrage, the other upon equal representation of the states or cantons.

The chauvinist or super-patriot may find Dierauer's annalistic pages far from satisfying. There is little color, no glitter of style, no eulogistic display of popular heroes. Objectiveness, painstaking accuracy, and thoroughness of research characterize Dierauer's history. Movements and events fascinate him more than individuals, and like fate itself he casts them upon the scrap-heap after they have performed their parts in the great progress of things. He closes his masterly work soberly with the words:

The union founded in 1848 has proved itself to be a happy achievement, for it was not, as once the Helvetic Republic, forced on by an unhistorical political doctrine from without, but designed after the pattern of native, historical traditions, and resulting from a constantly swelling inner movement. . . . May the regenerated Swiss Federation stride forward with confidence and while conditions in Europe are betimes in a state of ferment, observing strict neutrality, preserve the precious possessions of peace and the right of asylum.

One misses, as also in volume IV., all reference to the subject of emigration, though it may have had some bearing upon the liberal movement in Switzerland; one misses also such delightful summaries of contemporary Swiss literature as are found in volume IV. It is well to remember that Gottfried Keller's prose stories (occasional reference is made [p. 689, etc.] to his revolutionary and patriotic lyrics) furnish us with types of character which bring the revolutionary period of 1848 vividly before us, as *e. g.* *Das Fähnlein der Sieben Aufrechten*, where the seven stalwarts visualize all the eccentricities and also the virtues of the staunch republicans.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

Richard Cobden, the International Man. By J. A. HOBSON. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1919. Pp. 416. \$5.00.)

THIS is a fascinating but at the same time a tantalizing book. It is not a biography; it was not intended to be. As its author states, "It was designed, in the first instance, to rescue the memory of Cobden from the narrow misrepresentations to which it has been subjected by

giving stronger emphasis to his international work". But this purpose once achieved we are at the end of the volume. There is no correlation, to speak of, between Cobden the great economist, and Cobden the non-interventionist, between Cobden, genius of the Anti-Corn Law League, and Cobden of the British Peace Society. Professor Hobson has drawn a new, striking, and detailed sketch of Cobden; but it is only a sketch. His book is supplementary to Morley's biography, not complementary.

Composed for the most part of Cobden's correspondence, this book taps new, original material of great value, the more important being the letters written by Cobden to the Rev. Henry Richards of the British Peace Society, while only second in importance are various letters sent to Charles Sumner, transcribed especially for this book from the original documents in the Harvard Library and not included in the Sumner correspondence published in the *American Historical Review* (II. 306-319). In consequence this book becomes immediately a necessity to the student of the American Civil War, as well as to the student of pacifism.

To those of us who have regarded Cobden as largely immersed in the economic propaganda of free trade, it cannot but prove an enlightening volume. From 1850 to 1865 he was an active participant in a very earnest if not influential pacifist movement. Cobden was philosophically a "non-interventionist". But philosophy and action in his career were always closely linked. Hesitation was as foreign to his nature as was compromise. He knew no inhibitions, and like a true liberal was more loyal to intellectual ideas than to institutions. Intervention in foreign disputes he believed altogether wrong. Therefore, like all men who ride hobbies, he saw but one set of facts, and to them he ascribed exaggerated values.

In one sense of the word, the memory of Cobden has been rescued by this book; the reader cannot help being convinced that the interests of Cobden were international. But in another sense the popular conception of Cobden as a man of extreme dogmatism and mental inflexibility is heightened, not lessened, by these pages.

For the fifteen years in question Cobden fought bitterly every foreign intervention made by Great Britain. The Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the annexation of Burma, the defense of Don Pacifico, the Chinese War, the bombardment of Kagoshima, the occupation of Sarawak and of British Honduras, and the Ashantee War are all equally an evidence of the wickedness of intervention. Not once throughout these fifteen years does he approve of the protection of British lives by the British government through the use of force. Furthermore, his antagonism knew no discrimination. Many patriotic Englishmen believed the Crimean and the Chinese wars unjustified. But to Cobden the superb accomplishments of Rajah Brooke in Sarawak were of one piece with the chauvinism of Sir John Bowring in Canton, while missionaries in Burma and Africa might as well have been slave-traders as far as any recognition of their work by Cobden was concerned.

His reasoning at times is very curious. The brutalities of the revolting sepoys are turned by him into an argument against intervention in India. They did not thus treat one another, he argues, before the British came to India—an assumption contrary to fact—therefore the harsh behavior of the British in the peninsula must inferentially be the cause.

Professor Hobson tells us that Cobden was not a peace-at-any-price man; but he does not prove it. He states that Cobden "sometimes admitted that a cause might arise where a powerful nation was called upon to take up arms for the protection of another weak nation". But, as far as this reviewer knows, the sole justification for this claim is to be found in a foot-note in Morley's biography in which Cobden becomes so enthusiastic in the praise of Motley's *Dutch Republic* as to censure Queen Elizabeth for not intervening in Holland in the sixteenth century. According to Professor Hobson himself, Cobden wrote, "I am against any interference by the government of one country in the affairs of another nation, even if it be confined to moral suasion".

Cobden appears at his best in the correspondence with Charles Sumner. His criticism of the North is candid, and his interpretation of English sentiment toward the Civil War judicious. The obsession of free trade, however, which possessed him, is here curiously in evidence. He wrote that victory could only come to the North and intervention by Europe only be prevented by ending the blockade of the southern ports. The peace movement in Great Britain, indeed, was not only hampered by the intolerance and the narrow-mindedness of its leading protagonists, it was also retarded by the deification of trade and commerce which characterized those of Manchester. The fact that Cobden objected to the term "League of Brotherhood" and desired that "Peace Bazaar" be substituted in summoning a peace meeting is a unique and not insignificant fact. Cobden seems to have been a true predecessor of Norman Angell in believing that one can end war by proving it unprofitable.

WALTER P. HALL.

The Work of the Hague. Volume I. *The International Union of the Hague Conferences.* By WALTHER SCHÜCKING, Professor in the University of Marburg, Associate of the Institute of International Law. Volume II. *The Problem of an International Court of Justice.* By HANS WEHBERG, Gerichtsreferendar in Düsseldorf. Translated from the German by CHARLES G. FENWICK, Associate Professor of Political Science in Bryn Mawr College. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press; Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1918. Pp. xiv, 341; xxxiii, 251. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR SCHÜCKING has made valuable contributions to the study of international law. This book upon the *International Union of the*

Hague Conferences is the first of a series in which he plans to take up the work of the two Hague Conferences and to make their results more widely appreciated.

Dr. Schücking sees in the relationship entered into by the states represented at the Hague Conferences much more than the bond ordinarily established by conventional international unions. He considers that the Hague Conferences have set up an "international judicial community" whereas previously only "international administrative unions" had been established. It should be noticed that in maintaining this position Dr. Schücking is referring to institutions, like the International Prize Court, which never came into being because the convention upon that subject remains unratified, as does also that for the establishment of a Court of Judicial Arbitration.

Professor Schücking believes development will follow Umfried's idea: "The powers must finally become associates instead of competitors; they must form a trust among themselves, they must recognize the existing situation and bind themselves not to seek to disturb it by force of arms."

Dr. Schücking sees much of organized pacifism in the work of the Second Hague Conference. His argument based upon this work leads him to a conclusion somewhat similar to that embodied in the Paris League of Nations covenant of 1919, for he says: "If the nations have formed themselves into a world federation for the maintenance of the general peace, that act involves, in my opinion, as a legal consequence the mutual recognition of their independence and their territorial integrity."

Though this book is written by a German, it seems to be far from the common German point of view, but it points the way for those who wish to follow what Dr. Schücking himself recognizes as the higher ideal. He says: "We owe, most unfortunately, our empire not to peaceful domestic effort but to war, and militarism is so embedded in our bones that the peaceful organization of the civilized world is no longer an ideal in our eyes" (p. 65). It is suggestive that a German jurist, writing in 1911, should say: "The more brutal the way in which might openly triumphs over right at the present day, the more must the international law jurist endeavor to point out to mankind the ways and means which will lead it out of the dark valley of the past up to the bright heights of the future." From such statements as these it will easily be understood that the book of Dr. Schücking represents a recent tendency in German thought.

There are valuable suggestions in regard to a programme for the Third Hague Conference, should such a conference be held, and in chapter IV. the method of voting, equality of states, and procedure is considered, though probably few would agree with Dr. Schücking that population will be the ultimate test for the basis of international representation.

Schücking and Wehberg: The Work of the Hague 689

The translator does not always seem to observe the distinction between *Staatenbund* and *Bundesstaat*. He also occasionally adopts German idioms, as "ethicohumanitarian", "prescinding", etc., but on the whole the translation is clear. The book has a good subject-index, and a full index of persons.

Dr. Wehberg's book is the second in the series in regard to the work of the Hague Conferences published under the general direction of Professor Schücking.

The problem which Dr. Wehberg discusses—that of an international court of justice—has received much attention for many years, and particularly since the First Hague Conference in 1899. At the Second Hague Conference, under the name Judicial Arbitration Court, a proposal was put before the delegates and before the world for a court with general competence. It is of this court that Dr. Wehberg particularly writes. The so-called "permanent Court of Arbitration" had been set up under the convention of 1899. There was a growing feeling that this court was too costly, that national judges should not sit upon cases brought by their own country, and in general that provisions should be made for a court which might be called strictly judicial. Dr. Wehberg in supporting this position advocates, as have done many others, the largest possible connection between the permanent court and the proposed new court, maintaining properly that a court of justice would more easily be evolved from existing bodies than created *de novo*.

Dr. Wehberg asks (p. 117), "Why should we not introduce into international law the terms 'judicial settlement' and 'arbitration' to distinguish the two chief methods of procedure for the settlement of disputes?" To this it may be replied that there seems to be no reason against such procedure, but, when the procedure is adopted, it would seem proper to indicate the change in the name of the new court rather than to call it a Judicial Arbitration Court. While those who have given attention to the discussions at the Second Hague Conference understand the compromise involved in the name of this court, doubtless it would have been wiser to have given a name to the court which would indicate to the general public the purpose for which its institution was proposed.

The book furnishes an excellent commentary upon the Draft Convention relative to the Judicial Arbitration Court, and gives a good idea of recent discussion of problems involving the establishment of international courts.

An extended bibliography precedes the text, though it is not always easy to recognize authors by simple reference to their final names, as such names as Brown and Smith do not in English constitute sufficient identification. A fair index to subjects is followed by a full index to persons.

GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON.

La Péninsule Balkanique: Géographie Humaine. Par JOVAN CVIJIĆ, Professeur à l'Université de Belgrade, Agrégé à l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1918. Pp. vii, 528. 17 fr.)

IN this book the illustrious author, after a busy lifetime devoted to the study of the physical geography of the Balkan Peninsula, undertakes to bring his investigations to bear upon the Balkan man and therewith to supply us with a very welcome human geography of this intricate and fascinating region. No scholar in this field stands higher in respect of zeal, industry, and loving personal acquaintance with the widely different sections of the peninsula; and every Balkan student, particularly the American, largely dependent hitherto upon such works as Lyde and Newbigin, excellent in their way but written, as it were, from the outside, will be moved to thanks by the intimate character and native flavor of an exposition emanating from a Balkan resident, a Serb. Labelled human geography, the book rests none the less on a basis of physical geography which, when all is said, may prove to be its feature of greatest and most lasting value. For human geography is still a somewhat novel branch of knowledge and perforce lacks the logical method and scientific character of its elder sister. In the present work, for instance, the reader, when confronted with purely physical data, will feel a security and assurance which are likely to show signs of failing him on reaching the human and psychological expositions and discussions. This is, of course, not surprising, not only because physical geography has an established technique but also because its factors, such as soil, altitude, rainfall, and temperature, admit of a very exact determination. It does not do justice to Professor Cvijić to say that he is a master of his tools and data; the thing about him, the thing that makes him the unique geographer of the peninsula, is that he is on friendly terms with every separate area and gives the impression of knowing and loving every nook and corner. Whether it be a question of the wind-swept mountains of the Karst or of the green and reedy valley of the Ibar and Marica, the picture is charged with such exact and carefully distributed observation that it stands forth in the end clothed with a living spirit. The general student, habituated to thinking of the peninsula in such gross terms as Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Serbia, has a treat awaiting him in the several score of rich and subtly variegated landscapes by means of which the author replaces empty concepts with graphic visions.

From the point of view of the historian physical geography, aside from a mass of useful information, offers the example of a solid method likely to arouse his envy. He finds himself moving among forces of such dignity and vastness that struggling man with his joys and sorrows, with his vanities and absurd delusions, quickly dwindles to the worm he is. But human geography is another matter, simply because it is human, all too human. Doubtless it aspires in general, and certainly in the case

before us, to employ the approved method of physical geography in the hope of achieving similarly firm results. The thesis of human geography is and must be that man, member of a group, is the necessary product of his experience in one or several environments under changing social, economic, and political conditions. This experience gives birth to a psychical disposition or social soul which, itself constantly changing, determines his motives at any given time and endows him with a programme of action. To know the whole story of the formation of a human group and the succession of its earthly vicissitudes—assuming for the moment that this story can be known—is scientifically to account for its traits and qualities, or in the case of the amalgam of groups which we call nation for its outstanding national characteristics. An anthropogeography which fills this bill would largely help us to realize that passionate dream of many theorists, a scientific history. Such thoughts stir in the reader's consciousness as he follows Professor Cvijić's determination of the soul of the various Balkan groups and peoples. A fascinating game it proves to be, wherein we must admire the sure hand with which the author tabulates the factors accounting in each of the many instances he studies for the present psychical disposition of a group, perhaps the lower Morava group as distinct from the group of the upper Morava, or the Bulgar groups on either side of the Balkan range. But as for the scientific nature of the results obtained the circumspect historian will find himself assailed by doubts. For the psychical disposition of a group or people which the human geographer sets out to discover must, to be successfully described, be also evaluated, and Professor Cvijić, a modern Serb and Serb of Serbs, quite naturally brings to bear upon the problem a set of values born of our time and culminating in nationalism as the master-value. In this way he gives us an engrossing picture of the gradual and piecemeal formation of a common consciousness among the originally distinct elements of the Jugo-Slavs, but he also has the air of indicating a proud, self-conscious nationalism as the very end and apex of existence. True, in express terms he nowhere upholds this philosophical absurdity, yet he constantly implies it and does not see whither it leads him, even when he turns to the Bulgar soul and is moved to express a Serb's naïf horror at the exclusiveness and ferocity of Bulgar nationalism. In short, the anthropogeographer is likely to discover, like the historian before him, that the trouble about being scientific is not the dispute about the facts, though the historians are apparently forever wrangling over them, but changing and divergent viewpoints, that is, disagreement in the all-important matter of human values. Regrettably without an index, the book is profusely endowed with admirable maps.

Ten Years near the German Frontier: a Retrospect and a Warning.

By MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN, former United States Minister to Denmark. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1919. Pp. 364. \$3.00.)

IN 1907 Mr. Maurice Francis Egan was sent to Copenhagen as the American representative at the Danish court, where he remained till 1918. Since his return he has published a book in which he reviews his experiences during these ten momentous years in "the whispering gallery of Europe". As Mr. Egan is also an honored citizen of the republic of letters, it was to be expected that he would give us a lively, interesting, and finished work, and in this we have not been disappointed; there is not a dull paragraph in the volume. In Copenhagen the author entertained and conversed with a variety of supposedly important personages—princes, diplomats, intellectuals, clergymen, revolutionists, and many other sorts—all of them interesting in varying degrees. He has repeated some of these conversations and with astonishing fidelity, even to the free use of quotation marks, which the reviewer hopes are not to be taken too seriously.

Mr. Egan's principal theme is the ambition of Germany to secure a more dominating leadership in the European world. He deals quite circumstantially with the German propaganda in the northern countries: he shows how the Scandinavian intellectuals were assiduously cultivated, how Germany strove to keep the northern kingdoms apart in their foreign policies, and how the ancient fear of Russia was systematically nourished and intensified. He discusses at length the efforts made, through judicious use of ecclesiastical influences, to prevent the Americanization of German emigrants. On the Catholic side these plans were defeated by the determined opposition of the Irish-American bishops led by the late Archbishop Ireland. On this matter the author may be presumed to speak with authority; but when he asserts that the Swedish Lutherans of the West were "segregated under the direction of German-educated pastors" (p. 167), he speaks without information.

It was during Mr. Egan's last years in Copenhagen, and largely due to his untiring efforts, that our government finally succeeded in purchasing the Virgin Islands. In this transaction he naturally takes great pride; he relates quite circumstantially how the negotiations were carried forward to a successful issue, and how the Danish electorate after a most bitter fight was induced to ratify the agreement. He also includes a useful appendix containing a series of documents relating to earlier efforts to purchase these islands.

It seems ungenerous to close a review of a book so enjoyable and so informing with a list of imperfections; but in this case the list, running from the preface to the closing chapter, is too long to be passed over in silence. Queen Caroline Matilda was a daughter not a "sister of the second George of England" (p. 24). As Holstein was never a

part of the Danish kingdom, it is scarcely accurate to speak of Sleswick-Holstein as "the Alsace-Lorraine question in Denmark" (p. 26). It was clause V., not clause L., of the treaty of Prague that Prussia set aside in 1878 (p. 32). Prince Olav of Norway appears in the list of illustrations as Prince Ferdinand. Algeria (p. 59) is evidently an error for Algeciras. Prince Hans was the uncle not "the elder brother of Frederick VIII." (p. 228). Struense, Brandès, Svendsen (p. 241), Zealand, and Morgenstjern should be written Struensee, Brandes, Swenson, Zealand, and Morgenstjerne. The reviewer has noted some twenty other errors, chiefly in the forms of proper names, most of which should probably be charged to careless or unintelligent proof-reading.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

National Governments and the World War. By FREDERICK A. OGG, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin, and CHARLES A. BEARD, Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York City. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. viii, 603. \$2.50.)

THIS new volume, by two authors well known through their earlier publications and able to speak with the authority of experience and matured judgment, meets the need of an up-to-date text for a course on comparative government, and will prove valuable as a brief presentation of the political background of the war.

In material it is largely identical with portions of the two earlier volumes, Beard's *American Government and Politics* (1910) and Ogg's *Governments of Europe* (1913). Its chief new material appears in the introduction (ch. I.) on National Ideals and Government, in chapters VII. and VIII. on Our Democracy and Government in War Time, in chapters XV. and XVI. (by Dr. Ogg) on English Economic and Social Issues (13 pages) and Greater Britain: the Self-governing Colonies (20 pages), and in the two concluding chapters on the War and Political Reconstruction—one (ch. XXVII.) on American War Aims in Relation to Government by Dr. Beard, and the other (ch. XXVIII.) on the Problem of International Government by Dr. Ogg. It devotes to American federal government about 165 pages, or 262 pages less than Dr. Beard's earlier volume which also included an additional 327 pages on American state governments. It does not contain chapters IV.-VII. and XV.-XXXII. of the earlier book. To European governments it devotes 391 pages (270 pages to the four chief allied nations and 121 to the two Teutonic states)—a total of 255 pages less space than Ogg's earlier volume gives to all the European governments except the Russian, Turkish, and Balkan.

The volume emphasizes the effect of political institutions upon the character and progress of peoples—the relations of government to individual and social welfare. One chief purpose is to show modifications

of the conception of the democratic idea in the political development of the chief countries.

Although both in compass and arrangement calculated for the student, and prepared primarily for use as a college text, it will also prove useful to all citizens whose interests have been stimulated in the principles and problems of government and who seek to acquire a better knowledge of the political experience and problems of the chief nations.

It treats actual organization and operation of government rather than constitutional history. Primarily it presents a comparative study of contemporary political institutions; but it also indicates the influence of national heritage in the formation of these institutions, and describes briefly the changes in government organization and procedure during the World War.

In the immense extension of public functions, in mobilization and subjection to government authority of everything considered necessary for waging war, Dr. Beard sees the source of most difficult problems of future reconstruction.

For international government Dr. Ogg favors a league of nations with power to enforce peace by appropriate machinery and by acceptance of certain restrictions on the sovereignty of states. He urges that the United States, after taking the initiative as an ally in the war, cannot return to isolation in a world that has become "one great body".

The book, although it contains few foot-note references, is supplied with well-selected bibliographies immediately following each chapter. It also has a satisfactory index.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

La France pendant la Guerre, 1914-1918. Par GABRIEL ALPHAUD. Avec une Préface de M. Paul Deschanel. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1918. Pp. x, 285; 239. 3.50 fr.)

THE title of these two volumes is not descriptive of their contents. They are in part a series of articles, perhaps originally *feuilletons*, in which the effect of the war upon the ancient provinces of France—Normandy, Champagne, Languedoc, Burgundy, Guyenne, etc.—is portrayed, up to some undefined date in 1918; but in which, furthermore, certain very familiar picturesque episodes in the remoter history of these regions are narrated with little or no excuse and sometimes at tedious length. If the author had confined himself to the first part of this programme, which would have given him quite enough to do, he might have produced a book of considerable interest and permanent value. And, indeed, if a reader has skill enough to separate the new from the old, the actual from the romantic, much will be found here to reward his patience in wading through the pages in almost every chapter which are devoted to an unnecessary exaltation of local heroes and the repetition of patriotic legends. For example, in the chapter on Savoy,

the picture of the mountain villages, widowed and crippled by the loss of their middle-aged and young men, is worth observing, and so is the account of economic conditions and prospects in that land of hotels and health-resorts; in the chapter on Marseilles and Provence light is thrown upon the dark question of the behavior of the Fifteenth Corps of the French army, which was accused, in official reports, of bad conduct in the face of the enemy during the operations near Metz in August, 1914; the chapter on the Ardennes contains a significant account of the German effort to spread false information by means of the reptilian *Gazette des Ardennes*; the chapter on Normandy has at least the merit of describing, and with no small degree of vivacity, the great British camp at Rouen. In so far as M. Alphaud was able to visit the sixteen provinces of France to which his chapters are consecrated, and was willing to relate what he saw with his own eyes and heard with his own ears, he has succeeded; and it would be unfair not to admit that he has in this way preserved a score of anecdotes which deserve to be remembered—tales of heroic adventure by land and sea, and of sacrifice and ingenuity at home. Even his pages of statistics, though incomplete and unsystematic, will probably have some value for students of history some day, because they give the numbers of German prisoners, of wounded French soldiers, of cattle and horses, of tons of provisions, etc., which were reckoned to be in certain provinces or districts when the chapters were written, though M. Alphaud seldom condescends to favor us with dates.

Apart from these good points, the book is of little value. The style is affected and rhapsodical. Clearness, the prime virtue of French prose, has been abandoned in favor of an obscure, allusive, tortuous mannerism. The arrangement of material is equally unsatisfactory. Passages of reflection, none too profound, are thrust between pages of facts; eulogies on national worthies, chosen indiscriminately from anywhere between the Crusades and the Third Republic, open and close many of the chapters. We could more easily spare them than the ten pages suppressed by the French censor, which apparently described the arrival of the American troops.

GEORGE MCLEAN HARPER.

War and Revolution in Russia, 1914-1917. By General BASIL GOURKO, Chief of the Russian Imperial General Staff, November, 1916-March, 1917, Commander-in-Chief of Western Armies, March, 1917-June, 1917. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xv, 420. \$4.00.)

GENERAL BASIL GOURKO, who belongs to a family distinguished in Russian military annals, was a division commander of cavalry when the war broke out. As such he assisted in the first Russian invasion of East Prussia, and made a remarkable reconnoitring dash within and behind

the German lines as far as Allenstein, destroying the Prussian railroads and yet returning safely with his men to the Russian side. He had a supporting part in the ill-executed Russian advance into the Masurian Lake region and explains clearly the reasons for the tragic disaster at Tannenberg. For his strategic ability, his great good sense, his absolute justice to subordinates, and his noble ideals of discipline he was rapidly promoted on the Russian west front—commander of the Sixth Army Field Corps in the campaigns around Warsaw; of the Fifth Army at Dvinsk; commander of the northern front; in November, 1916, chief of the General Staff in place of Alexeiev; and finally in March, 1917, commander-in-chief of the whole Russian western front.

Holding positions of such importance he is able to explain with authority how and why things were done which were only adumbrated in the newspaper despatches. This he does with the utmost frankness, simplicity, clearness, and insight, with often an occasional phrase which tells a whole story. He pictures the fine morale of the Russian troops at the beginning of the war, in spite of their great inferiority in equipment, their lack of supplies and supporting railroads, and their difficult strategic position between the pincers of the Germans in East Prussia and the Austrians in Galicia. He explains from time to time how the Russian and French fronts affected each other and how unsatisfactory during the early part of the war was the co-ordination between the two. He takes the reader behind the doors to hear the problems dealt with by the Inter-Ally Conference in Russia which Kitchener was setting forth to attend. He has in fact a delightful, simple way of taking the reader into his confidence, as if he were talking to a brother officer, in discussing all the moral, political, and military questions which he was called upon to settle. Without vanity, jealousy, or pettiness he bestows discriminating praise or blame without hesitation upon his subordinates or superiors. Even with such a blunderer as Samsonov, who was caught with two whole army corps by Hindenburg, he makes one sympathize:

Caught in the ring, although the Germans did not know it, was General Samsonoff and his personal staff. Night fell. Samsonoff, accompanied by five other staff officers, was guiding himself through the thick forest towards the Russian frontier. . . . Utter darkness surrounded them. The sounds of fighting died away, and all that could be heard was the trampling of the undergrowth and an occasional voice as the members of the little party called out to each other in order to keep close together. . . . General Samsonoff, who suffered from heart trouble, and found his breathing more and more difficult, lagged behind. There came a time when everybody had been called and all had answered but Samsonoff . . . in the thick darkness a search was made for the missing general. It was fruitless . . . later an artilleryman related that he had seen General Samsonoff sitting alone in the forest. He had spoken to the general and together they had continued their way. But with every step Samsonoff grew more and more tired. Daylight came, and poor Samsonoff, feeling it quite impossible to move a step farther, sat down

on a hillock and ordered the soldier to make his escape without waiting for him. . . . Nobody will ever know the terrible gloom which must have entered the soul of General Samsonoff as he sat there on the ground, unable to drag one foot after the other. The bitterness of defeat was in his heart and no gleam of hope was visible for the future. Who knows that his weakened heart did not rebel under the strain of this awful misfortune and that General Samsonoff did not die, in the most literal sense, of a broken heart? (p. 77).

General Gourko felt great loyalty to the tsar and gives a more favorable picture of him than most writers. In view of his loyalty to the dynasty there is all the more significance in his criticisms and suspicions, though very restrained, of the Empress Alexandra, of Rasputin, and of the whole disreputable crew with which they surrounded Nicholas II. After the tsar's abdication Gourko as commander-in-chief spent three months in an uphill fight to preserve discipline and morale in the Russian army. But the abolition of capital punishment, the election of officers, the continual appearance of agitators from the soviets, and the replacement of old and trusted officers by politicians was more than he could counteract. In May, 1917, as a last measure, he called a conference of the commanders-in-chief and with the threat of a collective resignation on their part tried to impress on Kerensky and the provisional government the necessity of taking serious measures to restore discipline. But his effort was useless. Not wishing to bear responsibility for acts of which he disapproved, Gourko desired to resign, but on June 5 was dismissed. In August he was arrested on Kerensky's order and sent to the Prison of Peter and Paul, and a few weeks later he was expelled from Russia by way of Archangel as "a person dangerous to the Republic".

From General Gourko's whole narrative one gets the impression of high nobility of character, of a man who is every inch a soldier and a gentleman. Telling his story in the first person with vivid detail and soldierly simplicity, he presents not only a delightful military narrative, but also a semi-official statement of great historical value. It makes the strong impression which simple truth about great things will always make. He dedicates it to his wife; after three years at the Russian front and the anxious days during his imprisonment, she left Russia with him and at once entered as a voluntary sister of charity a French bandaging detachment; a German 10-inch shell falling among the medical staff caused her death.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

History of Labour in the United States. In two volumes. By JOHN R. COMMONS, DAVID J. SAPOSS, E. B. MITTELMAN, JOHN B. ANDREWS, HELEN L. SUMNER, H. E. HOAGLAND, and SELIG PERLMAN, with an Introductory Note by HENRY W. FARNAM. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1918. Pp. xxv, 623; xx, 620. \$6.50.)

THE publication of this work marks the completion of one section of the *Economic History of the United States*, a co-operative work planned nearly twenty years ago by the late Carroll D. Wright, working under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and edited by him during his lifetime. After his death the general direction of the institution's Division of Economics and Sociology fell to Professor Henry W. Farnam of Yale University, who contributes the editorial introduction to the present work.

The basis for the present work was laid in the preparation of the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, edited by Professor Commons and others and published between the years 1909 and 1911. Although many histories of labor in the United States may be published in the future, it is safe to say that their writers will not need to go for their facts much beyond those revealed by the researches undertaken in connection with the preparation of these two monumental studies.

The *History of Labour* is a co-operative work, carried out by students in Professor Commons's classes and seminars in the University of Wisconsin. The only part written directly by Professor Commons is a twenty-page introduction which gives the philosophy of the American labor movement and indicates the determining factors in the history of the laboring class in this country. These factors Professor Commons finds to be the following: (1) free land which made possible the escape from wage-earning; (2) universal manhood suffrage; (3) free trade within a vast area which gradually brought about the separation of merchant, employer, and wage-earner; (4) the struggle between the modern trade-union and the huge corporation; (5) the vetoing of labor legislation by our courts which has caused labor to rely more on trade-union action than on legislation to accomplish its purposes; (6) the influx of immigrants and the resulting problems of assimilation and Americanization with which the trade-unions have had to grapple; (7) wide fluctuations in prices and wages. The labor movement has followed these closely. Professor Commons thus epitomizes our labor history:

It is the story of how, in the course of three centuries, the wage-earner, as a distinct class, has been gradually, even violently, separating himself from the farmer, the merchant, and the employer, and coming to feel that his standing and progress in society depend directly on wages, and not directly on prices, rents, profits, or interest (pp. 3-4).

The *first* period in our labor industry, that which ended in 1827 and which is covered by Mr. Saposs in the present volumes, shows, of course, only the germs of organization and that in the hand-trades. Contrary to the usually accepted opinions it was not, Saposs concludes, the desire to protect its position as independent producers which led the artisan class first to think of organization, but it was the changes in methods of marketing causing an influx of cheap goods, which led the early mechanics to organize to protect their standard of living from the encroachment of the merchant-capitalists of early days.

The *second* period in our history when viewed from the labor standpoint is that of awakened citizenship, dealt with in this work by Miss Sumner and Mr. Mittelman. Coming into the possession of the ballot during the twenties and thirties, it was but natural that the workers should attempt to secure their ends by political methods. Shorter hours, sought in order to have leisure for improvement, public schools in order to have the opportunity for development, restriction of child labor for the same reason, abolition of imprisonment for debt, and the repeal of the laws requiring military service, were the demands of the period, which were secured in part, at least, because of the participation of the wage-earners in politics. Trade-unionism appeared during this period to have gained a firm footing, but the crisis of 1837 and the opening of the western lands postponed the full development of labor organizations.

The *third* period, described as that of humanitarianism and covered by Dr. Hoagland, brings the history down to the Civil War. It is an era of utopias. The "intellectuals", men like Brisbane, Evans, Greeley, and the Brook Farm group, assumed the leadership and led the labor movement away from class consciousness and into the pursuit of panaceas until it was brought back to the hard realities of life by the revival of trade-unionism in the later fifties.

The era since the Civil War is divided by Professor Commons and his associates into two parts: the *fourth* period, covered by Dr. Andrews, is that of nationalism, in which the strong national unions of to-day took strong root and in which modern methods of labor welfare were developed, and the *fifth* period, described by Mr. Perlman, which begins with the recovery of business from the effects of the crisis of 1873, during which time we have the entrance of modern socialism into this country and the first successful efforts are made to develop the organization of the laboring classes on a national scale. The Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor represent the two different modes of accomplishing this purpose and, if the second of these organizations has shown greater vitality and a greater capacity for solving the problems which are the product of a capitalistic organization of industry than did the Knights, it must be admitted that up to the present time it has not met the needs of the unskilled laborers nor has it developed a programme which looks beyond the life of the wage system and sees the possibility of a new social order.

Space does not permit a comparison of the labors of the several writers who have, in collaboration with Professor Commons, produced this monumental work in the field of American economic history. Suffice it to say that while the work suffers in a degree from the usual effects of divided authorship, there is greater unity of style and mode of treatment than is usually found in composite works. One misses the swing and the restrained enthusiasm which are more likely to be present when a single author skillfully traces the rise or fall of some great movement, and is more concerned with historical interpretation than with the mere sequence of events.

Yet it is due to the editor and writers of the *History of Labour in the United States* to say that the treatment of the various portions runs closely parallel to the interpretation of the introductory chapter. This might, of course, mean nothing more than that the editor had waited until the various chapters were written and had then undertaken to point out the significant features, but in view of the fact that the same lines of interpretation run through the explanatory chapters of the *Documentary History*, already mentioned, of which Professor Commons was the editor-in-chief, we must conclude that the editorship of the present work was not of a perfunctory character, but that the several writers had come to accept Professor Commons's interpretation of the events which they chronicled.

M. B. HAMMOND.

A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present. By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN, Ph.D. Volume III. *Since the Civil War.* (Cleveland: A. H. Clark Company. 1919. Pp. 411. \$5.00.)

THE first two volumes of this work were published in 1917 and 1918, and were reviewed by the present writer in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1918 (XXIII. 860). The criticism there made holds good for the present volume; for the purpose, point of view, character of the sources of information, the general method, and use of evidence all reappear.

Briefly, the author essays to "develop an understanding of the forces that have been operative in the evolution of family institutions in the United States". These forces are mainly (p. 332), "the ascendancy of the bourgeois class, the dominance of a virgin continent, and the industrial revolution". His point of view still leads him to emphasize "pathological abnormalities". His sources still consist, to a large extent, of the *opinions* of foreign travellers or other writers, respecting the status of the family. Articles in popular journals seem to have a peculiar attraction for the author, and he makes large use of such periodicals as the *Independent*, *Outlook*, *Literary Digest*, *Chautauquan*, *Everybody's*, *Delineator*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and the principal monthly magazines.

His method is much the same, the citation of opinions of travellers, or others, whose knowledge was often vague, incomplete, or based on second-hand information, but nevertheless is made the basis for broad generalizations respecting prevailing practices or the status of the family. There is little effort to evaluate or test the evidence used. The general effect is to make this a popular rather than a scientific work, and to set forth the evolution and status of the urban rather than the rural family; to consider the forces which influenced the family living in relatively large cities, rather than in the smaller urban centres.

There are fourteen chapters, the first three on the white and negro families in the South, one on the new basis of American life, two on woman and the family, three on the child, family control, and the "precarious home", three on marriage, race-sterility and race-suicide, and divorce, and the last two on the attitude of the church, and the family and the social revolution. The main points brought out are, first, low wages and a rise in the standard and cost of living; secondly, the opening up to women of an independent "career"; thirdly, the passing of the control of the child to socialized public institutions; fourthly, the break-up of the home and family due to life in apartment and public hotels, and in boarding-houses; fifthly, the effect of urban civilization, resulting in the physical deterioration of women and children. All these forces tended to lessen marriage, produce race-sterility and race-suicide, and increase divorce, and, for the working classes, to produce conditions which hindered normal family life because of poverty, crowding, and the resulting effects.

The author believes that the real menace of the family is capitalism—"the relentless workings of the profit system"—and that only a new economic order will remedy the danger.

A new family is inevitable, a family based on the conservation and scientific administration of limited natural resources, on the social ownership of the instrumentalities of economic production and the universal enjoyment of the fruits, and on a social democracy devoid of artificial stratification based on economic exploitation. Such is the promise of American life, of the world life (p. 332).

In spite of the criticism offered with respect to its unscientific character and the tendency to overemphasize "pathological abnormalities", this work is the most complete in its field. It is interesting, illuminating, and, in the opinion of the reviewer, this third volume is superior to the first two, both with respect to the grasp the author shows of the fundamental forces governing the evolution of the family, at least in distinctly urban communities, and because the facts set forth are more convincing than in the earlier volumes. It is a work that must be consulted by the student of the general social history of America. A bibliography and a good index, for the three volumes, is appended.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

The Cambridge History of American Literature. Edited by WILLIAM P. TRENT, JOHN ERSKINE, STUART P. SHERMAN, and CARL VAN DOREN. Volume II. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; Cambridge, England: University Press. 1918. Pp. x, 658. \$3.50.)

THIS is a better book than the first volume, partly because the material is richer. It includes Thoreau, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, Holmes, Lowell, Whitman, Lanier, publicists, orators, and historians, divines and moralists, early humorists, newspapers and magazines, poets of the Civil War, dialect writers, short stories, and books for children, thus covering nearly all the greater names (except those treated in the previous volume) and most of the important movements and "tendencies" in American literature of the nineteenth century. There is also a higher average of ability in the contributors, some of whom are among the best-known professors of English in America.

Because of the purpose, stated in the preface to volume I., to make the work "a survey of the life of the American people as expressed in their writings rather than a history of *belles-lettres* alone", the present volume has much historical value. With varying degrees of success, the contributors have tried to present their subjects in relation to the broader currents of the national life. In the case of Whittier, Lowell, the poets of the Civil War, and Southern writers of the Reconstruction period, the task was easy, although it has not been performed with conspicuous ability. Even Poe, exotic though he was, is brought into some contact with American life by the discussion of his literary criticisms; and Longfellow's influence upon the national culture is clearly shown through his "threefold function of transmitter of Old World culture to the New, shaper into verse of aboriginal, colonial, and Revolutionary material, both legendary and historical, and lyric interpreter of the simple thoughts and feelings of an unsophisticated people". At times, indeed, the historical method supplants the literary; the discussion of Hawthorne consists chiefly of an exposition of his relation to Transcendentalism, and is therefore inadequate as an interpretation of the art of our greatest romancer; while the chapter on Whitman is little more than a biography. *Furor historicus*—or something worse—is responsible for a prolix account of Motley, who gets more pages than Longfellow, Whittier, Poe, Lowell, or Holmes. On the other hand, one of the keenest disappointments is the chapter on Webster, by a distinguished United States senator, from whom the reader might justly expect a broad and thorough treatment of America's greatest orator—a treatment which should expound his political philosophy and discuss the effect of his personality and speeches upon our national life; instead, apparently because of an antiquated notion of what is appropriate in a history of literature, the writer devotes himself to elaborating and illustrating the truth that Webster's style has "literary quality". In refreshing contrast is the

chapter on publicists and orators (other than Webster) of the first half of the nineteenth century, which deals interestingly with the writings of Marshall, Story, Kent, Wheaton, Clay, Calhoun, Everett, and others, showing their relation to the growing life of the country. Much the same may be said of the chapter on American historians from 1783 to 1850. Two of the best chapters in the book bear the somewhat unpromising titles, *Magazines, Annuals, and Gift-Books, 1783-1850*, and *Newspapers, 1775-1860*; written out of fullness of special knowledge in comparatively unfamiliar fields, they throw light upon matters having close relation to general conditions both historical and literary. The chapter, *Divines and Moralists, 1783-1860*, is likewise excellent, making vivid such personalities as Dwight, Bushnell, Beecher, and Mark Hopkins. Much may also be learned of American life on its moral and theological side from the well-written chapter, *Books for Children*, which traces entertainingly the moral and esthetic changes in juvenile literature since colonial days. The student of history, no less than the student of literature, will find admirable the chapter on *Dialect Writers*, especially the portion on the American negro as revealed in *Uncle Remus* and other works in negro dialect. Less can be said for the chapter on the short story, which contains little of moment about either the form or the substance of this very significant literary type.

As a history of literature the volume has much the same faults and virtues as its predecessor. It lacks unity in method and point of view; this defect is to some extent inevitable in a composite work, but the editors might have subdued it somewhat more, and in particular they should not have allowed the chapters on Hawthorne, Webster, and Whittier to vary so widely from the norm. Inequality of style seriously lessens the dignity and value of the volume. One cannot expect all the contributors to have the sure mastery of touch that appears in the chapter on dialect writers, or the close-knit and solid, if somewhat heavy, style of the general editors and most of their better known collaborators; but no theory of editing ought to tolerate so great a divergence from a standard style as may be seen in the chapter on the New South, which is marred by elementary errors of expression, including such flowery mixtures as the sentence, "Not by any surcease of sorrow but by the genuine fire of a new vision did Southern poetry bud forth into a patriotic cry". The proportions of space allotted to different authors might be improved: some of the twenty-four pages lavished on Prescott and Motley might well have been divided between Whittier and Lowell, who get only thirteen each; Thoreau does not need as much room as Hawthorne; and if Tabb deserves three pages, Longfellow deserves more than his scant ten. When the other *dii majores* have a chapter and a chapter-heading apiece, it seems bad book-making to hide Holmes away in a chapter entitled *Writers of Familiar Verse*, the more so since his prose receives twice as much space as his verse.

The literary criticism in the volume as a whole is sensible and fair.

Some readers will think that Poe's tales are underrated, that Lanier's versification deserves warmer praise, that various verdicts on short-story writers are open to question, and so on; but in general the judgments are sound; and, if most of them lack originality and brilliancy, they are at least free from erraticism and hysterics. It is regrettable that room was not found for a more detailed treatment of the greater men, particularly a study of sources and a more penetrating analysis of thought and form. The most original criticism in the book is that on Hawthorne's relation to Transcendentalism, which pictures him as a cool speculator on spiritual problems, especially the doctrines of self-reliance, compensation, and the relation of good and evil, testing them by projecting them into his novels and seeing how they work there. The writer probably exaggerates Hawthorne's consciousness of the relation of his novels to the Transcendental philosophy. He is sometimes reckless of statement, saying that the love of Dimmesdale and Hester "never caused them repentance", whereas Dimmesdale's dying words refer to their having "violated" their "reverence each for the other's soul"; and, again, asserting that *The Marble Faun* shows "the evolution of good out of sin—not out of repentance for sin", while the character through whom Hawthorne expounds the doctrine says of Donatello, "His remorse, gnawing into his soul, has awakened it". It is, nevertheless, a novel and suggestive study, and the book would stand higher if it contained more like it. Yet the book as it is has much of value for students of history and literature, because of its general accuracy as a record of facts, its breadth of view, and its co-ordination of the minor and the greater things of the period into a loose kind of unity. The bibliographies, which fill a third of the volume, deserve a special word of praise, particularly the lists of dated contributions to periodicals.

WALTER C. BRONSON.

Colonel John Scott of Long Island, 1634(?)–1696. By WILBUR C. ABBOTT, Professor of History in Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1918. Pp. 94. \$1.25.)

So that rogue finds at last a biographer. With a zest and a banter that lend charm to his tale Professor Abbott links together the episodes of the strange career that made the little bound boy of Salem lord of Long Island, conqueror of Dutch Guiana, adviser to the colonial office, geographer to the king, international braggart and bravo, spy and informer. But Mr. Abbott is a hanging judge. That Scott's evidence could twenty years ago be taken seriously by those who for England or America looked into the Venezúelan boundary he calls a "glorious restoration of his reputation". But the American investigators, identifying as Scott's the narrative printed without his name, pointed out, and repeatedly, his damaged repute. They looked up in the British Museum

his manuscript, showed that it bears his name, printed in full the swagging introduction which Mr. Abbott counts fatal to his credibility. If still they felt obliged to cite his evidence, it was because a witness need not be a saint. A clever rogue lies sparingly, and only for some end. Insight and good memory may be as precious as veracity; and to these, conceded by his foes, Scott added personal charm, experience as a rover, acquaintance with the Dutch. Nor is his testimony unconfirmed. Governor Byam's journal, indeed, Mr. Abbott discredits as known to us only through Scott; but Byam is else well known, and since leaving Surinam was governor of Antigua, quite too near the government to make forgery wise. Even as historian one could wish Scott's work tested by his sources; and some of us would still be glad to see his unfinished book in print.

That Mr. Abbott has brought to light all Scott's exploits is hardly likely. Even in America there is much unused that might have added color to his story. Though he scoffs at Scott's claim to kinship with the Kentish Scotts of Scott's Hall, he tells us nothing of that "ancient pedigree" which flies much higher and makes him son of "the Hon. John Scott, Surveyor General to Charles I." and grandson of "Sir William, Ambassador to Turkey and to Florence, who married Mary Howard, daughter of Charles, Earl of Nottingham"—*i. e.* Lord Howard of Armada fame. He does not tell us that the Downing (not "Edmund" but Emmanuel) in whose tutelage Scott came from England was father to that other adventurer, Sir George, whose yet more glittering career may well have helped suggest Scott's own; nor that the Quaker Southwick, to whom Downing bound him, gained leave in 1647 to "put forth said Scott for three years to any honest man", but found no taker; nor that in 1649 Scott was again before the court, this time "admonished for profane cursing"; nor that the pretended "Perpetuity" with which in 1665 he was scaring his neighbors was a royal grant in perpetuity of twenty miles square in the heart of Long Island—clearly the whole great township of Brookhaven. Nor is there mention of the cruises that justify, at least in part, Scott's boastful preface: that to Newfoundland for which we find him arranging in 1660 and which in London made him an authority on that island, or that in the Narragansett which led the settlers there to make him their attorney with the crown and which gave him the knowledge to outwit Winthrop. Nor, with all that is told to Scott's damage, do we find the testimony of his neighbor Giles Sylvester of Shelter Island, who in London lent him money and who, reciting his knaveries there, wrote home that "if the gallows hath him not he will rot whilse he liveth". But Mr. Abbott has told us much and told it well. Alas, his volume has no index.

GEORGE L. BURR.

The Life and Times of Stephen Girard, Mariner and Merchant.

In two volumes. By JOHN BACH MCMASTER, Professor of American History, University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1918. Pp. xi, 469; 481. \$5.00.)

THE appearance of a judicious, authoritative biography of Stephen Girard, mariner, immigrant, merchant, banker, and philanthropist, would be an event of large importance both to students of the first half-century of the history of the United States and to those who are immediately concerned with the prospective revival of an American merchant marine for the development of foreign trade. Since no such adequate biography has hitherto existed, the reader of these two handsomely made volumes will plunge into them with high hopes, lured by their title, by the reputation of their author, and by the varied and far-flung headings of the twenty-seven chapters which lead into West Indian trade, privateering, speculations in wheat and tobacco, shipwrecks, embargoes, Danish seizures, war-time finance, land speculations, and great public services.

The material for this story of a "bold and adventurous trader, taking great risks, suffering heavy losses, reaping rich profits", is astonishingly abundant and almost unworked by any previous writer. The Girard manuscripts to which the author of these volumes has had access number more than 50,000 pieces; 14,000 letters giving Girard's side of a voluminous correspondence are found in his office letter-books; some 36,000 letters from captains, supercargoes, bankers, agents, and correspondents of Girard in all the great seaports of the world, from the West Indies, London, Antwerp, Petrograd, and Trieste to Canton and Buenos Aires, reveal the material on which he exercised his judgment and laid his plans. Besides these there are the ships' papers of many of the eighteen ships which he owned, and of others which he chartered, during his long career. These papers are not concise, telegram-like reports; they are very frequently intimate, even gossipy, revelations of details of prices, currency, business methods, personal affairs, local and national politics, and the ups and downs of American merchandising and shipping in the uncertain and volcanic years between Girard's landing in America as a French immigrant in 1774 and his death as a merchant prince, banker, and landowner at Philadelphia in 1831. Withal they show the evolution of an ardent, thoroughly democratic American who placed half of his great fortune at the service of his adopted country, and who wrote late in life, "As to the land of my birth I am perfectly indifferent to it" (II. 393).

The use which the author has made of these surpassingly rich papers is more than disappointing, partly because he has chosen to tell his story mainly by abundant and ill-coordinated quotations from the letter-books and correspondence with men of the widest variation in competency, and partly because he yielded to the temptation to add to the title of the

volumes the two words "and Times", thus thrusting into the narrative material which is irrelevant to the biography and but very slightly contributory to the history of contemporary America or Europe. The defects of this method of writing history or biography, of presenting large masses of quotations from rich stores, have appeared in other volumes by Professor McMaster, but never in such aggravated and exasperating form as in the volumes now under review. The woes of a privateering captain on the Chesapeake in 1781-1782 are quoted at length (I. 37-48) and occupy almost half as much space as the organization and operations of Stephen Girard's banking house; reports of the same conditions and events are practically duplicated in different quotations, detracting from the unity and drive of what should be a fascinating story of commercial adventure, audacity, and success. Neither for biography nor for history is there justification of long accounts of the landing of Napoleon in France in 1815, written by Girard's correspondents in London, Bordeaux, and Antwerp (II. 296-298); of a two-page account of the battle of New Orleans, or of chunks of political hearsay about the British occupation of Bordeaux in 1814.

In spite of defects of method and of slovenly handling of material, these two volumes are a storehouse from which the future student of commerce and prices will get information, and, if the Girard manuscripts become available for other investigators, this preliminary presentation will be useful both for what it contains and for the leads to sections of the manuscripts which it furnishes. The resolution, tenacity, vigor, and resourcefulness of Girard as an early and great captain of seafaring industry are admirably illustrated in such chapters as San Domingo and Marseilles (about 1789), *Cargoes and Money Abroad* (about 1811), and *Capture of Good Friends and Montesquieu* (1813-1814). Alternating declarations of war and peace, insurrections in the West Indies, embargoes, epidemics, British Orders in Council, and Napoleonic decrees did not daunt him.

The portions of these volumes which most nearly justify the inclusion of "Times" in the title are those which deal with Girard's bank and its relations to financing the War of 1812, and with his co-operation with the government in organizing and managing the Second Bank of the United States, as in the chapters on the Bank and the Loan, Trading and Banking after the War, and the Bank of the United States; but even in these very little is added to previous knowledge of the operations of the banks or of national finance.

The volumes close with a brief statement of the settlement of Girard's estate of nearly seven millions of dollars, imperial for that period, and of his great benefactions to the city of Philadelphia, the state of Pennsylvania, and Girard College.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

The Frontier State, 1818-1848. By THEODORE CALVIN PEASE of the University of Illinois. [Centennial History of Illinois, vol. II.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission. 1918. Pp. [13], 457. \$2.00.)

THE second volume of the *Centennial History of Illinois* is in more than one respect a notable book. Appearing out of order before the first volume has been published, it reveals the scope and plan of a co-operative enterprise so well conceived and thus far so well executed as to indicate that the study of western history has passed well beyond the backwoodsman stage. Following the pioneer who first blazed a trail through the trackless maze of unassorted source-material for the history of the West, there are now groups of trained historians sharing a common viewpoint, conforming to the same high standards of scholarly technique, working together in close personal touch with each other in a spirit of cordial and sympathetic co-operation. Such is the group of historians who have undertaken the task of relating the events of a century in the state of Illinois.

The plan of the series is distinctly co-operative, an individual author being in the main responsible for each of the five volumes. The preface to the second volume, written "Somewhere in France", reveals the extent of the author's indebtedness to the general editor, to members of the Centennial Commission, and to an assistant competent to supply two entire chapters without marring the unity of the whole. The result is a book which might very properly be entitled *A Full-Length Portrait of a Frontier State*.

In the drawing of the outlines the perspective remains admirable throughout. Although some tediousness of detail in recounting factional controversies of local politics, or the bizarre experiments of frontier finance, could not always be avoided, the author nowhere loses his perception of the vital relation between state politics and the larger aspects of national affairs. Not only for an appreciation of frontier problems and conditions but for a sympathetic understanding of the Jacksonian period as well, it may be doubted whether the history of any state, unless perhaps that of its western neighbor Missouri, would prove so instructive as the history of Illinois. Situated at the crossroads between the East and the West, between the North and the South, and having within its own boundaries both a north and a south, the state was of necessity deeply affected by national policies of finance and tariff, public lands, internal improvements, and Indian affairs. It also caught the counter-currents of the slavery issue, and of those social, racial, and religious forces that have at times exerted so decisive an influence upon local and national development. Each of these topics is discussed in order, the arrangement of the chapters being logical and consistent without arbitrarily separating movements which could only be adequately presented in relation to each other. Thus portrayed, the history of an

individual state, while still retaining its distinctive local character, sheds new light upon many phases of national progress which have not as yet been fully apprehended.

Throughout the book, and especially in the admirable first chapter, the author manifests that true appreciation of frontier complexities which can only be attained through the laborious process of absorbing and digesting enormous masses of intricate and minute detail. The one serious defect in the make-up of the book is the lack of a satisfactory map showing roads, trails, rivers, and towns, upon which the reader might trace schemes of internal improvements in which the state was interested. An unfortunate misprint on the population map of 1840 reverses the legend, making the map read as if the most densely settled area were that having the lowest percentage of population. A welcome addition in forthcoming volumes would be an appendix showing the representation of the state in Congress and the term of office of its governors.

MARTHA L. EDWARDS.

Federal Military Pensions in the United States. By WILLIAM H. GLASSON, Professor of Political Economy and Social Science in Trinity College, N. C. Edited by DAVID KINLEY, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Illinois. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. xii, 305. \$2.50.)

THE survey here presented of this intricate subject justifies the editor's characterization; it is "thorough, full and impartial".

The author sums up the subject matter of his research as the origin of our federal pension system, "its development, its application to our several wars, its administration, and its political, economic, and moral relations and effects". He has succeeded in producing a book which will interest and inform the general reader and at the same time command the confidence of the expert critic, who will find here ample evidence of candor and of thorough research, while copious notes and a bibliography afford guidance for more detailed study.

Almost exactly one-third of the book is given to a study of English and Colonial Origins and Revolutionary Pensions. This seems a disproportionate allotment until the reader discovers that the history of these beginnings shows in miniature most of the conditions which surrounded the passage and administration of later pension laws. Had the obvious teaching of this experience not been ignored, our Civil War pension legislation might have been kept more sane.

Substantially one-half of the book is devoted to a study of Civil War pensions. "Active or tacit support of the pension system has been based partly on a sentiment of gratitude, partly on self-interest, partly on indif-

ference to burdens that were unfelt" (p. 265). These three influences are carefully studied. American citizens find here cause for pride in the generous provision which the nation has ever been disposed to make for those who have risked life or limb in its defense. But the cupidity of claim agents, the broadening trail of fraud and corruption, the sully-ing of the ideals of the Grand Army of the Republic and the debauching of politics through attempts to capture or to deliver the "soldier vote"—these are phases of the record that shame us. The history of the Arrears Act of 1879 and of the Disability Pension Act of 1890 are especially impressive. That lavish pension legislation has been in large measure due to "indifference to burdens that were unfelt" is proved by abundant citations. In 1816, in 1830, and in 1836 the Treasury surplus was frankly recognized as the occasion for the new proposals; and at each of these times, as well as later, it was alleged that there was an intimate connection between the proposed increase in pension expenditures and the maintenance of a protective policy.

The abundant statistical material is effectively presented; there are some twenty tables showing the expenditures under each of the pension acts. A striking map (p. 268) shows the per capita disbursements by states in 1910.

The appendix contains a brief discussion of the war insurance law of October 6, 1917, and an outline of the provisions and schedules. This immensely important experiment in compensation and insurance marks a new era in the making of national provision for wounded and disabled soldiers and sailors, and for the dependent relatives of those who lose their lives. A reading of the record of the passing and the administration of our federal pension laws raises the query whether this law has been framed upon such just and generous lines that forty years after the end of this war a combination of fee-seeking claim agents and politicians will not again succeed in manipulating the "soldier vote" to their own enrichment and to the disorganization and corruption of American politics.

Fighting the Spoilsmen: Reminiscences of the Civil Service Reform Movement. By WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. vi, 348. \$2.00.)

THIS is a very timely and readable book by one who thoroughly knows his subject.

There never was a time in American history when the evils of incompetent and inefficient administration of public affairs were more apparent and the need of an honest and capable personnel in our governmental service more urgent and imperative than the present. With the great problems of reconstruction facing the country and the natural opposition of the professional politician to the merit system becoming more open and pronounced with the period of transition from war to

peace, it is profitable to call to mind the evils of the spoils system and to consider the long and bitter struggle waged by a small band of courageous men of whom the author was one, which finally resulted in the establishment of the merit system in governmental appointments as it exists today.

While not pretending to write a complete history of the civil service reform movement, the author describes in an interesting manner the work of the National Civil Service Reform League and of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association which came under his personal observation. One of the most interesting and forceful chapters of the book is the one describing the successful fight of the author and his fellow reformers in bringing about an investigation of the Indiana Hospital for the Insane, in the early eighties. It not only gives a vivid picture of the spoils system in all its horrors, but also incidentally portrays the disgusting character of the vituperation and abuse to which the reformers were subjected by the yellow journals of the period. The fact that neither conditions similar to those then existing in Indiana could now exist in any state institution in the country, nor the type of newspaper abuse quoted by the author be tolerated by present-day public opinion, certainly furnishes ample proof that the world is growing better.

A most striking illustration of the evils of the spoils system in the national government is to be found in the chapters dealing with the investigations of the Census Bureau in the administrations of Presidents Harrison and McKinley. Impelled by the partizan desire to increase the population of districts controlled by the party in power and to diminish the population of districts where the opposition party was in the majority, gross frauds were shown to have been committed in different parts of the country by political appointees of the Census Bureau. In one county in Maryland for instance over 1166 names were added after the enumerators had completed their schedules. One of the perpetrators of the fraud, by the name of Guyther, turned state's evidence and testified that Ching, the party boss, told him he ought to get from 150 to 200 additional names. Guyther answered that he didn't know where to get them. Ching replied that he could go to the summer hotels and enumerate the guests, adding, "Are there no graveyards in the district?" Of 528 additional names retained by another enumerator, seventy-three were in Ching's handwriting, twenty-nine had been dead from a few months to twenty years, and 127 had never lived in the district. *In one case Ching not only enumerated a dead woman but also the Washington undertaker who had come down to bury her.* The federal grand jury in bringing in their indictment of the perpetrators of these outrages said in their report, "so long as such appointments are treated as part of the spoils of politics, the recurrence of such frauds and scandals as have been revealed by our investigation may be expected." In view of the fact that the Census Bureau is now making preparations for taking the

1920 census and the usual onslaught on the merit system is being made, the facts brought out in these chapters are very pertinent and instructive.

With the exception of chapter V. which is devoted entirely to the history of the Census Bureau, and chapter XVI. which deals very generally with Civil Service in States and Municipalities, the body of the book describes in chronological order the progress of civil service reform under the various presidents from Harrison down to date. It is interesting to observe how, from the reformer's point of view, each president in turn before his election made solemn promises to enforce and extend the merit system, only to yield, to a greater or less extent, to the pressure from the politicians of his own party. Each president receives from the author scathing criticism in this regard, with one exception, and that is his friend and associate in the civil service reform movement, Theodore Roosevelt, for whom he has only words of the highest praise. He emphasizes among that great man's characteristics, his daring frankness in thought, speech, and action; his utter fearlessness, his accurate sense of justice, his immense human sympathy, his prodigious capacity for hard work, his inspiring personality, and his practical nature—all of which qualities combined to make him a tower of strength in advancing the great and important work of civil service reform.

The author also refers in eulogistic terms to Dörman B. Eaton, Carl Schurz, and George William Curtis, all of whom were closely identified with him in the reform movement. The book itself is dedicated to Curtis in a beautiful verse inspired by one of the last sentences which fell from the lips of that great reformer. The verse is certainly worth quoting in full:

A kingly spirit and a vision clear,
A prophet's prescience and a statesman's mind,
A face to win us and a smile to cheer,
A heart that glowed with love of humankind!
His voice was music and his words were song,
His ways were gentle but his reason just,
Quick to discern the right and scourge the wrong,
And him we followed with unfaltering trust.
He wrote his "Mene, mene," on the wall,
Then passed, and lo! before our eager eyes
The spoiler's palace crumbles to its fall
And on the ruins goodlier mansions rise.
Too soon his voice grew silent, yet its thrill
Along the cliffs of memory echoes still!

There are annexed to the book as appendixes various addresses by the author on different aspects of the merit system.

America in France. By FREDERICK PALMER. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1918. Pp. x, 479. \$2.00.)

To estimate the value of such a book as this solely in accordance with the standards of a scientific review would be as improper as to

judge the worth of a passenger liner purely in terms of its capacity to carry freight. For, while the covers of this volume enclose no little solid cargo, the evident purpose of its author was not so much to fill hungry minds with knowledge as to take a great public for an instructive cruise, through archipelagoes of cantonments and headquarters buildings, along lanes of endeavor and training, to the land of achievement and adventure—from Washington in May, 1917, to the Argonne in November last. The cruise is eminently satisfactory. It is Frederick Palmer at his best, with all his keenness of observation, his gift of word-painting, his vigorous and varied style, and his extremely sympathetic touch. Interest is never lacking, continuity is admirably maintained, and the momentum steadily grows. The wayfarer has little cause for complaint, except perhaps in the lack of any maps or charts.

As for the scientific worth of the book, it must be remembered that Colonel Palmer wrote as an officer of the United States army, an officer officially detailed to present to the public the record of the Expeditionary Force in France, and, in part at least, officially supplied with materials. He wrote almost literally at the elbow of the commander-in-chief; and some, if not all, of his chapters were read before publication by members of the general headquarters staff. He was consequently subjected to the limitations which military discipline and censorship must impose. Nor were official limitations the only ones to be considered. Much of the book was written during the war, when the "morale" both of the army and the American public was a subject of the highest consideration; and it is questionable whether the nation is even yet prepared for an unvarnished statement of the truth. Any writer might well hesitate to make public pronouncement at the present time that the achievements of a particular division might have been more notable had its commander and his staff been more expert, or that casualties of a particular locality and date were out of proportion to the necessities of the situation.

As an account then, even on the broadest lines, of the organization and history of the Expeditionary Force, the book is of necessity incomplete and generally uncritical. But, if the author is a panegyrist, he is a discriminating one, distributing his praise with noticeable care. Let him who reads take careful note of many things which are left unsaid. Nor is it to be forgotten that Colonel Palmer employed documents which may not be accessible to students for a considerable time, and that he was an eye-witness of most of the events which he describes. In brief, he has not only succeeded admirably in his intention, but has produced a chronicle which will, sooner or later, be useful to historians. The time will be determined when we know how far students of this war are to be confronted, in Mr. Hubert Hall's words, with "the cautious policy of the State with regard to official secrets—a precaution which has served as a reasonable excuse for discouraging well-informed criticism of the immediate conduct of public affairs".

HERBERT C. BELL.

The Higher Learning in America: a Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men. By THORSTEIN VEBLEN. (New York: B. W. Huebsch. 1918. Pp. 286. \$2.00.)

THE reader must not expect to find in this little book a discussion of the past development of the higher learning, historical or other, in the United States, or of its present situation, or of its future prospects, or of the methods by which it may be made to flourish—save as regards the one particular to which its subtitle limits the book. It is a discussion of the trustee or regent system in American universities. As such, it is in part an historical work, which may be appropriately reviewed in an historical journal, for, with none of the apparatus of dates and almost no specific details, with hardly a direct mention of any one of our universities (though with somewhat too much hinting at two of them), Professor Veblen analyzes skillfully an important chapter of our intellectual and institutional history. He sets out to show us, in his usual ironical style, the evils that have flowed from that quaint system on which our universities are administered—a system to which there are few parallels elsewhere in the world, but to which we have become so accustomed that we hardly see how odd it is. Briefly, an American university consists of a body of relatively specialized experts (the faculty), ruled over by a body of relatively ignorant amateurs (trustees or regents), acting through an over-powerful president who either shares their point of view, their admiration for numbers and quantities and visible signs of material success, their crude zeal for competition with other universities, or else feels obliged to act for the most part as if he did. Such a system obviously imposes great difficulties and restraints upon the development of the higher learning in our universities. Mr. Veblen hardly exaggerates them. One has but to think of the board of trustees nearest to his own observation, and to ask himself how many of these business men, lawyers, “prominent citizens”, one would ever think of consulting respecting any matter of scholarship, apart from the interests of their particular institution. The probability is that, if we exclude from consideration the lower work of thesis-making, in the field of the higher learning our universities are, in proportion to their size, less productive than they were twenty years ago.

But some things may be said in abatement of Professor Veblen's strictures. (1) The conditions are not so black as he has painted them—there may be reasons why they may seem darkest to an economist. Like some other American institutions—the spoils system, for instance—the rule of trustees has worked better than theoretically it ought to work. These “prominent citizens” feel that they ought to serve the interests of the higher learning, and mean to do so, though incompetent to do it well. (2) Mr. Veblen assumes that the primary function of the university is to promote science and learning, and that all teaching, all care of undergraduates, all the work of the professional schools, are

secondary, are indeed improper excrescences upon its real work. But has a man a right, in non-mathematical discussions, to base reasoning on peculiar definitions of his own? Was ever any American university founded, or any university in the world long carried on, except primarily for teaching? And if founded mainly to meet the community's varied needs for teaching, it is reasonable that the community should be represented in the management, though *hoffentlich* by more suitable men than now, more widely representative of classes of the community, and contented to take a more modest status in relation to the professors than now, to co-operate and confer rather than to dictate or to "hire and fire" or to "back up the president". (3) Mr. Veblen exaggerates, as it seems to the reviewer, the extent to which the superior investigator is stimulated and aided by having to teach graduate students—as graduate students run now—and so underrates the rôle which is to be played in the future development of learned investigation among us by institutions founded for that special purpose. They are visibly increasing and are doing well. They may yet do more than the universities, for the advancement of learning.

But Mr. Veblen's essay is profitable reading—especially for trustees.

Woodrow Wilson, an Interpretation. By A. MAURICE LOW. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1918. Pp. ix, 291. \$2.00.)

THIS interpretation is based primarily upon two things, upon Mr. Wilson's book *Congressional Government*, and on his messages and addresses as president. These are so treated, the author hopes, that judgment will be an independent product on the reader's part. Perhaps it will be, but it will have to reckon with Mr. Low's own judgment of Mr. Wilson. If this estimate of the President, by an Englishman who knows his America better than do most of us, is the ultimate verdict of Mr. Wilson's countrymen and of the world when time has rescued him from partizanship and history has claimed him as its own, then his place is assured among the very few of the world's really great and the still fewer of these great whom America numbers as its own. To those readers who cannot see eye to eye with the foreigner, there will still be a satisfaction in the part he assigns American citizenship in the opening sketch of the morally awakened America which, aroused by Cleveland, Roosevelt, and Bryan, made possible the choice and work of a man of Mr. Wilson's type and training.

If one may interpret Mr. Low in his turn, one would say that among the books to which as a foreigner he was grateful for an analysis of American institutions and legislative procedure was Woodrow Wilson's *Congressional Government*. He evidently knew it well, and when its author appeared above the horizon of national life this London journalist had in it a key to Mr. Wilson's methods and executive policies which our American journalists had never acquired. In the pages of this

book, conceived when Mr. Wilson was twenty-three years old, Mr. Low is able to find verse and text for the President's conception of his powers, within the Constitution, of initiating as well as executing legislation. The strong appeal of the book to an Englishman in its view of the President as a prime minister and party leader may be readily understood. Then came the amazing thing—that a student of the presidency for thirty years was elevated to the office; and, more amazing still to the politicians and quidnuncs, he proceeded to act up to his theories. He moulded legislation and shaped public opinion as had no President since the days of Lincoln. Congress was unhappy; Mr. Low was gratified and justified.

Another book I feel sure has been much in the author's mind as he has lived through these last years in Washington, and that is Lord Charnwood's study of Lincoln. It has not been his model, but to the detachment of a foreign observer he has added the steadying influence and perspective of Charnwood's study of another and utterly different personality who held high office in times of national stress.

The greater part of the book is a sympathetic treatment of Mr. Wilson's foreign policy. It is done skillfully, without praise or blame, but by bringing out in Mr. Wilson's own words the underlying ideas and steady purpose during the troubled years since he has been President. Both critic and friend can gain much from seeing the mind of Mr. Wilson and of America as this foreign critic sees it. In the one case not a section or a group or a party but the whole country, and in the other not an utterance here and there but a policy, judge it as you will, which was consistent from the first month of the presidency. To Mr. Wilson he assigns a great and conscious part in preparing America for war after 1915, a preparation of its spirit for the only kind of a war to which Mr. Wilson was willing to commit the nation. It is this view especially, as it is worked out in the chapter headed "The Evangelist", which will raise the most queries among contemporary readers.

The most marked limitation of the book as an interpretation is its ignoring the twenty-five years before Woodrow Wilson became governor of New Jersey, and its failure to use anything from his pen but *Congressional Government*. It would be easy to point out to Mr. Low many passages in *Mere Literature and Other Essays* (1897) that tell more of Mr. Wilson than the whole volume which is here used so exclusively. And a university presidency reveals more ideas of executive power than a book of any kind.

To discuss Mr. Low's book too nearly would be to discuss the subject, and it may not be the privilege of this generation to judge Mr. Wilson dispassionately. But there is no American who cannot with interest and profit read a foreigner's estimate of him.

MINOR NOTICES

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fourth series, volume I. (London, the Society, 1918, pp. 301.) For some reason not stated, the third series of the *Transactions* is brought to an end with volume XI., and a new series is now begun. The new president, Professor C. W. C. Oman, devotes his presidential address to remarks on the genesis and development of those false or exaggerated rumors, reports, and legends that are wont to spring up during times of military or political crisis, and makes the subject both entertaining and instructive, with examples from previous epochs and from the recent war (*e. g.*, Russian troops from Archangel passing through England, Mons Angels, etc.).

Nine essays follow. First, in a "survey" of the manor of Martham, Norfolk, drawn up in 1292, and now in the British Museum, Rev. W. Hudson finds interesting Traces of Primitive Agricultural Organization. In 1292 the manorial services, etc., were reckoned on the basis of a twelve-acre tenemental unit, the *eruing*, then much subdivided. Customary tenants, indiscriminately holding the completely intermingled socage and villenage lands, rendered light services. Domesday Book indicates a group of freemen as the nucleus of the later manor. In 1101, the manor was created, probably by the addition of a demesne and the conversion of freemen into manorial workers. The *eruing*, or land providing one-fourth of a plough-team, may perhaps be traced back through Danish times to the period of the Angle settlers.

Under the title "Wellington, Boislecomte, and the Congress of Verona", Captain J. E. S. Green discusses, in somewhat too labored a manner, the reasons for Wellington's acquiescence in Metternich's policy at the congress named. Madame Inna Lubimenko describes with considerable interest the Correspondence of the First Stuarts with the First Romanovs (*cf. American Historical Review*, XIX. 525-542). Miss V. M. Methley narrates the disastrous episode of the Ceylon Expedition of 1803. Dr. A. P. Newton describes the development of the administration of the English customs as part of the revenue-producing system, from the time of Edward VI. to the new epoch marked by the establishment of the Great Farm of the customs in 1604.

Mr. T. F. T. Plucknett's Alexander Prize Essay, the Place of the Council in the Fifteenth Century, sheds new light on certain phases of the subject. The author shows how, in the Lancastrian period, both the great council and the continual council tried to subordinate the crown to the magnates—the great council by undertaking the direction of matters of general policy and finance; the continual council by contesting the command of the privy seal, and thereby of the patronage.

An awakening of English interest in the history of British doings overseas is shown by the presence of three papers in colonial history. In one, Professor Egerton, chiefly with the aid of Jamaica history, com-

compares the System of British Administration of Crown Colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with that prevailing in the nineteenth century. In another, Lieut.-Col. L. S. Amery, M. P., who wrote the *Times History of the War in South Africa*, sketches the constitutional development of that dominion. In a third, Mr. E. M. Wrong treats the constitutional development of Canada, with a light touch, but with discernment and good judgment.

Mahan on Naval Warfare. Edited by Allan Westcott, Instructor in the United States Naval Academy. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1918, pp. xxiii, 372, \$2.00.) The book under examination contains selections from the numerous works of Admiral Mahan, giving his ideas of the fundamental principles of naval warfare gleaned throughout a long period of careful study. They cover two wars in which he was a participant and many other belligerent affairs, a knowledge of which was made known to him in minute detail by a critical examination of their records and by an association with some of the brightest minds of men who took part in them. Thus the editor of the book has given in one volume, of popular form, a work that Theodore Roosevelt said was the foundation of a new science.

The British naval historian, Sir Julian Corbett, wrote to Mahan's first volume, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*,

For the first time naval history was placed on a philosophical basis. From the mass of facts which had hitherto done duty for naval history, broad generalizations were possible. The ears of statesmen and publicists were opened, and a new note began to sound in world politics. Regarded as a political pamphlet in the highest sense—for that is how the famous book is best characterized—it has few equals in the sudden and far-reaching effect it produced on political thought and action.

This is the best epitome of Mahan's immortal works extant.

The volumes, some sixteen in number besides about the same amount of material in magazine form, which he has published, are not merely naval histories such as existed before he began to write for the public; but they are such treatises of which Bolingbroke wrote: "History is philosophy teaching by example."

Some of the cleverest articles ever written by Admiral Mahan were those published in the London *Daily News* forecasting Germany's aim in the conquest of the world by an expansion of the empire in Mittel-Europa, thereby controlling the route to Mittel-Asien. At the time this matter was but little understood by his own countrymen; but Englishmen, who have always been more concerned with the lessons taught by "the great teacher of us all", as he was styled by a noted Italian officer, than were Americans, took the admonition to heart and drew up a policy based upon his views which has been carried out in the campaigns of the Near East almost to the very letter. This explains the British occupa-

tion of Mesopotamia and the Holy Land, which to the unscientific mind has been an enigma.

In the preparation of the volume *Mahan on Naval Warfare*, the editor has succeeded in exhibiting the substance of the great strategist's doctrines on the science of war for the popular mind; and although it affords no specific treatment of the events of the present world-conflict, its general substance is applicable to the case, and the busy man as well as the student will find it enlightening. The public is to be congratulated upon being able to possess in one volume a work so necessary to a clear understanding, not only of the country's sea power, but of its foreign relations as well.

COLBY M. CHESTER.

Israel's Settlement in Canaan: the Biblical Tradition and its Historical Background. By Rev. C. F. Burney, Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in the University of Oxford, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, Canon of Rochester. [The Schweich Lectures, 1917.] (London, Humphrey Milford for the British Academy, 1918, pp. xi, 104, 3 sh. 6 d.) In this work Professor Burney attempts a new solution of the difficult historical problem of the manner of Israel's conquest of Canaan. He begins with a careful critique of the sources. In Judges i. and its parallels in Numbers and Joshua we find the oldest and most trustworthy account of the conquest. From this we learn that some of the Hebrew tribes were at Kadesh near the southern frontier, and thence sent out spies under the leadership of Caleb (Num. xiii. 17-24). This was followed by an invasion of the land from the south by the Leah tribes Judah and Simeon (Num. xiv. 44 = Judg. i. 1b-4a). The Amalekites and Canaanites then came out and drove the Israelites back to Hormah (Num. xiv. 45). In immediate connection with this belongs Num. xxi. 1-2, which narrates that the king of Arad took some Israelites prisoners, and that Israel vowed to execute the ban upon the Canaanite cities, if they should conquer them. They were successful, and fulfilled their vow (Num. xxi. 3 = Judg. i. 17). From this it appears that Judah and Simeon invaded Canaan from Kadesh, and that they were settled before the other tribes came.

Judg. i. 4b-7 then narrates a victorious campaign of Judah against Adoni-bezek, king of Jerusalem; Judg. i. 9-10, 20 = Josh. xv. 13-14, the conquest of Hebron by Caleb; and Judg. i. 11-15 = Josh. xv. 15-19, the conquest of Debir by Othniel. In all this nothing is said of Joshua, or of an united Israel, but only of exploits of Judah under tribal leaders.

In Judg. i. 22-29 (*cf.* Josh. xvi. 10, xvii. 11-13) we are told how the house of Joseph, that is, the Rachel tribes Ephraim and Manasseh, conquered their territories in the north of the land, apparently at a later date and independently of the Leah tribes. Finally Judg. i. 30-34 narrates the isolated conquests by Zebulon, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan.

In contrast to this, the present form of the Book of Joshua narrates

a conquest of Canaan by the united tribes under the leadership of Joshua. This is a later and less reliable form of the tradition that is found in Judg. i.

The evidence of archaeology points in the same direction. The Amarna letters show that about 1400 B.C. Canaan was invaded by the Habiru or Hebrews. Seti I. and Ramses II. mention Asher c. 1300 B.C. Merneptah (1225-1215 B.C.) mentions Israel as already settled in Canaan. These facts show that some Israelites at least were settled in Canaan as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty. On the other hand, Ramses II. of the Nineteenth Dynasty was certainly the Pharaoh of the oppression, because the store-cities Pithom and Raamses which the Hebrews built (Exod. i. 11 J) were constructed for him, as Naville's excavations have shown. The exodus cannot have occurred until after the reign of Merneptah (c. 1200 B.C.). Accordingly, some Hebrews must have settled in Canaan before the exodus, and some after it; that is, in two main divisions, Leah tribes and Rachel tribes, as recorded in Judg. i.

On the basis of these facts Professor Burney reconstructs the early history of Israel as follows: In the time of Hammurabi (c. 2100 B.C.) the earliest migration of Israel's ancestors into Canaan occurred. About 1479 Jacob-el is mentioned in Canaan by Thutmose III. About 1400 the Habiru = Hebrews invaded Canaan and occupied Shechem (Knudtzon, *Amarna Tafeln*, no. 289, 1.23; Gen. xxxiv.; xlix. 5-7). Seti I. (1313-1292) defeated the Shasu (Bedawin = Habiru) and also Asher. Under Ramses II. (1292-1225) the Joseph tribes were oppressed in Egypt. Merneptah (c. 1222) defeated Israel that was already in Canaan. About 1200 the Joseph (Rachel) tribes Ephraim and Manasseh left Egypt under Moses and invaded Canaan under Joshua.

This is a careful and important contribution to the study of early Hebrew history.

LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

A History of Spain founded on the Historia de España y de la Civilización Española of Rafael Altamira. By Charles E. Chapman, Assistant Professor of History in the University of California. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1918, pp. xv, 559, \$2.60.) This is a serviceable condensation in English of Professor Altamira's large four-volume history. For the entire period down to 1808, that is, through 471 of the 508 pages of his text, Professor Chapman "has relied almost wholly on Altamira". Two brief concluding chapters, the Growth of Liberalism, 1808-1898, and the Dawn of a New Day, 1898-1917, are based upon other secondary works and upon personal observation.

There has long been a very real need for a single-volume history of Spain in English, both for class-room use and for the general public.

The present work is an attempt to give in one volume the main features of Spanish history from the standpoint of America. It should

serve almost equally well for residents of both the English-speaking and the Spanish-American countries, since the underlying idea has been that Americans generally are concerned with the growth of that Spanish civilization which was transmitted to the new world. One of the chief factors in American life today is that of the relations between Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic America. They are becoming increasingly important.

The writer wisely limits himself to the story of the development of institutions in Spain itself. "The development of Spanish institutions in the colonies and the later independent states, it is hoped, will be the subject of another volume." The proportions of this volume are, on the whole, commendable. "The principal weight is given to the periods from 1252 to 1808, with over half of the volume devoted to the years 1479 to 1808." It is to be regretted, from the point of view of those interested in present-day Spanish developments, that only thirty-seven pages, the last two chapters, are devoted to the period since 1808. The fact that Altamira's work does not extend beyond the opening years of the nineteenth century may in part explain, but can scarcely justify Professor Chapman's scanty treatment of the last 120 years of Spanish history.

Serious students of the institutional developments in the Iberian Peninsula, who realize that Altamira's history, though the most satisfactory of the general histories, is uneven and in certain periods, notably the Moorish, not always sound, will query Professor Chapman's failure to check up Altamira's conclusions by reference to some of the other standard secondary works.

An excellent brief bibliography and a very complete index materially increase the usefulness of a very acceptable manual.

France, Mediaeval and Modern: a History. By Arthur Hassall. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1918, pp. 319, \$2.25.) With the demand for a new marking out of the proportions of history for purposes of instruction which the war has made, and which is felt in England as well as in this country, it was inevitable that many new text-books should appear, and almost equally so that so experienced, and on the whole so successful, a text-book writer as Mr. Hassall should make his offering among them. In his *France* he has not treated everything before 1815 so scantily as we may expect some books to do, but there is decidedly more modern than medieval history, except that the most recent period is not included. Out of 319 pages, forty-six cover all that precedes the accession of the Valois in 1328, and sixty-six more bring us to the Wars of Religion. After this point there are ninety-five pages to the beginning of the Revolution; thirty-six to 1815; and fifty to August 2, 1914. There is no account of the World War, and only four pages are devoted to the ten years preceding its outbreak. Almost the sole emphasis of the book is upon the facts of political history, which are simply told but with

much compression and without relief. There is very little explanation of the relation of the facts to one another, and almost no attention is given to the constitutional development or to the influence of the economic situation at different periods. In the Valois period for instance, the student will get no conception of the work of that family of kings in building up the absolute monarchy, nor of the really important commercial influences, apart from a bare mention of Flanders, in the Hundred Years' War. It is inevitable also in a narrative so packed with facts that many statements should give no real information, like the reference to Jansenism and Pascal on page 149. The book on the whole is a good specimen of the old-fashioned text-book, but it will seem to most American teachers not exactly the sort of history they are trying to teach.

The Holy Roman Empire in German Literature. By Edwin Hermann Zeydel, Instructor in the German Language and Literature in the University of Minnesota. [Columbia University Germanic Studies.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1918, pp. ix, 143, \$1.00.) This Columbia doctoral dissertation is a creditable, though not distinguished, piece of work. It brings together in a convenient survey a large mass of literary expressions of opinion, prevailingly satirical, upon the character, policy, and achievements (or lack of achievements) of the Holy Roman Empire, from the height of the Middle Ages down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The dissertation would have gained in unity and precision, if the author had adhered to his original intention of confining himself altogether to satirical utterances. As it is, he has included a not inconsiderable body of comment friendly to the Empire, without contrasting this sharply with the satire directed against it; and the consequence is that he not infrequently produces the effect of an antiquarian miscellany rather than a truly historical study. Exception might also be taken to the selection and arrangement of his material. In the chapters devoted to the sixteenth century, for instance, Hans Sachs, beside Fischart the foremost German writer deeply affected by the religious Reformation, is treated before the section dealing with Luther and the other reformers; Rollenhagen's *Froschmeuseler*, which appeared in 1595, precedes the discussion of Fischart, who died in 1590; while Ringwaldt's *Die lauter Warheit* of 1585, which contains a long lament about the sectional discord undermining the Empire, is not even mentioned. Doubt may also be expressed about the correctness of the author's judgment in not a few instances. Otto von Freising, for instance, is certainly very inadequately characterized by a quotation from his *De Duabus Civitatibus*, derogatory to the "regnum Romanorum"; for if there ever was a fervent German imperialist, it was the author of the *Gesta Friderici*. Or, to take a more recent example, the confident suggestion that Goethe, in his description of the coronation festivities of Joseph II. which he

observed as a boy in Frankfort, should have been influenced by Hans Sachs's poem on the entry of Charles V. into Nuremberg in 1541, has very little plausibility.

In spite of such blemishes and shortcomings, the little book gives ample evidence of wide reading and is to be welcomed as an instructive and useful compendium of what German writers of successive generations have thought of the unwieldy and cumbersome political body which for so many centuries served as the pretentious symbol of German unity, but which had outlived its usefulness long before it finally crumbled to pieces at the onslaught of Napoleon's armies.

KUNO FRANCKE.

The Autobiography of Phineas Pett. Edited by W. G. Perrin. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. LI.] (London, the Society, 1918, pp. civ, 244.) All students of seventeenth-century English history will welcome this new and complete edition of *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett*, which Lieut.-Col. W. G. Perrin has edited for the Navy Records Society. The original manuscript is preserved among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum and was used, in an inaccurate and incomplete manner however, by Samuel Pepys, when he published Pett's record in his Miscellany. There is a poor and inaccurate copy among the Harleian MSS. Colonel Perrin has collated both, and for the first time we possess a good reliable text. The editor has modernized the spelling, inserted punctuation marks, and in places completed the sense by adding words or phrases in brackets. He has provided an excellent historical account of the rise and decay of the Royal Shipwrights, of the Pett family and of Phineas in particular, and he has added several appendixes of original documents which illustrate and develop the history of the navy during the period and of Phineas Pett's activities in connection with it as a master shipwright. The editorial work is admirable. Accurate and meticulous research is combined with insight and judgment.

The autobiography itself consists of a record covering the years 1570 to 1638. Internal evidence shows that it was compiled from notes evidently kept with regularity, which were written out and elaborated after long intervals of time. Pett held the office of Master Shipwright to the Royal Navy and his manuscript throws valuable light on naval administration, on the financial policies of the Admiralty, and the practical interest of the crown in the development of a fleet. It will always remain useful for the student of maritime affairs during a period for which intimate and personal records are comparatively scarce. In addition, it helps to illustrate the chicanery of the naval executive, the by-paths of internal inefficiency, and the irritating jealousies of personal friendships and enmities which seem to have held the place of modern political corruption. The student of social history will find also much of interest in prices, wages, diseases, home-life, which have passed incidentally into Pett's pages.

W. P. M. KENNEDY.

Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774. By M. E. Monckton Jones. [Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, vol. IX.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1918, pp. xvi, 359, \$5.00.) It is now nearly eighty years since the appearance of the *Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings*, "compiled from original papers" by the Rev. J. R. Gleig—curtly labelled by Macaulay as "three big, bad volumes, full of undigested correspondence and undiscerning panegyric"—called forth that brilliant but distorted essay which, directly or indirectly, has moulded the opinion of the great majority concerning England's greatest Indian administrator. Macaulay's chivalrous hatred of oppression and injustice, together with his fervid Whig prejudice, led him to accept all too uncritically the "coldly hostile" estimate of Hastings in James Mill's *History of British India*, as well as the hot denunciations of Burke, Sheridan, and Fox, every one of whom was greatly dependent for information upon the vindictive and aspiring Sir Philip Francis. Doubtless Mr. G. W. Hastings tried to swing the pendulum too far the other way when he sought to prove in his *Vindication of Warren Hastings* (1909) that "the man who made our Indian Empire and preserved it for the Crown, was wholly innocent of the crimes so often and so grievously laid to his charge"; nevertheless, though Hastings's methods may have been ruthless at times, he strove valiantly to relieve the distressed ryot, and during his two years as ruler of the presidency of Bengal he undertook to frame a land settlement, a plan of justice, and a reform of customs which bore enduring fruit.

To illustrate this less known aspect of Warren Hastings's achievements Mr. M. E. Monckton Jones has collected a group of documents—mostly hitherto unpublished—from the India Office and the Winter Collection in the British Museum, documents which he has connected and interpreted by a series of ten excellent introductory chapters. In them we learn all the difficulties with which the governor had to contend: the baneful Dual System set up by Clive in 1765; the ravages of the famine of 1770; the apathy of the Company concerning almost everything but dividends; together with the rapacity of the native rulers, tax-collectors, and agents. While no attempt is made to gloss over the sins and blunders of the European intruders, there are abundant evidences that the first state of India must have been worse than the last—in spite of the asseverations of a recent school of historians. Mr. Monckton Jones is certainly an unqualified admirer of Warren Hastings; but the material presented from the latter's own letters and reports cannot but convince the reader that he was a genuine reformer, endowed with unusual sagacity and patience. A glossary of Indian terms is a welcome addition to the work.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

La Conspiration de l'Étranger. Par Albert Mathiez, Professeur d'Histoire Moderne à la Faculté des Lettres de Besançon. (Paris,

Armand Colin, 1918, pp. 314, 3.50 fr.) This is the second of two volumes of essays with the common title of *Études Robespierristes*. Nearly all appeared originally in the *Annales Révolutionnaires*, of which Professor Mathiez is the editor. The aim which gives unity to both collections is the author's determination to destroy what he calls the "légende Dantonienne", of which Professor Aulard is the chief living sponsor. To accomplish this purpose Professor Mathiez draws upon the vast stores of printed and manuscript material for the history of the middle period of the Revolution in which he is one of the most unwearied and skillful searchers. Should he succeed in smirching the reputation of the Dantonists he would relieve the memory of Robespierre, his political patron saint, of a part of the odium which rests upon it. As this volume, like its predecessor, is polemical in tone, historians of whose opinions the author does not approve are made targets for unpleasant epithets. J. H. Rose, for example, is called "un historien bien pensant", as, it is added, are so many others in the English universities "encore imbus de l'esprit du Moyen-Age". The late Albert Sorel is classed among the "historiens patentés" whose official and academic honors have not sharpened their critical sense. Sybel was a "docte cuistre". Such characterizations may quicken the pulse of the Robespierrian readers of the *Annales*, but they warn others to be exacting upon the article of evidence.

The essay which gives the volume its title deals with the obscure quarrel between the Dantonists and the Hébertists. More interesting as illustrating the author's method of handling evidence is the essay on "Danton et Louis Comte". Here the imputation that Danton had dabbled in a conspiracy to restore the monarchy is based solely upon a tale written by one of the most dubious adventurers that a Revolution rich in such products upheaved from the depths. That the two governing committees, when they had concluded to destroy the Dantonists, made no use of Comte nor of his tale, does not appear to discredit either in the estimation of Professor Mathiez. The lack of real proof he minimizes by phrases like "Cela n'est pas douteux", or "Il n'est guère douteux plus". Fortunately several of the essays are of less polemical import and contribute more substantial results to the progress of Revolutionary studies. The most critical contribution deals with the origin of the twenty-eight bulletins published in the Dromore Papers. These bulletins, it will be remembered, were sent to the British government by one of its agents in Genoa and purported to reveal the inner conflicts within the committees during the Terror. They are now supposed to be emanations of the genius of Comte d'Antraigues; "marchandise frelatée", Professor Mathiez calls them. He has discovered a series of letters which d'Antraigues received from one of his correspondents in Paris and which furnished d'Antraigues some of the hints for his fanciful developments.

H. E. B.

Geschichte Europas von 1815 bis 1830. Von Alfred Stern. Dritter Band, zweite Auflage. (Stuttgart and Berlin, J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1919, pp. xii, 421.) In 1911, Dr. Alfred Stern issued the fifth and sixth volumes of his *History of Europe* and in 1913 put forth a revised edition of volumes I. and II. Now in the year 1919, with the war over, he gives us the seventh volume and a revised edition of volume III. In the latter work, which lies before us, the changes are few, except in those parts that relate to Russia and Poland. Here and there may be noticed the addition and omission of an occasional word, the alteration of paragraphs and punctuation-marks, the leaving out of a few sentences and foot-notes, and the inclusion among the references of books that have appeared since 1901, though in this particular the revision leaves much to be desired. The new titles, other than those relating to Russia and Poland, may be found on pages 177-178, 181, 186, 191, 193, 234, 237, 263, 378, and 401, though in but two instances has the text been changed to meet the demands of the new literature.

In the chapters on Russia and Poland, however, the revision has been more extensive. Many important books in Russian and German have been published since 1905, based on archival material heretofore closed to investigators, and of these writings Dr. Stern has taken full advantage. Among the works are Borosdin, *Selections from the Letters and Depositions of the Decabrists* (1906), Korobka, *The Polish Societies and the Decabrists* (1906), Dovnar-Sapolskii, *The Secret Society of the Decabrists* (1906), Semevskii, *The Political and Social Ideas of the Decabrists* (1909), Pokrovskii, *History of Russia* (1913), all in Russian; Schiemann, *Die Ermordung Pauls und die Thronbesteigung Nikolaus I.* (1902) and *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I.* (1904, 1908), and many memoirs of the Decabrist leaders. The new material concerns chiefly Alexander I. and Arakcheev, military and economic conditions, and censorship of the press in Poland after 1815, and especially the antecedents of the Decabrist movement, as found in the secret societies of Poland and Volhynia and in the spread of revolutionary ideas among the officers and soldiers of the army. Incidentally we are given additional characterizations of Paul Pestel and others prominent in the Decabrist uprising. The changes made in these particulars are very suggestive and informing.

In view of the conditions prevailing in Poland since 1915, it is interesting to note the publication of a work, *The Question of the Press in the Kingdom of Poland*, in Warsaw in 1916. It is also interesting to note the announcement of the publishers, dated January, 1919, that owing to the scarcity of leather and other materials in Germany, no bound copies of Dr. Stern's history can be furnished for the present.

C. M. A.

History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the Earliest Times until the Present Day. By S. M. Dubnow, translated from the Russian

by I. Friedlaender. Volume II. *From the Death of Alexander I. until the Death of Alexander III.*, 1825-1894. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1918, pp. 429, \$1.50.) This volume takes up the history of the Jews from the reign of Nicholas I. to that of Nicholas II. and discusses the attitudes of the various governments towards the Jews. At the end about seventy-five pages are devoted to the question of Jewish emigration from Russia and colonization in America, Palestine, and elsewhere.

This volume, like its predecessor, is largely an enumeration of false charges against the Jews, of the hardships they endured, and of the persecutions they suffered. The reader becomes weary and faint from wading through so much blood and hearing the cries of widows and orphans, and in self-defense has to close the book. The Jews are always the innocent lambs and the Russians (sometimes the people, sometimes the government, sometimes the church) are the savage wolves. If a Jew is accused, tried, and acquitted it shows that he has had a fair trial; if on the other hand he is condemned it proves that he was unjustly treated.

The reviewer accepts as true the facts as given by the author; with him he condemns the cruel acts of the government, and agrees that they failed in their purpose, but he protests against his unfair way of stating the case. The anti-Semites did not make the Jewish question, but the impossibility of assimilating the Jews into the social body made the anti-Semites. It is not fair to put all the blame on the Russians. One reform ministry after another, assisted by intelligent Jews, grappled with the problem of assimilation but without success. It tried all remedies but one, that is, putting the Jews on the same plane with the Russians; and that it did not prescribe for fear that it would give the former an unfair advantage over the latter. Whether the government's policy was good or wicked this is not the place to discuss; all that the reviewer wishes to do is to point out, what the author does not, that the Jewish question has two sides.

The following paragraph (pp. 358-359) gives a good idea of the author and his style:

There was reason to fear that the pogrom at Rostov was only a prelude to a new series of riots in the South. But more than two months had passed, and all seemed to be quiet. Suddenly, however, on July 20, on the Greek-Orthodox festival dedicated to the memory of the prophet Elijah, the Russian mob made an attack upon the descendants of the ancient prophet at Yekaterinoslav. The memory of the great biblical Nazarite who abhorred strong drink was appropriately celebrated by his Russian votaries in Yekaterinoslav who filled themselves with an immense quantity of alcohol and became sufficiently intoxicated to embark upon their daring exploits as robbers.

Die Politischen Probleme des Weltkrieges. Von Rudolf Kjellen, Mitglied des Schwedischen Reichstages, Professor an der Universität zu

Uppsala. Übersetzt von Friedrich Stieve. (Leipzig and Berlin, B. G. Teubner, 1916, pp. 142, 2.40 marks.) This book is the result of a series of six public lectures delivered at the University of Upsala. It embodies in briefer compass the conclusions reached in the author's earlier work *Die Grossmächte der Gegenwart*, in contrast to which it has both the merits and defects usual to public lectures.

The author's point of view is set forth frankly in the introduction as "*Amica Germania sed magis amica veritas!*" In common with most modern historians in Germany, he conceives of nations as biological organisms, the individual playing little or no part except in illustration of the operation of group forces.

In the first two lectures the author considers the political forces created by geography as applied to Russia, England, and Germany. He lays down three essentials for any truly great power: great extent of territory, unrestricted freedom of movement, and internal cohesion. Russia (pp. 9-15) is found lacking in the second, England (British Empire, pp. 15-22) in the third, and Germany (pp. 22-46) to some extent in all three respects. This analysis is fairly thorough and impressive.

The political problems arising from ethnic conditions are considered at somewhat greater length in the next two lectures. The author recognizes in nationality an historical force, but not "the last word in history". His analysis of the nationalistic forces existent in Europe accords in the main with the common opinion, though his bias appears in estimating controverted points. The principle of race as a force he regards as somewhat less potent, though also a factor. The critical zone of nationalistic forces is located in the Danube Valley, while that of racial forces he extends from the Baltic to the Black Sea between the Adriatic and the Gulf of Crimea.

The fifth lecture, on the political force of social problems, will be found less clear. Under this title he includes both the internal problems of industrial class conflict and international trade rivalry. The discussion is too brief to be satisfactory, and the conclusions agree with those of the German writers.

The last lecture is of considerable interest inasmuch as it seeks to contrast the ideals of the contestants. Against the French and English contention of a war for democracy, the author insists that the well-being of the whole people is a truer index of freedom than form of government, and in the former test he thinks Germany excels. He concludes that the philosophies of the opposing nations are in conflict—"A war between Jean Jacques Rousseau and Immanuel Kant, a war no less extensive or bitter because Rousseau has as his allies Herbert Spencer on the one hand and his old antagonist Pobiedonostsev on the other".

The work bristles with quotations from a variety of writers and writings—too many of them of an apologetic or polemic type, and most of them German. J. W. Burgess is frequently quoted, but is practically

the only American so honored. Cramb is given more respect than is usually accorded him on the Allied side. Aside from the geographical and ethnic discussions, which deserve some consideration, the work is chiefly valuable as a presentation of a pro-German view by a Swedish partizan.

The American Spirit in Literature: a Chronicle of Great Interpreters. By Bliss Perry. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXIV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918, pp. x, 281.) This little volume, beautifully printed and bound and illustrated with numerous portraits, covers the entire field of American literature. The author says that his task is twofold: "We are primarily concerned with a procession of men, each of whom is interesting as an individual and as a writer. But we cannot watch the individuals long without perceiving the general direction of their march. . . . To become aware of these general tendencies is to understand the 'American' note in our national writing."

The task was difficult, perhaps impossible, within so little space, and Professor Perry has not been entirely successful in it. The book as a whole gives but a vague notion of what those "general tendencies" are which constitute the "American note", and thus loses much in historical significance. In certain chapters, such as those on colonial days, the Revolution, and "Union and Liberty", the relation of American literature to American life is clearly shown. But recent tendencies, as reflected in fiction, poetry, and drama, are presented very inadequately; the sociological novel is hardly mentioned; Mrs. Wharton is passed by in silence; William Vaughn Moody, so significant both as poet and dramatist for his union of classic culture with the modern spirit of revolt, is barely named; Robert Frost, that subtle interpreter of New England character, and Edgar Lee Masters, one of the most powerful satirists of contemporary American life, are dismissed in two lines—while Mr. Riley gets a page and a half.

On the other hand the book is not all that Professor Perry's admirers might fairly expect of it as a sketch of American literature. Some writers, notably Charles Brockden Brown, are ignored, apparently because they are not closely related to the American spirit, although they are important in the history of the literature; while Freneau is considered merely as a poet of the Revolution—the phase in which he is least a poet. The discussion of the greater men, again, cannot be wholly satisfactory within such narrow limits, the narrower because of the inclusion of so many lesser figures in the American "procession". Even the skillful hand of Professor Perry cannot do justice to Hawthorne in seven pages or to Lowell in six. Yet surprisingly much is packed into every page throughout the volume; and almost everywhere the judgments are sane without being commonplace, while the style is uniformly pleasing.

The book cannot rank with the author's best work, but it is a charm-

ing series of essays upon our literature, early and late, as seen by a finely cultivated, thoroughly wholesome mind; and its chief value, as history or as literary criticism, lies in its expression of the reaction of such a mind to the American writers of three centuries.

WALTER C. BRONSON.

A History of Suffrage in the United States. By Kirk H. Porter, Ph.D. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1918, pp. xi, 260, \$1.25.) This book covers the entire ground from colonial days to the present time. Topics noted are the relation of property and taxation to the exercise of the franchise, church membership and theological opinion, voting privileges extended to aliens, residence and educational tests, negro suffrage, and woman suffrage. So wide a range of subjects cannot be adequately treated in the space assigned. Our author seeks to correct common and notorious errors and to supplement general history and other available sources of information. He therefore selects a few matters for especially detailed treatment. Only slight notice is given to the subject of religion as affecting the right to vote, while the ownership of land as a basis of the voting privilege, the ownership of other forms of property, and the payment of taxes in their bearing upon the franchise are traced with much care.

A good deal of space is also given to laws conferring the vote upon aliens. Some western states, the author notes, have even used the voting privilege as a means of attracting immigrants.

The most thorough treatment is given to negro suffrage, to which one-third of the entire book is devoted. The reasons assigned for this allotment are the existence of common erroneous beliefs, the inadequate attention found in current histories, and the present and prospective importance of the subject. Possibly, undue emphasis is laid upon the appearance of negro suffrage in the state constitutional conventions and state constitutions before the Civil War. This is followed by a particularized account of the way the negro acquired the right to vote and of how he has been deprived of the exercise of the right in Southern states.

While Mr. Porter concedes that woman suffrage is a topic in itself of equal importance with negro suffrage, yet he finds fewer errors to correct respecting our judgments upon it and a more adequate supply of available literature dealing with the question. He therefore gives to that topic but one brief chapter before the Civil War and one since that war.

High commendation should be awarded for the construction of so readable and enlightening a narrative out of conditions naturally confusing. The treatment of political theory involved in the franchise is not so commendable. In place of the ordinary reasons assigned for bestowing the franchise, the author substitutes the mere truism of expe-

diency. But in a free country somebody must vote. This is not a matter of expediency, it is a matter of necessity.

JESSE MACY.

The Royal Government in Virginia, 1624-1775. By Percy Scott Flippin, Associate Professor of History (P. V. Rogers Foundation) in Hamilton College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXXXIV., no. 1, whole number 194.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1919, pp. 393, \$3.00.) While no further discoveries of great note are likely to be made in the field of American colonial history, there is much work still to be done in gathering and synthesizing the vast mass of matter brought to light by the labors of the present generation of scholars. In Virginia colonial history, Bruce, Stanard, Tyler, Alexander Brown, C. M. Andrews, Osgood, and the writers of single monographs, such as *The Legislature of the Province of Virginia*, by E. I. Miller, and *Justice in Colonial Virginia*, by O. P. Chitwood, have given us a pretty accurate outline of the history and institutions of the great Southern commonwealth in the colonial period; but many details remained to be gleaned, and there was a need, particularly, for a work which would cover the whole subject of colonial administration. Professor Flippin's *The Royal Government in Virginia* admirably fills this want.

The volume is the fruit of a very extended and thorough research. Books, the invaluable material published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* and the *William and Mary College Quarterly*, and the rich manuscript material in the Virginia State Library have been examined with systematic care. The arrangement is sound; chapters on the governor, the council, the House of Burgesses, the land system, the financial administration, the judicial system, and the system of defense leave no matter of any importance in the colonial administration untouched. The chapter on finances probably yields the greatest amount of new information, though many details have been added to our knowledge of the governor and the assembly. But this acknowledgment hardly does the book justice. It is a work furnishing an amplitude of information on administration in Virginia, drawn from the sources, well digested, logically developed, clear in analysis, and written with a proper regard for literary form. The author has held his material well in hand, and the inferences he makes are in nearly all cases temperate and sound. In particular, he has shown skill in weaving the vast number of petty items of administrative matters into a compact and ordered whole.

A good bibliography accompanies the study. A few titles are omitted, but very few of consequence. Slips are not numerous in this volume, and are unimportant. On page 105, George Sandys is spoken of as Sir George; he was a plain Mister. In the opening chapter, English Background, the impression is made on the reader that Virginia

was practically independent of England during the Cromwellian régime. This is the old view, disproved by recent research; it probably arose from a desire to flatter the pride of the later predominant Cavalier element in the colony. As a matter of fact, the English government of the Protectorate exercised a sufficiently thorough control over Virginia. On page 238, £1,000 apparently should read £100.

All in all, *The Royal Government in Virginia* is one of the best monographs in American colonial history of recent years.

H. J. ECKENRODE.

The Lords of Trade and Plantations, 1675-1696. By Ralph Paul Bieber. (Allentown, Pa., H. Ray Haas and Company, 1919, pp. 102.) The history of the committees and councils that watched over the British colonies in America and their trade is now fairly well covered. The contrast between the knowledge we had of them in 1907 and that which we may now possess is striking, but it is typical of the enlargement of vision we have gained by dropping the habit of considering the history of colonial administration from the point of view of the colonies alone, and proceeding for a time to study it from the point of view of the government in London. With Professor Andrews's classical paper in 1908 on *The British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675*; Professor Root's paper on the Lords of Trade and Plantations, 1675-1696, in the *American Historical Review*, volume XXIII.; Miss Clarke's picture of the Board of Trade of 1696-1783, in volume XVII. of the same journal; Professor Dickerson's study of the same in his *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*; and now this present dissertation on the same period as that dealt with by Professor Root, the student can follow the whole story from beginning to end.

Dr. Bieber's book is distinctly a dissertation, and shows some of that want of careful attention to, and logical thinking respecting, the exact meanings of words and forms of expression that almost always marks the style of those compositions; but in substantials it is a good piece of work, covering with careful research the history and personnel of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, their organization and procedure, their relations with colonial governments, and their judicial action with respect to appeals from colonial courts.

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, volume XIX. *Transactions*, 1916-1917. (Boston, the Society, 1918, pp. xvii, 480.) This new volume of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts has the same handsome appearance as its predecessors, the same scholarship and elaborate care on the part of the editor, Mr. Albert Matthews, applied alike in the case of important and of unimportant contributions. Of the 435 pages of text in the volume, a hundred are occupied by Professor Andrews's very significant and valuable paper on the Boston Merchants and the Non-Importation Movement, which, as a "separate", has

already been noticed in the *American Historical Review* (XXIII. 705). Professor Andrews has now supplemented this paper by the discovery, and printing in this volume, of a "State of the Trade" which the Boston Society for Encouraging Trade and Commerce drew up in the winter of 1763-1764 as a means of opposing the renewal of the Molasses Act. Somewhat more than another hundred pages are devoted by Professor Edmund B. Delabarre to Dighton Rock, whose history he is pursuing with more than German thoroughness. Early interest in the inscriptions having been fully treated in a paper printed in the preceding volume, he devotes the present installment to what he calls the Middle Period of Dighton Rock History—from Winthrop and Stiles to Dammartin, from 1744 to 1838—and sets forth, with abundant illustrations, the various descriptions and interpretations to which that patient monument has been subjected. Of the lesser papers, the most interesting is the editor's on Early Autopsies and Anatomical Lectures in New England. A paper by Mr. Percival Merritt on the gifts of King George II. to Christ Church, Boston, contains also many data on the early alterations of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer resulting from the American Revolution. An account of expenses of a journey from Boston to New Jersey and back, about 1688, is of value because of the itinerary. Thirty pages are occupied with a diary which Rev. Thomas Prince kept, throughout the year 1737. It was kept in a small almanac, with the utmost possible abbreviation, and all the abbreviations are scrupulously reproduced in print, together with the use of *y* for *th*, which last the reviewer had supposed to be no longer regarded as good practice. The effect is to make the reading of the diary unprofitably troublesome; when one has spelled out the meaning of "Tomy ^{c^m} 2^{ce} à Coll^g, & went back" or "Ys p I Begin with Mat. I.", he wishes he had won more by the effort. The volume ends with a record of the proceedings at the dedication of the Thomas Hutchinson memorial doorway into the First Church, Boston, proceedings worthy of that beautiful monument, including an admirable address by Dr. James K. Hosmer, Hutchinson's biographer.

The Old Merchant Marine: a Chronicle of American Ships and Sailors. By Ralph D. Paine. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXVI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919, pp. x, 214.) In this little volume, most attractive in appearance, the author gives an uncommonly interesting account of our old sailing ships and their voyages. New books on this subject will always be welcome, for the succeeding generations of young Americans must never be allowed to forget the glorious past of the mercantile marine.

Beginning with the earliest settlements along the Atlantic seaboard, ship-building, coastwise trade, and fishing were among the most important industries of the colonists. More than one thousand vessels were built in New England during the seventeenth century. Down to

1783 the story deals largely with piracy and privateering, and the perils to navigation incident to these pursuits; and the slave-trade is touched upon. In speaking of the number of Revolutionary privateers, the author, coming only to 1778, gives an inadequate impression of the facts. It might have interested his readers to know that during this war, according to the calendar of *Naval Records of the American Revolution* published by the Library of Congress in 1906, and other sources, there were doubtless over two thousand American privateers, employing seventy thousand men.

With chapter IV. the book enters upon the heroic age of our merchant marine, beginning after the Revolution and ending with the period of the Civil War. In spite of all difficulties—French decrees, British Orders in Council and impressments, and American embargoes—commerce flourished during the early years of the nineteenth century. The great race of Salem shipmasters and merchants, men who commanded ships around the world and then retired from the sea to the counting-room with a competence while still in their twenties, will inspire the reader's admiration. And he will be thrilled by the tales of privateering in the War of 1812. The voyages of the wonderful Atlantic packets and the still more wonderful clippers are recounted in a pleasing narrative, and the unequalled speed of our ships is brought out. The fisheries and the coastwise trade are not forgotten, and full justice is given the whalers, who are often slighted and even scorned by the more fastidious cargo-carriers.

The causes of the merchant marine's decline are reviewed. Some account of the latest period might perhaps have made the story more complete; the American deep-sea sailing ship was not quite dead at the end of the Civil War. It remains only to mention twelve excellent pictures of ships and men, a bibliography, and an index.

G. W. ALLEN.

The Eve of the Revolution: a Chronicle of the Breach with England. By Carl Becker. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918, pp. xiii, 267.) There is no book with which the reviewer is acquainted which shows a more profound knowledge of the essential historical problems of the decade preceding the Declaration of Independence than does this small, unpretentious volume. Yet, with this strong, masterful handling of the great problems of the British Empire of that time, goes a charm in the literary execution of the work which makes it readable above all. It deserves to be popular with the lovers of good literature who take their history as a wine rather than as a solid, academic nourishment. Minds that hunger only for the dry-as-dust contributions to learning may still prefer the doctoral dissertation. Yet the thesis is rare indeed that analyzes so keenly, as does Mr. Becker's study, the problems of commerce, taxation, imperial organization, and all those economic and political questions

which help to explain the rupture of the British Empire. There are many marked readjustments of emphasis which increase the value of this new treatment of an old subject. That of the tea controversy is noteworthy. A vein of delicate humor runs through the discussion of even that desiccated subject, the British taxing system. A sly, ironic mode of treatment exposes the selfish yet natural tendency of English traders to consider their own commercial welfare rather than colonial prosperity. The analysis of the effect in America of non-importation is clarity itself, and by a gentle, pervading irony, it is rendered even entertaining. The author's account of Samuel Adams has charm, and insight, and sympathy without hero-worship, which is quite unequalled. The way he represents Adams laboring "at all events" to keep the people "meeting regularly to sniff the approach of tyranny in the abstract" is unsurpassed in truth and penetration. The author admits playfully in his introduction the use of one "literary device", and it may not therefore be out of place for me to call attention to another. The very skillful "literary device" of securing the reader's attention at the outset by the interesting and at the same time significant episode in the life of Benjamin Franklin, is a legitimate and successful mode of making history alluring to the mere reader. In closing, the reviewer wishes to warn Mr. Becker that it is dangerous to talk so favorably of the motives and views of the Loyalists. Only lately a representative of a somewhat Teutonic state of the Old Northwest has made the halls of Congress to ring with a philippic against the crime of teaching the American youth that there was any virtue in the American Loyalist.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Washington and his Colleagues: a Chronicle of the Rise and Fall of Federalism. By Henry Jones Ford. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XIV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918, pp. x, 235.) The title of this book, though long, is somewhat vague and inaccurate. Who were Washington's "colleagues"? He had no colleague in the presidency. Was Vice-President Adams his colleague? Were the members of his Cabinet his colleagues? Or the leading members of the Federalist party? Or all members of Congress? Or, when the author says *colleagues*, does he simply mean *contemporaries*? Again, when did Federalism "fall"? The book closes with the failure of Adams to be re-elected to the presidency. But, if Federalism be the principle that magnifies the powers of the federal government, then Federalism, so far from having fallen with Adams, has, with but temporary checks, been growing from Washington's inauguration down to Federalism's crowning achievement in the recent preposterous prohibition amendment to the Constitution.

It cannot be said that Mr. Ford has given us truer conceptions of either Washington or his contemporaries than we already possessed. His view seems to be that Washington, while careful and methodical,

was not overburdened with brains. Hamilton, however, was the "Master Builder", incapable of either intellectual mistake or ethical weakness. Not so with Jefferson, Madison, or Giles, all of whom not only thought and uttered much nonsense, but were also guilty of "malevolence" and "spite" against the one and only Hamilton. Though admitting that Jefferson was just as urgent as Hamilton that Washington should accept a second term, the author imagines that, in giving the name Republican to the party which he organized, Jefferson was guilty of the "calumny" of accusing Washington of wishing to become a monarch. John Adams was not merely "vain, learned, and self-sufficient", but also incredibly "tricky and shuffling". As for Congress, the author cannot conceal his contempt for its "fuming and wrangling". The narrative of events during the administrations of Washington and Adams is rambling, disconnected, and incomplete, though usually accurate. It is hardly correct, however, to assert that fear of the American navy was the cause of England's finally abandoning impressment; the truth being that she abandoned it because, after Napoleon's fall, she had more sailors in her navy than she needed and never again had to resort to impressment in order to get all she required.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is the account of Washington's carriage and horses, his barge, his costumes, his levees, etc. The volume contains a dozen illustrations and an autograph letter of Washington. There are no foot-notes, but there is a two-page bibliographical note. The binding, print, and paper are attractive.

R. H. DABNEY.

Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818. By Richard J. Purcell. (Washington, American Historical Association; London, Humphrey Milford, 1918, pp. x, 471, \$1.50.) Mr. Purcell's essay, to which was awarded the Justin Winsor prize in American history for 1916, has for its theme the revolutionary changes that took place in the social and political order in Connecticut from 1775 to 1818. Incidentally it portrays the passing of the colonial era and the entrance of the national era in New England, for Connecticut history is a fine exhibition of particular phases in a general process. Here was a task that called for judicial poise and sound judgment as well as minute research and accurate discernment in matters of fact. In all these respects Mr. Purcell has shown marked competency, with excellent results. He has produced an account of the religious, economic, and political changes which transformed Connecticut institutions, that is admirable in its style, complete and authoritative in its matter.

The work starts properly by giving the first consideration to that fountain-head influence of all great institutional change—the state of religious opinion. A series of vivid chapters, arraying a mass of well-sifted evidence, gives an account of the spread of infidelity and the

accompanying moral dissolutions, which incited religious reactions rupturing the traditional Puritanism and producing new forms of religious life. The process is considered in its various denominational aspects, which was a delicate task to undertake, but it has been performed with kindness, candor, and sympathetic appreciation.

Next comes consideration of economic changes—the founding of banks and the increase of capital, extension of commerce and growth of manufactures, the effects of emigration and the opening of the West, the improvement of agriculture and the introduction of sheep-raising. Then comes, in its proper sequence, a consideration of the change in the political order that is bound to ensue from social and economic change. A series of interesting chapters describes the rise of the Democratic-Republican party, the Federal party organization, and the reform movement that produced the constitution of 1818, whose characteristic features are clearly explained. This brings to a close with logical completeness a work that is a model of what an institutional history ought to be.

The appearance of such a work encourages the hope that some day the fact will be perceived by writers on the constitutional history of the United States that when they give merely a legalistic treatment to their theme they are only scratching its surface. Decisions of the courts are not nearly so important in constitutional history as they now seem to think, for after all these are secondary causes and the primary causes are to be found in social behavior, religious, economic, and political. We shall not really have a constitutional history of the United States worthy of the name until some one can do for the nation what Mr. Purcell has done for a single state.

HENRY JONES FORD.

The Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, an Historical Review, 1785-1916. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. (Boston, Riverside Press for the Society, 1918, pp. xv, 398.) In the days when the Continental Congress was setting bounds to the extension of slavery in the Northwest, a small group of men in Massachusetts organized a philanthropic society to lessen the number of lives lost by drowning. The Massachusetts Humane Society has continued during the hundred and thirty years since that time to carry on its enterprise of mercy, and from time to time has enlarged the scope of its activities. During these years reports have been published, and in 1845 a brief account of its labors was issued, but no elaborate history has been written until the present time.

The new history is a sumptuous volume in the best style of the publishers. It contains numerous full-page portraits and other illustrations. It includes one hundred and twenty-five pages of appendixes, containing such original historical materials as lists of officers and members and recipients of rewards, by-laws, and legislative acts. The text of the

history is in six chapters, setting forth the story of the founding of the organization, its early activities, tales of thrilling rescues rewarded by the society, and the extension of its activities and contributions.

Such a monograph as this usually contains considerable material of no interest to the general reader, but to the historian there are items of information to be found in this volume that are worth specifying. For example, the first life-boat constructed in America was built for the Massachusetts Humane Society in 1807; the society early in its history encouraged the founding of the Massachusetts General Hospital and the Boston Dispensary; by 1840 it had extended its efforts through local huts of refuge to more ambitious life-saving stations along the Massachusetts coast and rivers. The materials are used by the writer to the best advantage, and in its workmanship the book will be an adornment to any library.

HENRY K. ROWE.

A History of Indiana from 1850 to the Present. By Logan Esarey, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Western History in Indiana University. (Indianapolis, W. K. Stewart Company, 1918, pp. xi, 575.) Among the contributions to the centennial year's literature of Indiana, one of the most important was Dr. Logan Esarey's *History of Indiana from the Earliest Explorations to 1850*. Dr. Esarey has completed his survey of the history of Indiana in a second volume covering the period from 1850 to the present. The chapters and paging of the second volume are a continuation of those of the first volume, and the particular topics discussed are numbered consecutively through the two volumes. The first chapter in this volume deals with home, church, and social life of the people of the state in the fifties, with tables showing the population and illiteracy of the state in 1840, 1850, and 1860. The next chapter is devoted to Indiana Civil War politics; the interesting subjects of slavery, temperance, immigration, woman's rights, presidential campaigns, and the condition of the state government are discussed.

One chapter is devoted to the growth of the common school system and another is given to the development of collegiate education. An interesting description is given of early sectarianism in education and of the changing curriculum. There is a third chapter on educational history and the evolution of the state school system.

Indiana's part in the Civil War is discussed in one chapter in which is included the story of Morgan's Raid, border raids, the activities of the Knights of the Golden Circle, bounties and drafts, the Indiana Legion, opposition to the war, the response to the call to arms, and soldiers' relief. Closely associated with Civil War history is a discussion of the Reconstruction period in the state.

The industrial history of the state is discussed from the point of view of railroad building, agricultural development, mining, and commercial development, one chapter being devoted to each of these subjects.

Political parties since the Civil War are discussed from the point of view of the Greenbackers and Grangers, the Populists, Socialists, and Progressives. A chapter on Indiana cities describes the early conditions, and the rise and development of the modern cities which has come about largely in the last half-century. Indiana military history is sketched from the days of the Civil War to our war with Germany in 1917, including the Spanish-American War, affairs on the Mexican border, and a general description of Indiana's military matters. The last chapter of the volume is devoted to "literary history", in which are discussed newspapers, oratory, prose and poetry.

A great variety of historical material has been used in writing the volume, including newspapers, letters, documents, and recollections. Thirteen maps, nine of them showing election returns, add to the interest and value of the book. The book is readable and excellent for reference, yet the treatment of individual topics is very brief. No bibliography is given and the index is very brief and quite inadequate.

The Union Colony at Greeley, Colorado, 1869-1871. Edited by James F. Willard, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Colorado. [University of Colorado Historical Collections, Colony Series, vol. I.] (Boulder, the University, 1918, pp. xxxii, 412, \$3.00.) The colony at Greeley was composed of "proper persons" from its inception, and deserves better historical treatment than it has hitherto received. Upon these papers that Dr. Willard has brought together, it will be possible to build a picture showing how one fragment of the old frontier was reclaimed. It will be not only a story of transition from dry plains to farm-lands, but one of organized co-operation, and one influenced from the first by community enterprises, in the form of irrigation ditches. The years covered are 1869-1872; from the first advertisement of N. C. Meeker calling for associates, until the Greeley Dramatic Association, which could not "be beaten by any Amateur Association this side of the Wisconsin River", regaled its constituency with "the moral temperance drama of 'Ten Nights in a Bar-Room'". It was not a normal frontier group that produced these records; but here, as elsewhere, the frontier sample testifies to the social tone of the base from which its members were drawn. The Union Colony with its "three schools, ten Lyceums, a free Reading Room, a Brass Band, and Mason's and Good Templars Lodges", enclosed in a wire fence strung on 10,000 posts, is as illustrative of every-day American society as of itself.

The documents would perhaps have more instant value were they grouped by dates rather than by sources; but they make a valuable addition to the available sources for the history of the West.

F. L. P.

The Age of Big Business: a Chronicle of the Captains of Industry. By Burton J. Hendrick. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXIX.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919, pp. x, 196.) The entertaining chapters in this volume contain what might easily be popular articles written for the weekly magazines, upon the careers of the captains of industry—Vanderbilt, Carnegie, Rockefeller, McCormick, Bell, Ford, and the rest. Its episodes are naturally those of the last half-century; but there is little in the manner of treatment or in the organic arrangement of its facts to warrant its sub-title as a "Chronicle of America" or the sumptuous form in which it appears. A brief bibliography indicates that the writer is aware of the existence of a few other studies within his field, but does not suggest that he has made an exhaustive examination of any of them.

America and Britain. By Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, A.M., LL.D., Head of the Department of History, Chicago University. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1919, pp. 221, \$2.00.) For the last hundred years and more America's ignorance and misinformation regarding Britain have been abysmal. Even more profound has been Britain's ignorance of America. In each case it was due, no doubt, partly to preoccupation and partly to a kind of national arrogance. But since April, 1917, all thinking Americans have been trying to achieve a spiritual crossing of the Atlantic, and this collection of addresses delivered to British audiences by Professor McLaughlin is a sign of a similar desire on the part of the people of Britain to know more of America. The addresses were not meant for Americans, but for that very reason they have a peculiar value. For the necessity to interpret the spirit and aims of the United States to Englishmen has compelled an effort to discover and clearly present vital essentials.

The book has the natural limitations and merits of a series of lectures. Each address represents the suggestion and the illustration of certain clear-cut propositions which are designed to stimulate, to illuminate, to guide, and correct, not to carry an argument through to a demonstrated conclusion. Some of these propositions are stated with an obvious desire to puncture a misconception or a prejudice by a swift and awakening thrust. "The American Revolution is, on the whole, the chief jewel in the imperial diadem of Britain." It was "a creative incident in the development of British liberalism". Such statements are, of course, the "torpedo-shock" devices of a lecturer. But they have the merit of being essentially true, and they are quite as stimulating to an American as to an Englishman.

There are three positions advanced by Professor McLaughlin which are of peculiar interest to American readers. One is the absolute recognition that our political isolation has served its purpose and is gone forever, not from choice but from necessity. It conflicts "with the realities of modern life". As man must be social to be human so a nation must

be international, so to speak, to preserve its nationality. A second is the reminder of the profound political and spiritual change in Britain since the days of Lord North. "Nothing can be more humorous than to suppose that you can know Britain to-day solely by knowing what she was a hundred and forty years ago." The third is the enforcement of President Wilson's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine in the speech of January 22, 1917—the proposition that the really permanent and fundamental element in the doctrine is the assertion of the right of all nations to self-determination.

The book is eminently readable, full of suggestion, obviously based on many years of thoughtful study. It is only an introduction, but it is a valuable and stimulating one.

CECIL FAIRFIELD LAVELL.

A History of Latin America. By William Warren Sweet, Professor of History in DePauw University. (New York, Abingdon Press, 1919, pp. 283, \$3.00.) This book, the first of its kind to be published in the English language, contains twenty-one chapters. Two of them treat, respectively, the Spanish and Portuguese Background and the Physical Aspects and Native Races of Latin America; nine, colonial history and institutions; and the remaining ten, the period of the wars of independence, and the history of the several states, their institutions, and their international relations. At the close of each chapter are reading references. There are three pages of illustrations, also, and twenty maps.

Unless a prospective writer on the theme is thoroughly familiar with the historical literature of the European languages spoken in Latin America, it is quite impossible for him to compose an acceptable textbook. What has been published in English alone is wholly insufficient as a source of information. The usual fields of history to which textbooks are devoted may be gone over many times and the gleanings therefrom worked up into fresh presentations, simply because a great mass of stock knowledge is available. This is not the case with Latin America. Here the writer who draws his material from the most obviously conventional works in English will have to wait until numerous special treatises in that language have been published, before he will be in a position similar to that of the compilers of text-books on the "regulation" periods or areas.

Were the present book offered wholly to that portion of the reading public which wants merely a more or less connected story of Latin America, no further comment would be necessary. But when Professor Sweet declares in his preface that his work "has been prepared primarily for students and teachers", the reviewer cannot refrain from expressing his regret that the appeal of the text was not confined rather to the "many outside of schools and colleges who are seeking information about our neighbors to the South". What students and teachers of Latin-American history still require is a handbook that shall be reason-

ably original in conception, logical in handling, and accurate in statement; that shall have maps and illustrations which are well chosen and executed and otherwise serviceable, and that shall provide reading references in such a form as to arouse interest to follow them up. The faults of the present work are not attributable so much to the way in which the conventional sources have been drawn upon or the materials extracted have been set forth, as to the author's evident lack of familiarity with the real literature of the subject.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

Santiago de Cuba and its District (1607-1640), written from Documents in the Archive of the Indies, at Seville, Spain. By I. A. Wright. (Madrid, F. Peña Cruz, 1918, pp. 207.) This book consists of a short chronological digest of the rule of the first seven governors of Santiago de Cuba after the separation of this district from the immediate jurisdiction of Havana, and twenty-six documents bearing on the subject taken from the "Papeles Procedentes de Cuba" in the Archivo General de Indias. The first sixty-four pages are devoted to the preface, foreword, introduction, table of contents, and *annexa*, and the chronological sketch. The documents for the appendix are of widely varying importance and consist of letters written by governors at Santiago, by the Cuban bishops, and by *cabildos*.

The period covered is comparatively unimportant, and the sketch deals largely with the plans for the erection of the fortifications on the Morro headlands at Santiago, the actual erection of which was precipitated by the attack on the port of Santiago by Peg-Leg the Pirate, on March 15, 1635.

We may almost accept without argument Miss Wright's confession in the preface that the book is "unsatisfactory in every respect". Printed in Spain, with bad ink on poor paper, the book is unattractive to the tired eye of the student; the grosser sins of awkward diction, faulty proof-reading, and imperfect balance of historical perspective heighten the first unpleasant impression.

The work has a distinct value, however, in spite of these defects, first, because it is unique in its field, and secondly, because it makes available some very important documents. Document no. 3, a report to His Majesty from the Bishop of Havana, Fray Juan de las Cabezas Altamirano, is especially interesting. Bishop Cabezas was an unusually observant chronicler, and this report is an interesting appendix to his record of the first episcopal visit in the United States, published in the *Catholic Historical Review* (January, 1917, pp. 442-449) through the courtesy of the *American Historical Review*. It is to be hoped that the numerous typographical errors are confined to the English text, since the archaic orthography and rhetoric of the Spanish documents prevent the discovery of any discrepancies.

JOHN F. O'HARA.

La Revolución de Carácas y sus Próceres. Por Andrés F. Ponte. (Carácas, Imprenta Nacional, 1918, pp. viii, 164.) This booklet—composed of eighteen chapters and an appendix—was written by a scholar of Carácas who has made an investigation of the early Venezuelan revolt from Spain. By the “Revolution of Carácas” the author designated the separatist movements which took place in that city from 1808 to 1810. A large part of his study is devoted to a somewhat ill-arranged account of the events in 1809 and 1810. Chapters XIV., XVII., and the appendix contain lists of the Venezuelans and the citizens of the United States who participated in those movements, as well as in the ill-fated expedition of Francisco de Miranda against Venezuela in 1806. Chapter XVIII., which is all too brief, deals with the uprising of April 19, 1810. This treatise is based in part upon printed material which is available to North American students of the Spanish-American revolution. At many points, however, Señor Ponte cites manuscripts which repose in private or public archives in Carácas. The most useful parts of the booklet are probably those in which he cites or quotes from those inedited documents. His investigation is incomplete, however, for, on the side of the Spanish archives, he merely cites the incomplete catalogue of Señor Torres Lanzas, while on the side of the English archives, he depends mainly upon the material cited in the reviewer's *Francisco de Miranda*. Still, Señor Ponte has produced a helpful study of the separation of Venezuela from Spain which supplements Rojas, *Los Hombres de la Revolución*, at many points.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

Campanas Navales de la República Argentina. Por Angel Justiniano Carranza. In four volumes. (Buenos Aires, Argentine Ministry of Marine, 1915-1916.) This is the last work of the distinguished Argentine historian Angel Justiniano Carranza, and was left unfinished at the time of his death. Dr. Juan José Biedma, the director of the National Archives, has revised it and added some valuable foot-notes. It is a valuable contribution to the history of the period 1810-1828, and the lack of any index is all the more to be regretted because of the admirable documentation and the sense of scientific research displayed throughout. Of particular interest to United States students of the period is the information regarding the United States privateers who frequented Buenos Aires, and who rendered such valuable service to the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata in their struggle for independence. Much original information is printed concerning their efforts, as well as regarding the material assistance given by the United States in the struggle for South American, and particularly Argentine, independence. The efforts of Thomas Lloyd Halsey, of Providence (whom Koebel, in his *English in South America*, page 498, calls an Englishman), United States consul at Buenos Aires from 1813 to 1818, are outlined, and particularly those of William P. White (October 11, 1770-January

3, 1842) of Boston, the "Father of the Argentine Navy". Another Bostonian, for whom a street has recently been named in Buenos Aires, was Benjamin Franklin Seaver, who was killed while serving as second in command of the Argentine naval forces at the attack on Martin García, on March 11, 1814. It is unfortunate that the author did not make use of the various English and United States works relating to the period in question, and even a short account of the economic condition of the River Plate countries at the time would have added to the value of the work, which is profusely illustrated with photographs of rare portraits of the period.

CHARLES LYON CHANDLER.

South America and the War. By F. A. Kirkpatrick. (Cambridge, University Press, 1918, pp. viii, 79, 4 sh. 6 d.) The scope of this small volume is not confined to the countries of South America, but as the author explains in his preface, is intended to embrace the whole field of Latin America. The book is divided into six chapters, preceded by a brief survey of the natural physical features and history of those countries, and contains a map showing Spanish and Portuguese settlements in the western hemisphere, as well as the modern republics that have grown out of those colonies.

The first three chapters, Political Currents and Forces, the German Outlook on Latin America, and the Economic War and Its Propaganda, describe the fruitless efforts of Germany to nullify the predominant influence of the United States in Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies, and permanently to entrench itself in the republics of the southern continent. The successive steps by which the United States has extended its sphere of influence among the northern republics are traced, and German agencies and methods for the promotion of good-will in Latin America are enumerated. Chapter IV., the Recognition of Latin America, treats very briefly of the attention paid to the cultivation of closer relations with Latin-American countries by France, the United States, Great Britain, and other countries. The author deplores the absence of any systematic effort to this end by the British, except through the natural channels of investment and trade.

The Effect of the War on the Republics is probably the chapter of most immediate and practical interest to the general reader. Some of the changes that have been brought about by forced isolation from Europe are shown, especially in connection with Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. It is pointed out that not only has there been a notable advance in the direction of economic self-sufficiency, but that all of the republics have been drawn into closer relationship among themselves. It is to be regretted that limitations of space did not permit of a fuller discussion along these lines. No reference is made, for instance, to the growth of the protectionist movement in such countries as Argentina

and Chile, and the effect of the war on commercial relations with the United States is virtually overlooked.

The concluding chapter on Pan-Americanism, the most significant, perhaps, of all, constitutes a protest against the idea of Pan-Americanism in the form in which it has hitherto been promulgated, and pleads for the creation of a broader union, which will include not only the United States and Latin America, but Great Britain, Portugal, France, and Canada as well. While the book is eminently fair to the United States, it is not difficult to perceive that one of its chief purposes is to serve as dignified, scholarly, and persuasive propaganda for the more active and intimate participation of Great Britain in the affairs of the Latin republics of America.

W. E. DUNN.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will take place at Cleveland on December 29, 30, and 31. Inevitably the programme will be in many respects different from that which was provided for the meeting intended to be held last December. A more detailed announcement will appear in our October number. The chairman of the programme committee is Professor Elbert J. Benton of Western Reserve University.

The Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools has held several sessions, and its various members have held an exceptionally large number of conferences with gatherings of teachers in different parts of the country. The committee does not now expect to publish its conclusions *in extenso* until some time during next winter, and after the Cleveland meeting of the Association. Meanwhile, however, it has printed in the *Historical Outlook* for May a suggestive course of study for the elementary and grammar grades, and, upon the basis of the many helpful criticisms thus elicited, is publishing in the June number of the same journal a definite outline of a course of study covering systematically the first six grades, the junior high school grades, and those of the senior high school. Briefly, work for the first six grades centres upon the making of the community and the making of the United States. That planned for the junior high school (grades 7-9), an important element in educational development just now, in whose work history and social studies are evidently destined to take a large place, is so arranged as to form a logical development, based on sound psychology, of the work given in the elementary grades, and to traverse the history of America and of the world in suitable mutual relations. A further cycle of three years, possible for the senior high school, will take up European and American history in a manner suitable for pupils whose preparation for citizenship can be longer. For details, we refer to the *Outlook* and to the syllabi which will ultimately be published, based, as all work of the committee has been, on co-operation with many teachers of history, as well as on the co-operation of teachers of allied subjects, and on the work of earlier committees of the Association.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission, Dr. Justin H. Smith chairman, has sent to the Government Printing Office the important *Autobiography of Martin Van Buren* (running to about 1830), to constitute vol. II. of the Association's *Annual Report* for 1918.

NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

With the ending of the war, the work of this war-time organization comes to an end. The vice-chairman, Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon, has in the last three months been almost entirely occupied with the work of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in Schools, which in February became, with some enlargement, a committee of the American Historical Association. A comprehensive account of the work of the Board will at some future time appear in the *Annual Report* of that Association.

One of the most important branches of the Board's service, insufficiently described in war time, has been the exploitation of practically complete files of a score of German newspapers, steadily received by the Board, by special means, through the whole period since the entrance of the United States into the war. With the conclusion of peace this work will be suspended. Dr. Victor S. Clark, who for the last seventeen months has been in charge of it, has maintained a constant supply, to the appropriate government offices, of translated extracts from these newspapers, comprising whatever would be most serviceable to each such office. It is now possible to announce that the Library of Congress and some eight or ten other of the chief libraries of the country will be furnished with complete sets of this material, each such set ultimately embracing more than 20,000 sheets of typewritten matter, of the greatest value to the history of the war as viewed in Germany. Much material relating to earlier periods has also been appearing in these German papers of late: as, for instance, the letters of Emperor William to the Emperor Francis Joseph upon the dismissal of Bismarck.

PERSONAL

Henry Morse Stephens, head of the department of history in the University of California since 1902, president of the American Historical Association in 1915, and a member of the Board of Editors of this journal from its foundation in 1895 to 1905, died suddenly on April 16. Born in England in 1857, he was educated at Haileybury and at Balliol College, Oxford, and for a time was occupied with journalistic writing, mostly relating to India and to modern history. From 1892 to 1894 he was lecturer in Indian history at Cambridge. In 1894 he came to America, as professor of modern European history in Cornell University, where he taught for eight years. His breadth of view, his intense interest in the history of the British Empire and its relations, the power of statement and of imagination by which he made modern history vivid to undergraduate minds, immediately gave his teaching fame and influence in America, while his genial social traits, his talent for friendship, and his gift of entertaining speech, speedily brought him a position of prominence among the members of the historical profession. He contributed actively and most generously to the foundation of this journal,

and a year or two later was of great service to the American Historical Association in a critical time. He had the keenest interest in the Association, and from the time when he came to America attended almost every annual meeting. In California, delighting in the state and its life, he not only built up a strong department of history in the university and fostered there the active study of California history, but did much useful work in spreading interest in history throughout the state. After earlier writings on *The Story of Portugal* and on *Albuquerque*, he had published in 1886 the first volume of a *History of the French Revolution*, which, with points of view new to the English-speaking public, new researches, and an unusual command of the recent French literature of the subject, bade fair to displace at last the classical narrative of Carlyle. A second volume appeared in 1892, but the work was never finished. The best of Stephens's work, however, lay always in the training of a group of specially devoted students, on whom he lavished time and thought and the inexhaustible riches of his friendship.

Sir John Pentland Mahaffy, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and formerly professor of ancient history and president of the Royal Irish Academy, died on April 30, at the age of eighty. He had published many admirable books, chiefly relating to Greek history, especially in the "silver" ages. The chief of them were *Prolegomena to Ancient History* (1871); *Greek Social Life from Homer to Menander* (1874); *History of Classical Greek Literature* (1880); *Greek Life and Thought from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (1887); *The Greek World under Roman Sway* (1890); and *The Empire of the Ptolemies* (1896). All were marked by an extraordinary combination of wide learning, ingenious thinking, keen literary appreciation, and captivating style. He was a man of varied accomplishments, who had excelled in cricket, rifle-shooting, salmon-fishing, and music, as well as in Greek scholarship. The charm of his friendship and conversation, of his warmth of heart and Irish wit, was irresistible.

Professor Max Farrand of Yale University has been granted leave of absence for the coming academic year and will act as general director of the Commonwealth Fund, a new philanthropic foundation established in New York City. Associate-professor Edgar E. Robinson of Stanford University will carry on his work during his absence. Mr. Robert H. George has been advanced to an assistant professorship.

At Columbia University Professor J. H. Robinson, after twenty-five years' service in the department of history, resigns his chair to connect himself with the Independent School of Social Research. Professor J. T. Shotwell will be on leave of absence for the next academic year and will be engaged in the work of the Carnegie Peace Endowment. Dr. C. J. H. Hayes has been promoted from associate professor to professor of history, Dr. R. L. Schuyler from assistant professor to associate professor. Professor Henry Johnson will be on leave of absence

throughout the next academic year. Dr. D. R. Fox becomes assistant professor of history.

At Princeton, Professor McElroy, after three years' absence, one year in China and two in the work of the National Security League, will return next fall to the department of history, as will also Professor Paul Van Dyke, who has been absent for two years at the American University Union in Paris.

In April Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago was lecturer at Wesleyan University on the George Slocum Bennett foundation. He delivered a course of six lectures on *Some Steps in the Development of American Democracy*. The lectures are to be published by the university in the fall.

Dr. Conyers Read of the University of Chicago has been promoted to be professor of history, and Dr. Arthur P. Scott to be assistant professor.

Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher of Washington University, St. Louis, has been promoted from assistant to associate professor of history; Dr. Carl Stephenson of the same institution, from instructor to assistant professor of history.

Professor William Trimble of the North Dakota Agricultural College has accepted an invitation to become professor of American history in the University of Idaho.

In the University of Colorado Dr. Thomas M. Marshall and Dr. Carl C. Eckhardt have been made associate professors of history.

In the University of California Professor H. E. Bolton has been made acting head of the department of history, Dr. E. I. McCormac professor of American history, Dr. L. J. Paetow professor of medieval history, Dr. C. E. Chapman associate professor of Latin-American and California history.

Dr. Percy A. Martin has been promoted to an associate professorship in Stanford University. Reginald G. Trotter of Harvard has been elected assistant professor to teach English history in succession to Professor Cannon, and Canadian history.

In the summer schools of the various universities, the following professors external to the regular staffs will be giving instruction in history: at Columbia, R. W. Rogers of Drew Theological Seminary and R. V. D. Magoffin of Johns Hopkins; at the Johns Hopkins University, J. M. Callahan of West Virginia; at Ohio State University, W. H. Allison of Colgate; at Chicago, I. J. Cox of Cincinnati, E. M. Hulme of Idaho, and W. E. Lingelbach of Pennsylvania; at the University of Wisconsin, D. C. Munro of Princeton; at the University of Texas, C. S. Boucher of Washington University, R. P. Brooks of Georgia, L. M. Larson of

Illinois, and T. M. Marshall of Colorado; at the University of California, W. M. Sloane of Columbia and Edgar Dawson of Hunter College.

GENERAL

A notable addition to the sixpenny series of *Helps for Students of History* which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is now publishing is *The Logic of History* (pp. 61) by C. G. Crump, a simple and remarkably comprehensive introduction to historical method. It should be of value not merely to the beginning historian but to the reader of history and to the secondary-school teacher. The university teacher of historical method also will find in it useful suggestions.

Mr. William R. Thayer gave this spring the Colver lectures in Brown University. The three discourses have been printed by the Houghton Mifflin Company under the title *Democracy: Discipline: Peace* (pp. 124), the object of his discussion being to compare democracy with other forms of government in respect to its ideals, its practices, its influence upon the education of human nature, and its tendencies with respect to militarism or the preservation of peace.

History for April has a paper on the Monroe Doctrine by the editor, Professor A. F. Pollard, one on the study of Russian history, by Sir Bernard Pares, and an anonymous paper on the problem of Dalmatia. The discussion of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the *Brut Tysilio*, by Dr. R. W. Chambers and Professor Flinders Petrie, is continued.

Under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles, a Congrès Français de la Syrie was held last January. The *Séances et Travaux* of its section of archaeology, history, geography, and ethnography has already appeared (Paris, Champion, pp. 252) and contains several papers of great learning and value and a variety of interesting notes respecting the historical relations between France and Syria. Especially noteworthy are papers of Professor Louis Bréhier of Clermont-Ferrand on the origin and nature of Charlemagne's protectorate in Syria; of Professor Eugène Duprat of Marseilles on the relations between Provence and the Levant from the fifth century to the Crusades; of Abbé Arnaud d'Agnel on the relations between Provence and the Orient in matters of art and artistic industries; and of Professor F. Macler, of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, on the history of the Armenians in Syria and in Palestine.

A volume of *Wissenschaftliche Vorträge gehalten auf Veranlassung Seiner Excellenz des Herrn Generalgouverneurs Generalobersten Hans von Beseler in Warschau in den Kriegsjahren 1916-17* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1918, pp. vii, 273), edited by Professor W. Paszkowski, contains fourteen articles and essays by leading German historical scholars, including one on Alexander the Great by Wilamowitz-Möllendorff; one on Oriental and Occidental civilization by Harnack, one on Ger-

manentum and the Church in the Middle Ages and one on Rome and Constantinople by Pfeilschifter, one on German power and civilization in the Baltic lands by Haller, one on Catherine II. by Schiemann, and one on Islam's *Weltanschauung* in Past and Present by Becker.

The Freedom of the Seas, by Miss Louise F. Brown, treats the subject in both its historical and its legal aspects, but in historical order (Dutton).

The World Peace Foundation publishes a brief pamphlet on *Great Britain, America, and Democracy*, by the expert hand of Professor E. D. Adams.

The Journal of Negro History for April opens with a paper by Robert E. Park on the Conflict and Fusion of Cultures with Special Reference to the Negro; but the main portion of the contents, 98 pages in fact, is given over to a scholarly and singularly valuable paper by Professor George F. Zook of Pennsylvania State College on the "Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa", 1660-1672, the predecessor of the Royal African Company, 1672-1752, on which latter Professor Zook promises to publish a subsequent monograph. The present paper, based on thorough research, fills most adequately a notable gap in history, important to the history of slavery in English America.

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: T. Lenschau, *Bericht über Griechische Geschichte, 1907-1914* (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, CLXXIV. 7); J. Toutain, *Antiquités Romaines, 1915-1918*, I. (Revue Historique, January); A. Rosenberg, *Bericht über Römische Staatsaltertümer, 1902-1916* (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, CLXXIV. 7).

It is, we presume, not too late to call attention to the remarkable paper by Professor Friedrich Hrozný of Vienna in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* for December, 1915, published later, in which he sets forth his sensational conclusions respecting the Hittite speech—briefly, that it was Indo-European, of the *centum* variety, allied to Latin and to Tocharish. These conclusions appear to be approved by most philologists, and the way seems open for great increase of knowledge of early Oriental history, through the Boghazkeui archives and other deposits.

In part XIII. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edited by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt (Egypt Exploration Fund), the principal matter is a body of fragments of a roll containing that portion of the lost history of Ephorus which dealt with the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. It contains a moderate amount of additional historical information and will help, after further study, to decide the interesting problem of the authorship of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*.

Messrs. Allen and Unwin have just published Professor Gilbert Murray's Creighton Lecture of 1918, entitled *Aristophanes and the War Party: a Study in the Contemporary Criticism of the Peloponnesian War*.

Professor William D. Gray of Smith College contributes to the *Smith College Studies in History*, as no. 3 of vol. IV., a learned *Study of the Life of Hadrian prior to his Accession*, intended as a preliminary to a life of that emperor.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Moret, *L'Écriture Hiéroglyphique en Égypte* (Scientia, February); B. Meissner, *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens zum Hattireiche nach Hattischen Quellen* (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, LXXII. 1); F. Thureau-Dangin, *La Chronologie de la Dynastie de Larsa* (Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale, XV. 1); A. Ungnad, *Die Synchronistischen Königslisten aus Assur* (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, LXXII. 3); A. Debrunner, *Die Besiedlung des Alten Griechenlandes im Licht der Sprachwissenschaft* (Neue Jahrbücher, XLI. 10); P. Cloché, *L'Affaire des Arginuses, 406 av. J.-C.* (Revue Historique, January); E. Meyer, *Vorläufer des Weltkriegs im Altertum* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918, IV.); Tenney Frank, *Agriculture in Early Latium* (American Economic Review, June).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

A small but useful partial bibliography of church history, from a Catholic point of view, by Father F. S. Betten, S. J., appears as the February *Bulletin* of the Catholic Educational Association.

Dr. Prosper Alfaric is the author of two volumes important for the history of the development of religious thought in the early Christian centuries, one on *Les Écritures Manichéennes, leur Constitution, leur Histoire, Étude Analytique* (Paris, Nourry, 1919, 2 vols., pp. iv, 154, 240), and one on *L'Évolution Intellectuelle de Saint Augustin; du Manichéisme au Néoplatonisme* (*ibid.*, pp. x, 558).

Recent volumes of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* are *Babai Magni Liber de Unione* (Paris, Gabalda, 1915, pp. vi, 306), edited by A. Vaschalde, and *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad Annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (*ibid.*, 1917, pp. v, 350), edited by I. B. Chabot.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. von Harnack, *Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der Inneren Organisation der Stadtrömischen Kirche* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918, XLIII.).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Massachusetts Historical Society has published, through the Houghton Mifflin Company, in the same handsome style as *The Educa-*

tion of Henry Adams, another book which Mr. Adams bequeathed to them, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*. Privately printed in 1912, the volume was published in 1913 by the same firm, under the auspices of the American Institute of Architects, and was reviewed in these pages (XIX. 592).

M. Georges Renard's small introductory book on medieval guilds has been translated into English under the title *Guilds in the Middle Ages* (London, Bell, pp. xxv, 140); an introduction by G. H. D. Cole supplements the original book with matter on the conditions in medieval England.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. P. Whitney, *Gregory VII.* (English Historical Review, April); A. Callebaut, *La Patrie du B. Jean Duns Scot* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, January); G. Golubovich, *Il B. Fr. Odorico da Pordenone, O. F. M.: Note Critiche Bibliografiche* (ibid.).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Professor C. van Vollenhoven, a law professor in the University of Leyden, prints in English a learned and informing but vivacious pamphlet which gains added interest to Americans from the author's diplomatic service in the United States during the past winter, *The Three Stages in the Evolution of the Law of Nations* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1919, pp. 101).

An Étude sur Mazarin et ses Démêlés avec le Pape Innocent X., 1644-1648 (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. vii, 197) by Henry Coville has appeared as the 210th issue of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

In commemoration of the establishment under the terms of the treaty of Vienna in 1816 of the Central Commission for Navigation of the Rhine, the Dutch government has at its request published two volumes of *Rijndocumenten, Documents concernant la Navigation du Rhin . . . , 1803-1918* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1918).

La Grecia e l'Italia nel Risorgimento Italiano (Florence, Libreria della Voce, 1918, pp. 280) is a timely study in view of the conflicting interests of the two nations at various points. The author is C. Kerofilas.

B. Bareilles has published *Le Rapport Secret sur le Congrès de Berlin adressé à la S. Porte par Carathéodory Pacha, Premier Plénipotentiaire Ottoman* (Paris, Bossard, 1919).

Under the direction of the French ministry of foreign affairs J. Basdevant is editing the *Traités et Conventions en Vigueur entre la France et les Puissances Étrangères*. The work will extend to four volumes, of which the first includes the nations from Germany (Allemagne) to Ecuador (Paris, Rousseau, 1919, pp. 770).

In a small volume of 224 pages, *The Society of Free States* (New York, Harper), Mr. Dwight W. Morrow brings together the fruits of attentive reading and thought, by a lawyer and financier, upon the previous endeavors toward some better organization of the world, a specially interesting account of the international agencies which have been forced upon the world, or upon the Allies, by the demands of commerce and the war with Germany (based mainly upon the author's experience during 1918 as one of the advisers of the Allied Maritime Transport Council), and a thoughtful consideration of the present efforts to reconcile national independence and a higher organization of nations.

Among the important historical pamphlets relating to the present problem of organization of the world is *The League of Nations: an Historical Argument*, by Professor A. F. Pollard (Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 68).

Les Problèmes Internationaux et le Congrès de la Paix, Vue d'Ensemble (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 120) is a convenient manual of the questions before the peace conference, prepared by A. Lugan.

A. Tamaro has issued the volume on eastern Venetia in a work on *La Venétie Julienne et la Dalmatie, Histoire de la Nation Italienne sur les Frontières Orientales* (Rome, Imp. du Senat, 1919, pp. 1034). The question of *Trieste et l'Istrie* (Paris, Yougoslavie, 1919) is handled by V. Primorac. In *L'Italia Irredenta* (Milan, Soc. Ed. Milanese, 1918, pp. 330), G. Pattini reviews events since 1860. Articles by leading Italian and Yugoslav publicists are included in the volume *Italia e Jugoslavia* (Florence, Libr. della Voce, 1918).

The small but by no means negligible part which Samoa has played in international affairs is competently unravelled by R. W. Watson in a *History of Samoa* (London, Whitcombe and Tombs).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lieut.-Col. C. Field, *The Rank and Office of Admiral* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); G. Drei, *Carteggio del Cardinale Ercole Gonzaga sul Concilio di Trento, 1561*, II. (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XLI. 1); W. R. Shepherd, *The Expansion of Europe*, I. (Political Science Quarterly, March); L. C. Watelin, *Les à Cotés d'un Traité, Utrecht, 1712* (Mercure de France, March 16); T. H. S. Escott, *The House of Rothschild* (Quarterly Review, April); Marquis de Girardin, *Lunéville en l'An IX., ou Petits Cotés du Traité de Lunéville: Journal d'un Témoin Oculaire* (Revue des Études Historiques, January); P. Marmottan, *La Mission de J. de Lucchesini à Paris en 1811*, I. (Revue Historique, January); J. Duhem, *La Frontière de l'Est et les Traités de 1815* (Mercure de France, February 1); W. A. Dunning, *European Theories of Constitutional Government after the Congress of Vienna* (Political Science Quarterly, March); E. de Guichen, *Les Relations Commerciales Russo-Allemandes du XIX^e au XX^e Siècle et le Problème*

Agricole Allemand (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, April); A. Chevrillon, *Aux Pays d'Alsace et de Lorraine, Décembre 1918*, I.-II. (Revue de Paris, April 1, 15); A. Aulard, *Landau et Sarrelouis, Villes Françaises* (Revue de Paris, March 15); M. Benedetti, *Fiume nella Storia della sua Italianità* (Nuova Antologia, December 1); L. Leger, *La Yougoslavie et les Slovènes* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, February 15); A. Gauvain, *La Conférence de la Paix* (Revue de Paris, April 15).

THE GREAT WAR

Messrs. Constable (London) have issued under the auspices of the Ministry of Information, vol. I. (1914-1915) of a *Chronology of the War* edited by Maj.-Gen. Lord Edward Gleichen, a small volume, accompanied by a war atlas.

Of some service as an introduction to the German publications of the earlier years of the war is *Die Deutsche Kriegsliteratur: Wegweiser durch die Wichtigsten Werke über die Probleme des Weltkriegs* (Dresden, Lehmann, 1917, pp. 50), by Dr. J. Hohlfeld.

A convenient *Manuel des Origines de la Guerre, Causes Lointaines, Cause Immédiate* (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 500) has been compiled by Fernand Roches.

Volume III. of Frank H. Simonds's *History of the World War* has come from the press (Doubleday, Page, and Company).

Volumes XIX., XX., and XXI. of Messrs. Nelson's *History of the War*, by John Buchan, have come from the press. The volumes are entitled: the Spring Campaigns of 1917, the Summer Campaigns of 1917, and the Fourth Winter of the War, respectively.

The World War and its Consequences, by William H. Hobbs, comprises a series of lectures delivered at the University of Pittsburgh in the summer of 1918. The volume has an introduction by Theodore Roosevelt.

A number of important books by leading men of the war period are appearing in Germany. The first of such to appear seems to be Dr. Karl Helfferich's *Die Urgeschichte des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, Ullstein) which, judging from a German summary, must certainly be of great importance. A lesser account, already published, is *Am Scheidewege zwischen Krieg und Frieden*, by Count Pourtalès, who in July, 1914, was German ambassador in St. Petersburg. Dr. Otto Hammann, for more than twenty years chief of the press bureau of the German Foreign Office, has published two volumes of his memoirs, under the title *Zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges: Erinnerungen aus den Jahren 1897-1906*. It was expected that Lüdendorff's *Meine Kriegserinnerungen 1914-1918* (Berlin, E. S. Mittler and Son) would be published in June. Von Jagow's *Ursachen und Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, Hobbing) has just appeared. Pro-

fessor Ferdinand Tönnies of Kiel has published a short book entitled *Die Schuldfrage: Russlands Urheberchaft nach Zeugnissen aus dem Jahre 1914* (Berlin, Stilke, 1919), which reviews the secret documents from the Russian archives published by the Bolshevists. The spring book-lists announce also two comprehensive volumes written by Bethmann-Hollweg, one by Falkenhayn, and a work produced in combination by Admiral von Tirpitz, Lieut.-Gen. von Stein, and Col. von Lettow-Vorbeck.

In addition to a body of documents dating from July 24 to September 4, 1914, dealing with the preliminaries of the war, the eighty-sixth volume of *Das Staatsarchiv* reprints about sixty documents on Austro-Hungarian relations to Balkan affairs from August 13, 1912, to January 8, 1913, originally printed in Vienna in 1914. A new monthly review, *Les Archives de la Guerre* (Paris, Chiron; annual subscription, 36 francs) made its initial appearance in March, and bears the device, "Des Faits racontés par leurs Témoins".

The authorship of the two remarkable indictments of Germany's part in the war entitled *I Accuse* and *The Crime* has been disclosed. The writer was Richard Grelling, a Jewish lawyer and socialist. It has also become known that Hermann Sudermann was the author of the famous manifesto of "the ninety-three" German scholars and literary men.

In the series of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, edited by Professor David Kinley, and published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, two new issues have appeared which have the size of books, and the value of thoroughgoing treatises: *Influence of the Great War upon Shipping*, by Professor J. Russell Smith of the University of Pennsylvania (pp. ix, 357), and *The Effects of the Great War upon Agriculture in the United States and Great Britain*, by Professor Benjamin H. Hibbard of the University of Wisconsin (pp. ix, 232).

The former French minister of war, General Zurlinden, in *La Guerre de Libération* (Paris, Hachette, 1919, 2 vols.) has recorded his observations on the military operations and their conduct. Colonel F. Feyler, the Swiss military critic, has added to his volumes on the war *Problèmes de Stratégie tirés de la Guerre Européenne, le Problème de la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 282) in which he has discussed the operations in general. The problem of the first weeks of the war is the subject of *L' "Erreur" de 1914, Réponse aux Critiques* (Paris, Van Oest, 1919) by General Berthaut. General Berthaut has also furnished a useful survey of the war on the western front in *De la Marne à la Mer du Nord, Vues d'Ensemble sur les Opérations Militaires, 1914-1918* (Paris, Van Oest, 1919).

Not many personal narratives of the war can hereafter be noticed in these pages, but *Vingt Jours de Guerre aux Temps Héroïques*, by

Commandant A. Grasset (Paris, Berger-Levrault), has an unusual claim to attention because of being based on the diary of an infantry officer who at the beginning of the war was a member of the historical section of the General Staff. The narrative relates first to the mobilization and other affairs in Paris, then to events at Verdun, to the battle at Ette, and to German atrocities in that town.

Three concise accounts of phases of the Great War, chiefly useful to students of military history, are *La Campagne de l'Armée Belge (31 juillet 1914-1 janvier 1915)*, from official documents (Paris, Bloud and Gay); *De Liège à la Marne*, by Pierre Dauzet (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle); and *La Bataille des Flandres (16 octobre-15 novembre 1914)*, by the same (*ibid.*).

Three Years with the Ninth Division, by Brig.-Gen. W. Croft (London, Murray), is a history of the operations of the Lowland Scottish Division of the Second Army in Flanders.

In *Près des Combattants* (Paris, Hachette, 1918), André Chevrillon has again exercised his admirable descriptive powers. An essay by J. Civray discusses *L'Avant-Guerre comparée en Allemagne et en France* (Paris, Perrin, 1919).

Falkland, Jutland, and the Bight, by Commander the Hon. Barry Bingham (London, Murray), is based on a series of lectures which the captain of the *Nestor* gave to his fellow-prisoners in Germany, after the sinking of that ship, which had been engaged in all the battles named.

Mutually complementary accounts of the same naval exploit are found in *Zeebrugge and Ostend Dispatches*, the documents in the case, edited by Professor C. Sanford Terry (Humphrey Milford), and in *Dover during the Dark Days*, by Lieut.-Comm. Stanley W. Coxon, R. N. V. R. (John Lane).

Three Years of War in East Africa, by Capt. Angus Buchanan of the 25th Royal Fusiliers, was published by Murray in May.

The support rendered by the colonies of the several allied nations in the conduct of the war and the share borne by the colonial troops has been recounted and appraised by P. Perreau-Pradier and M. Besson in *L'Effort Colonial des Alliés* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919). A single illustration is more fully depicted by L. Bocquet and E. Hosten in *Un Fragment de l'Épopée Sénégalaise, les Tirailleurs Noirs sur l'Yser* (Paris, Van Oest, 1918).

Les Étapes de la Crise Grecque, 1915-1918 (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 294) have been recounted by C. Fregier, while Demetra Vaka has tried to untangle *Les Intrigues Germaniques en Grèce* (Paris, Plon, 1919).

The *Souvenirs* (Paris, Payot, 1919) of the Rumanian statesman

Take Jonescu shed considerable light on the origins of the war as well as on the relations of Rumania thereto; the latter topic is also discussed by Professor J. Ursu of Jassy in *Pourquoi la Roumanie a fait la Guerre* (*ibid.*, pp. 288). Lieutenant M. Sturdza has recorded his experiences *Avec l'Armée Roumaine, 1916-1918* (Paris, Hachette, 1918). *Roumania's Sacrifice, her Past, Present, and Future* (New York, Century, 1918, pp. xxii, 265) is a translation by Mrs. C. de S. Wainright from the work of Senator G. Negulesco.

The French ministry of foreign affairs has published a pamphlet containing the *Conventions d'Armistice passées avec la Turquie, la Bulgarie, l'Autriche-Hongrie, et l'Allemagne par les Puissances Alliés et Associées* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1919, pp. 40).

German rule in Alsace has furnished the subject for the following volumes: *L'Alsace sous la Domination Allemande* (Paris, Colin, 1918), by F. Eccard; *Les Alsaciens sous le Joug Allemand* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1918, pp. 36), by the late C. Wagner; and *Le Poing Allemand en Lorraine et en Alsace, 1871, 1914, 1918* (Paris, Floury, 1918), by A. Fribourg. Pilant's *Essai sur le Sentiment Français en Alsace* (Paris, Bossard, 1918) affords some evidence of the attitude of the people of these provinces.

The historical and other bases for French claims to the left bank of the Rhine are set forth by Abbé S. Coube in *Alsace-Lorraine et France Rhénane, Exposé des Droits de la France sur la Rive Gauche du Rhin* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1919); by E. Darsy in *Les Droits Historiques de la France sur la Rive Gauche du Rhin* (Paris, Tenin, 1919, pp. 150); and by R. Johannet in *France et Rhin* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1919, pp. 256). For the situation in these districts since the armistice H. Bordeaux's *Sur le Rhin* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. 336) and F. Funck-Brentano's *La France sur le Rhin* (Paris, Tenin, 1919) may be consulted.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Hanotaux, *Le Manoeuvre de la Marne* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 15); Maj. T. E. Compton, *The Campaign of 1914 in East Prussia* (*Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, February); G. Lyon, *Dans Lille Occupée* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 1); F. Gribble, *The Medical History of Ruhlleben* (*Edinburgh Review*, April); Anon., *The Record of the Australian Forces in the War* (*Round Table*, March); A. Marvaud, *Le Portugal et la Guerre* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, February 15); Admiral Degouy, *Les Répercussions* (*Revue de Paris*, March 1); A. Mérignhac, *Les Usurpations de Souveraineté dans la Guerre Actuelle* (*Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, December, January); J. M. Mathews, *Political Parties and the War* (*American Political Science Review*, May); H. Köppe, *Schriften über den Kriegssozialismus* (*Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, VIII. 1).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

An important contribution to the history of manorial conditions is *The History of an East Anglian Soke* (to wit, the soke of Gimmingham) by Mrs. Ivo Hood (Bedford, *Bedfordshire Times* Publishing Company, 1918), a large volume full of documentary and other material.

In conjunction with a note on the manuscripts of the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, in the April number of the *English Historical Review*, Miss Dorothy Hodnett and Miss Winifred White present the text of a fifteenth-century English version of the *Modus*.

The Surtees Society prints as vol. CXXIX. of its publications (London, Quaritch, pp. lxxii, 356) a valuable body of documents concerning *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers*, 1356-1917.

The second volume of Dr. James H. Wylie's *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, which was nearly ready for the press when Dr. Wylie died, has been published by the Cambridge University Press. The volume covers the years 1415-1416.

The Canterbury and York Society has published the fifth part, running to 1572, of the *Registrum Matthei Parker*, edited by the Rev. Dr. W. H. Frere.

From contemporary manuscripts, both official and unofficial, Lord Ernest Hamilton has completed a volume on *Elizabethan Ulster* which Messrs. Hurst and Blackett (London) have lately published.

The Royal Historical Society expects before long to publish the fourth volume of the *Nicholas Papers*, edited by Sir G. F. Warner.

A valuable history of a famous regiment (the "Fifth Foot") is Mr. H. M. Walker's *History of the Northumberland Fusiliers, 1694-1906*.

Lord Ilchester has a work in preparation, based on a considerable range of unpublished material, in his own possession and that of friends and relatives, on *Henry Fox, First Lord Holland: His Family and Relations, 1705-1774* (Murray).

George O'Brien's *The Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Maunsell) is a careful and fair-minded book, which, however, strongly urges the view that legislative independence, 1782-1800, brought much increase of prosperity to the island.

The Cambridge University Press is soon to publish an essay on *Palmerston and the Hungarian Crisis* by the late Charles Sproston.

M. Beer's *Geschichte des Sozialismus in England* (1912) is the basis of *A History of British Socialism*, though the English version is in many respects newer. Volume I. (London, Bell, pp. xxi, 361) carries the history down to Chartism; a second volume will complete the work.

Mrs. Ethel H. Thomson's *Life and Letters of William Thomson, Archbishop of York* (London, John Lane) is an important contribution

to English ecclesiastical history in the Victorian period and to the knowledge of a valuable life and character.

A French survey of the internal politics of England in recent years is *L'Angleterre avant et pendant la Guerre; l'Angleterre sous les Gouvernements Radicaux; l'Angleterre depuis 1914* (Paris, Grasset, 1919, pp. 128) by P. Reynaud.

Among the preliminary economic studies of the war published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, no. 8 is a substantial volume on *British War Administration* by Professor John A. Fairlie (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 302) in which a great mass of information on the organization of administrative agencies in the United Kingdom down to the end of 1917, and in some matters to a later date, has been presented.

In the *Scottish Historical Review* for April the chief article is one by Mr. Robert Lamond on the Scottish Craft-gild as a Religious Fraternity; Mr. Horatio F. Brown has a paper on Newhall on the North Esk; Mr. David Baird Smith prints a group of letters of 1780 and 1781 from Provost Hugh Wyllie, illustrating Glasgow conditions in that troubled year; Mr. Walter W. Seton prints a group of interesting letters of 1767 from Henry, Cardinal York.

The latest report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland indicates that the *Guide to the Records in the Public Record Office in Ireland*, delayed by reason of the war and attendant difficulties, will before long be printed and issued.

The Irish Convention and Sinn Féin (Dublin, Maunsell, 1918, pp. 194) by W. B. Wells and N. Marlowe continues the narrative of events from their *History of the Irish Rebellion of 1916* through April, 1918.

Documentary publications: *Select Cases before the King's Council, 1243-1482*, ed. J. F. Baldwin (Publications of the Selden Society, vol. XXXVI.); *Year Books of Edward II.*, vol. XV., 6 and 7 Edward II., A. D. 1313, ed. W. C. Bolland (Selden Society); *The Register of Thomas Myllyng, Bishop of Hereford, 1474-1492*, ed. A. P. Bannister (Hereford, Wilson and Phillips).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Pokorny, *Beiträge zur Ältesten Geschichte Irlands*, I.-II. (Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, XI. 2, XII. 1, 3); G. T. Lapsley, *Knights of the Shire in the Parliaments of Edward II.* [concl.] (English Historical Review, April); E. R. Turner, *Parliament and Foreign Affairs, 1603-1760* (*ibid.*).

FRANCE

General reviews: G. Pagès, *Histoire de France de 1660 à 1789* (1914-1918) (Revue Historique, November); R. Reuss, *Histoire de France, Révolution* (*ibid.*, January).

The seventh volume, for the years 1904-1906, of the valuable *Répertoire de l'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine de la France* (Paris, Rieder, 1919, pp. 413) compiled by Brière and Caron, has appeared. When the volume for the years 1907-1909, now in preparation, shall have appeared the work will have covered the publications from 1898 to 1913. A portion of the earlier publications, it will be remembered, have been catalogued by P. Caron in his *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de France depuis 1789*. M. Caron and E. Saulnier are now engaged in preparing a *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de France de 1500 à 1789*, which will complete the undertaking down to the eve of the war.

Vicomte Georges d'Avenel has added to his remarkable *Histoire Économique de la Propriété, des Salaires, des Denrées, et de tous les Prix en général depuis 1200 jusqu'en 1800* a sixth volume (Paris, Leroux, 1919) which deals with *L'Évolution des Dépenses Privées*. The increase in comforts and conveniences, the improvement in the quantity, variety, and quality of foods and in the table service, the changes in the size, character, and accommodations of houses and the extent and improvement of grounds both in city and country, domestic service, and other topics are considered in connection with carefully prepared tables which show the changing costs as well as the changes in the returns actually enjoyed. The relative advantages to rich and poor in former times and at present are brought out in illuminating fashion.

A careful detailed account by C. G. Picavet describes *Les Dernières Années de Turenne, 1660-1675* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1919), with special reference to his later campaigns.

A biographical account of *Le Marquis de Marigny, 1727-1781* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1918, pp. 243), by A. Marquiset, is an interesting contribution to the history of art and architecture in France in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Marigny was a younger brother of Madame de Pompadour, who secured for him the position of director general of buildings and fine arts.

The Paris publisher Champion has recently brought out three useful aids to research in the history of France. A. Marquiset has compiled a *Table Alphabétique des Noms Propres cités dans les Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France pendant le XVIII^e Siècle et publiés par MM. F. Barrière et de Lescure* (pp. vii, 176); L. Le Grand has catalogued *Les Sources de l'Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution aux Archives Nationales* (pp. 210); a *Bibliographie des Historiques des Régiments Français* (pp. xiv, 354) has been prepared by Captain J. Hanoteau and E. Bonnot.

Dr. A. Denys-Burette has made an extended study of *Les Questions Religieuses dans les Cahiers de 1789* (Paris, Boccard, 1919). Professor A. Aulard has investigated the survivals of feudalism from the Fourth of August, 1789, to the decree of the National Convention, July 17, 1793,

which abolished the remaining relics, in *La Révolution Française et le Régime Féodal* (Paris, Alcan, 1919, pp. iv, 290); and has published the twenty-fifth volume of his *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public, avec la Correspondance Officielle des Représentants en Mission* (Paris, Leroux, 1919, pp. 804) which covers the period from June 30 to July 28, 1795. Professor Marcel Marion has dealt with the years 1789-1792 in the second volume of his *Histoire Financière de la France depuis 1715* (Paris, Rousseau, 1919, pp. 390).

H. M. Hyndman's *Clemenceau, the Man and his Times* (New York, Stokes, pp. xiv, 338), a well-written biography, is stated in the preface to be the fruit of a long personal acquaintance and to have been prepared with considerable help from the subject.

A volume of *Messages, Discours, Allocutions, Lettres, et Télégrammes* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1919, pp. 320) of President Raymond Poincaré includes material from the years 1914-1918.

C. E. Curinier has edited a convenient manual of biographical sketches of contemporary Frenchmen entitled *Dictionnaire National des Contemporaines* (Paris, Office Général d'Édition, de Librairie, et d'Imprimerie, 1918, pp. vii, 352).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. Behrens, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Französischen Sprache* (Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Litteratur, XLV. 3); H. Stein, *Pierre Tristan, Chambellan de Philippe Auguste, et sa Famille* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXVIII.); A. Callebaut, *Les Provinciaux de la Province de France au XIII^e Siècle, Notes, Documents, et Études* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, July, 1918); C. de la Roncière, *Le Passage Nord-Est et la Compagnie Française du Pôle Arctique au Temps de Henri IV.* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXVIII.); F. Puaux, *Origines, Causes, et Conséquences de la Guerre des Camisards* [concl.] (Revue Historique, November); Lilian Knowles, *New Light on the Economic Causes of the French Revolution* (Economic Journal, March); H. E. Bourne, *Food Control and Price-Fixing in Revolutionary France* (Journal of Political Economy, February, March); G. Bourgin, *Note sur la Correspondance de Napoléon I^{er} et les Documents Napoléoniens conservés aux Archives de la Marine* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, March); Commandant Weil, *L'Attentat de Fieschi: Lettres Inédites* (Revue de Paris, March 15); W. Windelband, *Der Nationalismus in der Französischen Geschichtsschreibung seit 1871* (Deutsche Rundschau, August).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Professor Jules Gay of the University of Lille is the author of a scholarly monograph on *L'Italia Meridionale e l'Impero Bizantino dall'Avvenuto di Basilio I. alla Resa di Bari ai Normanni, 867-1071* (Florence, Libr. della Voce, 1917).

A new volume in the *Great Nations* series (London, Harrap) is *Italy from Dante to Tasso*, by H. B. Cotterill, which continues that author's *Medieval Italy*, in the same series, and narrates the political history of three centuries from the point of view of the chief cities.

A. Pingaud has supplemented his excellent history of the Italian Republic with a series of biographical studies on *Les Hommes d'État de la République Italienne, 1802-1805* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 236).

An extended account of *Il Quarantotto in Toscana* (Florence, Bemporad, 1919, pp. 592) comes from the pen of F. Martini.

In no. 21 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas* (Seville), Señor Ramón de Manjarrés completes his study of Spanish explorations of the Pacific in the eighteenth century, and Professor Germán Latorre his study of Diego Ribero. No. 22 makes a beginning of a catalogue, by *legajos*, of the Archivo General de Indias, with sixteen pages listing the contents of part of the "*Patronato*".

The Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas has begun the publication at Barcelona of a *Colección General de Documentos relativos á las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla*. The plan, which is a colossal one, involves some 60,000 documents. The first volume (1493-1518) contains 47 documents, thirty of which have never been published before, relating mostly to the demarcation disputes of Spain and Portugal and to the voyage of Magellan.

Dr. A. Mounier has presented as his thesis at the University of Bordeaux *Les Faits et la Doctrine Économique en Espagne sous Philippe V., Gerónimo de Uztariz, 1670-1732* (Bordeaux, Cadoret, 1919, pp. 302).

A small volume entitled *Guerra de España contra Estados Unidos en 1804* (Madrid, Beltran, 1918, pp. xvi, 128, lvi), by Admiral Macdonnell contains documents and a variety of supplementary material.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Castellani, *Il Tribuno Cola di Rienzo nei "Fragmenta Romanae Historiae" dell' Anonimo* (Civiltà Cattolica, April 19); F. Valls-Taberner, *Relacions Familiars i Politiques entre Jaume el Conqueridor i Afons el Savi* (Bulletin Hispanique, January); E. Armstrong, *The Empire of Spain* (Quarterly Review, April).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The librarian of the University of Nancy, J. M. Tourneur-Aumont, has written some important *Études de Cartographie Historique sur l'Alemanie, Régions du Haut-Rhin et du Haut-Danube du III^e au VIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Colin, 1919, pp. 322), and prepared accompanying maps.

An essay on *Der Deutsche Staat des Mittelalters* (Jena, Fischer, 1918, pp. vii, 186) is by Professor F. Keutgen of Jena.

Much additional light on the history of Germany in the nineteenth century and especially on the movements toward unity is afforded by the

Briefwechsel zwischen König Johann von Sachsen und den Königen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und Wilhelm I. von Preussen (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, pp. 522), edited by Prince Johann Georg of Saxony, grandson of King John. That cultivated and intelligent monarch was the brother-in-law of Frederick William IV.; the correspondence extends over the whole period from 1825 to 1873.

Paul Wentzcke has made a considerable contribution to the history of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany in *Thüringische Einigungsbestrebungen im Jahre 1848, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Deutschen Einheitsbewegung* (Jena, Fischer, 1917, pp. viii, 321). The volume also contains some letters of Moritz Seebeck from Frankfort and Berlin in the years 1848-1851.

Professor Erich Brandenburg's important *Die Reichsgründung* has advanced to a second edition (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 2 vols., pp. 458, 459) and is accompanied by a volume of new materials (*e. g.*, from the papers of Ludolf Camphausen), dissertations, excursus, and notes, *Untersuchungen und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Reichsgründung* (*ibid.*, pp. 743).

L'Opinion Allemande pendant la Guerre, 1914-1918 (Paris, Perrin, 1919) by André Hallays has appeared in book form. Portions of the work attracted much attention when they appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* some months since.

We are informed that the new government of German Austria has laid open to historical investigators the archives of its Foreign Office down to 1894.

V. Bibl is editing for the Commission for Austrian History *Die Korrespondenz Maximilians II.* The first volume (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1916, pp. xlv, 643) contains the family correspondence for the years 1564-1566.

The historian of Napoleon, A. Fournier, has published *Oesterreich-Ungarns Neubau unter Kaiser Franz-Joseph I.* (Berlin, Ullstein, pp. 200).

The now celebrated lecture which Count Czernin, formerly foreign minister of Austria-Hungary, delivered in Vienna on December 11, 1918, is printed in the issues of the *International Review* for February and March of this year.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Norden, *Germani: ein Gram-matisch-Ethnologisches Problem* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918, V.); P. Pendzig, *Die Griechischen Studien im Deutschen Mittelalter* (Neue Jahrbücher, XLII. 9); R. Steck, *Zwingli und Bern* (Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift, January 22); V. Fleury, *Les Précurseurs de la République Allemande: Disciples et Successeurs de Boerne* (La Révolution de 1848, December); G. Ferrero, *Bismarck e Guglielmo II.* (Revue des Nations Latines,

April 1); A. Hallays, *La Révolution en Allemagne* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 5); Anon., *German Democracy at the Cross Roads: the Old and the New German Constitutions* (Round Table, March); Rubicon, *The Hungarian Revolution*, I. (New Europe, April 17).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Dutch Commission for Historical Publications has issued the tenth and concluding volume of its monumental *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795 tot 1840* (ed. H. T. Colenbrander), a volume containing, among other things of the years 1830-1840, a rich store of Dutch, English, French, Prussian, Austrian, Russian, etc., diplomatic documents concerning the Belgian question of that period. The sixth and last volume of the *Leidsche Textielnijverheid* and the fourth volume of the documents on the University of Leyden have either appeared or are on the point of appearing. Vol. III. of the *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal* (1580-1582) has also been published, and Dr. Poelman's volume of *Ostzeehandel tot 1500*. The commission expects before long to begin the publication of a mass of papers collected by Dr. Colenbrander from various foreign archives, illustrative of the Dutch maritime wars of 1652-1676.

The *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks oude Archieven* for 1917 (vol. XL of the series) has a section respecting the archives of Surinam. The older series of the archives of Curaçao have partly been transferred to the Rijksarchief in the Hague; the remainder of them and the older series of Surinam will follow. An index of the entire series of *Verslagen* from 1865 is in preparation.

During the last two years the *Geschiedkundige Atlas van Nederland* has made a large advance by the publication of "Kaart 8", in twelve sheets, with 141 pages of text, prepared by Professor Blok and Lieutenant Beekman and exhibiting the Seventeen Provinces in 1555.

The publication of an *Atlas de Géographie Historique de la Belgique* has begun under the direction of Professor L. van der Essen of the University of Louvain, with the collaboration of MM. Ganshof, Maury, and Nothomb (Brussels and Paris, G. van Oest). The work will contain seven fascicles, with thirteen maps, to be completed in 1919. The first installment to appear is a useful map of the Austrian Netherlands in 1786, with fifteen pages of historical text.

La Prussification du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg depuis sa Séparation de la Belgique en 1839 jusqu'à la Guerre Mondiale (Paris, Van Oest, 1919, pp. 95) is a brief survey of the matter both in its international and in its domestic aspects, by E. Simonis.

Noteworthy in the highest degree among the publications of this spring respecting the war is *Belgium: a Personal Narrative* (Appleton, two vols., pp. xi, 661; vi, 818), by Hon. Brand Whitlock, American minister to that court.

Étapes du Nationalisme Belge (Paris, Van Oest, 1918, pp. 232) are reviewed by P. Nothomb; F. Passelecq has recounted the experiences and behavior of *La Magistrature Belge contre le Despotisme Allemand* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918).

The past and future importance of Antwerp, especially in matters economic, is set forth with great fullness by C. Stiénon in *Anvers et l'Avenir de l'Entente: de l'Influence Prépondérante des Moyens de Transport dans la Lutte Économique* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Française, 1918).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Baron Beyens, *S. M. Albert Ier, Roi des Belges* (Revue Hebdomadaire, March 1).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Fornvännen for 1916, just published for the Swedish Academy of Antiquities (Stockholm, Wahlström and Widstrand, 1919, pp. 256, ix, 58), contains a valuable general account of gold-work of the Bronze Age found in Sweden (62 pp.) by Professor Oscar Montelius, papers on stone and bronze weapons, on graves with Roman potteries, and on the relations of sculptures found on the island of Gottland to those of Cologne and Byzantium, the last by J. Roosval, whose illustrated work on *Die Steinmeister Gottlands* was published last year. The academy has completed the second volume (ed. Erik Brate) of *Sveriges Runinskrifter*, containing the inscriptions found in Östergötland.

In bequeathing the Fiske Icelandic Collection to the library of Cornell University, the late Professor Willard Fiske provided for an annual publication relating to Iceland and the collection. Of this series, *Islandica*, edited by the accomplished hand of Mr. Halldor Hermannsson, several preceding volumes have been noted in these pages. The eleventh (1918, pp. 100) is an interesting survey of Iceland's periodical literature from 1696 to 1874. The public men of Iceland, Jón Sigurðsson and the like, have been so closely identified with its periodicals that the monograph is a valuable contribution to the political history of the island.

Baron P. Graevenitz describes events from 1905 to 1918 and undertakes to reveal the causes and forces at work in *From Autocracy to Bolshevism* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1918, pp. 128). A similar survey from the anti-Bolshevist side is *De Nicolas II. à Lénine* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 366), by S. Persky. E. P. Stebbing has recorded observations from March to November, 1917, in *From Czar to Bolshevik* (London, Lane, 1918, pp. xv, 322); Serge de Chessin extends his account into 1918 in *Au Pays de la Démence Rouge, la Révolution Russe, 1917-1918* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. xii, 496); E. Antonelli, a military attaché of the French legation, furnishes a narrative from October, 1917, to the summer of 1918 in *La Russie Bolcheviste* (Paris, Grasset, 1919). The

third volume of Claude Anet's valuable *La Révolution Russe* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 288) carries the narrative from November, 1917, to January, 1918, and the fourth volume which is just appearing will continue to June, 1918.

The Princess Cantacuzène's *Revolutionary Days: Recollections of Romanoffs and Bolsheviki, 1914-1917*, which has been appearing serially, is now published in book form by Small, Maynard, and Company. The author is a granddaughter of Gen. U. S. Grant.

The student of Bolshevism in Russia must by no means neglect M. V. Victorov-Toporov's *La Première Année de la Révolution Russe, or Les Bolchéviki, 1917-1919: Faits, Documents, Commentaires* (Paris, Fischbacher), by Étienne Buisson.

Some phases of the Polish problem are presented with their historical background by K. Waliszewski in *La Pologne Inconnue* (Paris, Colin, 1919, pp. 276), and by M. Seyda in *Territoires Polonais sous la Domination Prussienne* (Paris, Comité National Polonais, 1919, pp. xix, 137).

Twenty maps with French and English text are published by N. P. Comnène in *La Terre Roumaine à travers les Ages, Atlas Historique, Politique, et Ethnographique* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 58). A. C. Popovici has discussed *La Question Roumaine en Transylvanie et en Hongrie* (*ibid.*, pp. 230); E. Guerive, *La Bucovine et le Banat* (Paris, Alcan, 1919); and D. Draghicesco, *La Transylvanie, Esquisse Historique, Géographique, Ethnographique, et Statistique* (*ibid.*, pp. III, 116).

R. Yovanovitch has a volume on *Les Croates et l'Autriche-Hongrie* (Paris, Yougoslavie, 1918, pp. x, 281).

General discussions of the Yugoslav problem are furnished by V. Primorac in *La Question Yougo-Slave, Étude Historique, Économique, et Sociale* (Paris, Yougoslavie, 1918, pp. 302); by A. Gauvain in *La Question Yougoslave* (Paris, Bossard, 1918); by J. Duhem in *La Question Yougoslave, la Monarchie Danubienne et l'Europe, 1878-1918* (Paris, Alcan, 1919, pp. 225). Charles Rivet, as correspondent of the *Temps*, records recent observations in *Chez les Slaves Libérés: En Yougoslavie* (Paris, Perrin, 1919).

In *La Situation Internationale de la Grèce, 1821-1917* (Zürich, *Die Verbindung*, 1918, pp. lxiv, 256), Dr. Charles Strupp presents in convenient form, and almost entirely in French, all the documents most important for the history of the independence of Greece and of its relations to the great powers, with a full historical, and partly argumentative, introduction, also in French.

Not without *Tendenz*, of course, yet useful to the student of history are the following two publications. *The Dodecanese*, by Dr. Skevos Zervos (pp. 80, and 322 photographic illustrations), is published by the executive committee of the inhabitants of the islands (Paris, 4 rue de

Messine) in order to present their cause before the peace conference. It describes the islands and traces their history from Homer's time down. With a similar purpose the Cypriote deputation, consisting of the Archbishop of Cyprus and various members of the legislative council, presents a *Memorandum on the Island of Cyprus* (London, Hesperia Press, pp. 64) containing facts and documents relative to the Cypriote plea for union with Greece.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Hoijer, *Les Rapports Suédo-Russes et la Finlande dans le Passé et dans le Présent* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, February 15); L. Pingaud, *L'Empereur Alexandre Ier, Roi de Pologne: la "Kongressovka", 1801-1825* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXII. 4); G. P. Steklov, *Alexander Herzen und Nikolai Tschernischewsky* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Socialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, VIII.); Baron Korff, *The Russian and French Revolutions* (Yale Review, April); G. Zinoviev, *Der Russische Sozialismus und Liberalismus über die Auswärtige Politik des Zarismus* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, VIII. 1); R. Hoenigen, *Untersuchungen zum Suchomlinov-Prozess* (Deutsche Rundschau, April, 1918); B. Savinkov, *L'Affaire Korniloff* (Mercure de France, April 1); Anon., *Bolshevik Aims and Bolshevik Ideals* (Round Table, March); Prince A. Wolkonsky, *Le Origini della Russia Moderna e la Propaganda Ucrainofila* (Nuova Antologia, January 1); Louise Weiss, *Trois Fondateurs de la République Tchéco-Slovaque* (Revue de Paris, March 1); V. Beneš, *What We Have Accomplished* (Czechoslovak Review, March); F. L. Schoell, *Le Roi s'Amuse: the Diary of King Ferdinand's Secretary*, I., II. (Atlantic Monthly, May, June).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The eminent archaeologist J. de Morgan has published a valuable *Histoire du Peuple Arménien depuis les Temps les plus reculés de ses Annales jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. xviii, 411), with a wealth of maps and admirably selected illustrative materials. He has also gathered into book form his scattered articles on the Armenian question with the title *Contre les Barbares de l'Orient, Études sur la Turquie, ses Felonies et ses Crimes, sur la Marche des Alliés dans l'Asie Antérieure, sur la Solution de la Question d'Orient* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. ix, 267). An important document in the case is *Le Rapport Secret du Dr. Johannes Lepsius, Président de la Deutsche Orient-Mission et de la Société Germano-Arménienne, sur les Massacres d'Arménie* (Paris, Payot, 1918, pp. xx, 332).

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for March, April, and May contains an extended list of references on Armenia and the Armenians and their history.

The Hakluyt Society has just published the first of two volumes of *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (pp. lxxv, 238, xxxix), translated from the

original Portuguese "rutter" by Mansel L. Dames, with copious and learned annotations, forming an edition which supersedes that produced for the same society in 1866 by Lord Stanley of Alderley, and greatly illuminates the history of the early Portuguese empire in India.

A course of lectures delivered in Calcutta in April, 1918, by Mr. J. J. A. Campos, has been published as *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, with an introduction by Mr. F. J. Monahan, presidency commissioner of that province.

An account of *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie, Suratte, Arabië, Perzië* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1918, pp. xii, 308) has been furnished by Dr. H. Terpstra. The narrative covers events down to 1624.

Volume I., no. 1, of the *New China Review*, edited by Mr. Samuel Couling, of which we have before spoken, has arrived from Hongkong (Kelly and Walsh). It contains two historical articles which specially deserve mention in this journal: A Short-lived Republic (Formosa, May 24-June 3, 1895), by Dr. Hosea B. Morse, and Le Grand Pélerinage Bouddhique de Lang-chan et les Cinq Montagnes de Tong-Tcheou, by Father Henri Doré, S. J., the latter to be continued. There are other lesser pieces to interest the historical student, and the May number will contain an important article on Early Chinese Religion, by Rev. Arthur Morley.

In the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. XLVI., pt. 1, Ernest W. Clement has a paper on Yedo and Tokyo, setting forth the history and significance of the change of name; and Professor Asakawa one on Some Aspects of Japanese Feudal Institutions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: An Armenian, *The Independent Republic of Georgia* (New Europe, February 27); G. Samné, *Le Chérifat de la Mecque et l'Unité Syrienne* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 25); H. Cordier, *Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie Centrale sous les Mongols* (T'Oung Pao, March, 1917); *id.*, *Le Début des Anglais dans l'Extrême-Orient* (*ibid.*, July, 1917).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington is sending to the printer in July the first volume of *Letters of Delegates to the Continental Congress*, edited by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett, a collection embracing all known letters or parts of letters which cast light on the doings of the Congress additional to what is to be obtained from the *Journals*. The series is expected to consist of six volumes; the first covers the period from September 3, 1775, to July 4, 1776, inclusive.

Following are the more important historical materials acquired in recent months by the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress: papers of President John Tyler, 1792-1861 (about 450 pieces); of Willie P. Mangum, 1810-1861 (2000 pieces); of Commodore John Rodgers, 1806-1836 (950 pieces); of David Bailie Warden, 1806-1843 (500 pieces); of Judge John C. Underwood, 1856-1873 (150 pieces); of John Randolph of Roanoke, 1814-1834 (48 pieces); papers relating to civil cases in Mexico, 1590-1866 (27 volumes); diary of a voyage from Charleston, S. C., to San Francisco in the revenue cutter *Jefferson Davis*, in 1854, kept by William C. Pease, commander; diary of A. L. Drayton, landsman, on board the C. S. S. *Florida* and the C. S. brigantine *Clarence*, January to June, 1863; Duncan F. Kenner's account of his mission to Europe, 1865; mercantile account-books of Ormsby and McLaughlin, Pittsburgh, 1794-1798 (2 vols.); transcript of a confidential report of the Spanish minister of finance to the King of Spain, May 20, 1819, relative to the Florida treaty; an agreement, dated November, 1486, and signed with the sign manual of Ferdinand and Isabella, for the transfer of the town and fortress of Lumbier in Navarre to the King and Queen of Spain; the autograph signed copy of General Pershing's offer of all the American forces to Marshal Foch, March 28, 1918.

The Government Printing Office has issued, and the Superintendent of Documents has for sale, a *Catalogue of Public Documents, July 1, 1913-June 30, 1915* (pp. lv, 2127), being no. 12 in its series of such catalogues.

Students of history should be reminded that the *Atlas of American Agriculture* which the U. S. Department of Agriculture is issuing, under the supervision of O. E. Baker, is in part historical in contents. Thus the latest fascicle (pt. V., *The Crops*, section A, *Cotton*) has, besides maps and letterpress exhibiting cotton acreage and production in recent times, a number of maps and a section of text relating to production, prices, and acreage at various periods in the past.

The contents of the April number of the *Historical Outlook* includes an article by Edmund C. Burnett entitled 1919 in the Light of 1788; one by Professor L. M. Larson on the New Germany; one by Professor C. W. Park entitled Foreign Opinion of Germany before 1914: a German Interpretation; and one by George E. Hastings concerning Some New Evidence on the Origin of the Stars and Stripes. Articles of special interest in the May number are: Japan and the Great War, by Professor P. J. Treat; the Food Administration: a Test of American Democracy, by Dr. E. S. Brown; the Background of Germany's Hold on Russia, by Eugene N. Curtis; the Revolution in Hungary, by Professor L. M. Larson; and the Study of English History as an Influence in Promoting a Closer Anglo-American Entente, by Professor A. L. Cross.

The Société des Américanistes de Paris is resuming the publication of its *Journal*, interrupted for five years by war. Fascicle 1 of 1914, printed in July of that year but not then distributed, is now sent forth as the first part—the second part is now in press—of a volume called vol. XI., 1914–1919. In this present part is an account by Baron Marc de Villiers of a poem on the founding of Louisiana, by Dumont de Montigny, Bibl. Arsenal MS. 3459; and M. Guillemin-Tarayre continues from vol. IX. his minute study of the great temple of Mexico.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1918 (XXVIII. 1), adds to the already large literature of the secession movement of 1850 a valuable paper by Professor Herman V. Ames on John C. Calhoun's connection with that movement. There is also a paper on Friendship as a Factor in the Settlement of Massachusetts by Professor Charles E. Park. Mr. Brigham's bibliography of American newspapers, 1690–1820, is continued in alphabetical order of states and places to the end of New York.

Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland and Professor Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, vice-chairman of the National Board for Historical Service, have joined in editing an important volume entitled *Democracy in Reconstruction* (Houghton Mifflin, pp. 506), composed of twenty-six papers by various competent hands, treating different aspects of the ideals and institutions of democracy, different problems of social adjustment, labor, transportation, and political reconstruction. An historical paper by Professor Schafer precedes, in which stages of American social progress are sketched as a background to the impending processes of reconstruction.

Messrs. Doran have published *A History of the United States*, by Cecil E. Chesterton, an Englishman who was killed in the war. There is an introduction by Gilbert K. Chesterton, the well-known writer.

The *American Year Book* for 1918 has come from the press (Appleton), with contents of the usual character and value.

Professor J. H. Hollander has brought out through the Macmillan Company a volume entitled *War Borrowing: a Study of Treasury Certificates of Indebtedness of the United States*, an examination of the part which public credit has played in our national defense during war, particularly through the form of certificates of indebtedness.

The April number of the *Catholic Historical Review* opens with an article on ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, in which the history of diocesan organization and episcopal visitation is outlined. Professor H. E. Bolton makes a signal addition to the history of the expedition made in 1604 by Governor Juan de Oñate from the Rio Grande to the Gulf of California, by printing an original journal of the expedition kept by Fray Francisco de Escovar, recently discovered in the Archives of the Indies at Seville; it appears

that Father Zárate Salmerón's *Relaciones*, hitherto our chief source, is largely, though far from solely, based on the narrative of Escovar. Another document of importance, contributed by Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., is a general report on the missions and mission Indians of California in 1815, written by Father José Señan, president of those missions. A third is the continuation of Dr. Priestley's translation of Don Pedro Fages's description of California. Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein gives a chapter on the life of Bishop Bernard McQuaid of Rochester, running to the time of his transfer to that see from pastoral work in New Jersey. Mr. L. F. Stock of the Carnegie Institution contributes a paper on the Jesuit Father LeMoyné's treatise on the art of writing and judging history, *De l'Histoire* (Paris, 1607).

The contents of chief importance in the March number of *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* are the address of the president of the society, James M. Wilcox, at the annual meeting in December; an account of the work of the sisters during the epidemic of influenza in October, 1918 (to be continued), and a continuation (1839-1841) of the letters of the Santo Domingo refugees in Philadelphia.

The "Accompanying Paper" in the *Thirty-Second Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology is "Seneca Fiction, Legends, and Myths", collected by Jeremiah Curtin and J. N. B. Hewitt, edited by the latter. The materials are given in translation only, except that two texts are printed in the original, accompanied by interlinear translations.

ITEMS*ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Dr. James Brown Scott has brought out through the Oxford University Press *James Madison's Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 and their Relation to a more Perfect Society of Nations*.

The library of John Adams, which in 1822 he presented to the town of Quincy, was transferred in 1893 to the Boston Public Library. It was perhaps, with one exception, the largest private collection of books made in America before 1822, and is still of much value to scholars. The Boston Public Library has printed an excellent catalogue of it (pp. viii, 271), edited by Mr. Lindsay Swift.

A second edition of A. H. Fried's *Pan-Amerika, 1810-1916* (Zürich, Orell Füssli, 1918) supplements the earlier edition with some considerations on the period from 1910 to 1916.

A volume by Samuel G. Heiskell entitled *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History* has been brought out in Nashville by the Ambrose Press.

The Macmillan Company announce for publication in the autumn the long-expected history of *The War with Mexico, 1846-1848*, which Dr. Justin H. Smith has for several years been preparing with extraordinary labor and thoroughness and with such unusual opportunities that, lit-

erally, the story of that war, political and military, will, we are sure, be told in these volumes for the first time.

Mr. Addison G. Procter, a Kansas delegate to the Republican Convention in 1860, the youngest member of that convention and one of its few survivors, read this spring before the Chicago Historical Society an interesting address on *Lincoln and the Convention of 1860*, which the society has printed in a pamphlet.

Anglo-American Relations, 1861-1865, by Brougham Villiers and W. H. Chesson, shortly to be published by Fisher Unwin, will analyze and discuss the causes of friction and misunderstanding, and of the varying sympathies of different elements in the British population.

The second of Professor Annie H. Abel's volumes on the slaveholding Indians, *The American Indian as a Participant in the Civil War* (pp. 403), has been issued by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland.

Blaine, Conkling, and Garfield: a Reminiscence and a Character Study (pp. 36), by Johnson Brigham, is published by G. E. Stechert.

Messrs. Winston have brought out a *Life of Theodore Roosevelt*, by William Draper Lewis.

The *Messages, Discours, Documents Diplomatiques relatifs à la Guerre Mondiale* (Paris, Bossard, 1912, 2 vols., pp. 524) of President Wilson have been translated, annotated, and indexed by D. Roustan. Materials from August 15, 1914, to March 4, 1919, are included. Other French publications relating to President Wilson are Baron Hennet de Goutel's *Vergennes et Wilson* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1918); Charles Maurras's *Le Président Wilson* (*ibid.*, 1919); and M. Leroy's *L'Ère Wilson, la Société des Nations* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1918).

Throughout the war Mr. G. Lechartier has resided in Washington as correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*. In concise form, with many dramatic details, this very intelligent correspondent now describes, in *Intrigues et Diplomatie à Washington* (Plon-Nourrit), the operations of German diplomacy in Washington from 1914 to 1917. Photographs of many documents are presented. Other French presentations of the relations of the United States to the war include Professor A. Viallate's *Les États-Unis d'Amérique et le Conflit Européen, 4 Août 1914-6 Avril 1917* (Paris, Alcan, 1919, pp. 285); P. Delay's *Les États-Unis, la Guerre hors France, 1914-1918* (Paris, Lethielleux, 1919, pp. 400); and André Tardieu's *L'Amérique en Armes* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1919).

Harper and Brothers have issued a volume containing the speeches and addresses of President Wilson during his European visit, December 14, 1918, to February 14, 1919. The volume bears the title *International Ideals*.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The state historian of Maine, Dr. Henry S. Burrage, has in press for the state a volume of about 450 pages, entitled *Maine in the North-eastern Boundary Controversy*, prepared from manuscript material in the State Library, in the library of the Maine Historical Society, and in the Library of Congress. This is the first attempt to tell with any fullness the story of the controversy.

The January-March *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society has commemorative notices of Col. Charles R. Codman, Henry M. Lovering, Dr. R. H. Fitz, and Professor James B. Thayer; a paper by Mr. Ford on Ezekiel Carré and the French Church in Boston, and an amusing account of a pilgrimage to the literary Boston of 1859 by the late H. H. Gratz of Missouri. The society expects before long to publish the second volume of the *Warren-Adams Letters*, a volume of papers on Sir William Phips's search for treasure, a list of its coins and medals, and, in connection with Harvard University, a series of proclamations and other broadsides illustrative of English history.

C. E. Goodspeed and Company have published *The Plymouth Scrap Book*, containing what is described as "the oldest original documents extant in Plymouth archives", some of them given in facsimile. The volume, which is edited by Charles H. Pope, contains also a review of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*.

Volume II. of *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, by Thomas F. Waters, has lately been published by the Ipswich Historical Society.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The assembly of New York has passed a joint resolution authorizing the state historian to collect and edit for publication a body of historical and statistical material illustrating the history of the state in the war against Germany.

The New York State Historical Association expects to issue in October a first number of an official organ, *The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association*, with contents of the varieties usual in such publications. The annual meeting will take place at Rochester on October 9, 10, and 11. There will be an address by Dr. David J. Hill, and papers on Speaker John W. Taylor, Governor George Clinton, and Governor D. D. Tompkins.

In the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* for April appears a petition to Congress of 1845, signed by many citizens of New York City, proposing a "Congress of Nations". The *Bulletin* also prints General Burgoyne's instructions to Lieut.-Col. Friedrich Baum, August 9, 1777, for the ill-fated expedition to Bennington; also the third install-

ment of R. P. Bolton's account of the explorations of the military hut-camp maintained on the Dyckman farm in the time of the Revolution.

Henry R. Drowne is the author of a *Sketch of Fraunces Tavern and those connected with its History* (New York, Sons of the Revolution).

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has acquired the military papers of Maj.-Gen. John R. Brooke, covering the periods of the Civil War and the Spanish-American War; also a ledger of Thomas Denham, merchant and vessel owner of Philadelphia, 1726-1728. Benjamin Franklin is said to have been a clerk in Denham's establishment in this period.

The October number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains an account, by Dr. Charlemagne Tower, of the residence of Joseph Bonaparte in Philadelphia and Bordentown, 1815-1832. In the same number the *Magazine* begins the publication of Selections from the Correspondence of Col. Clement Biddle. The correspondence is continued in the numbers for January and April of this year, and more is to follow. The letters thus far printed are principally from General Washington to Colonel Biddle, 1784-1789, and from Tobias Lear, 1789-1790, and pertain to business and domestic affairs. In some manner the group of letters of 1785 became chronologically jumbled. In the January number is begun a series of letters of Thomas Rodney (1744-1811), contributed by Simon Gratz, who writes an introductory note concerning Rodney's career. The earliest of the letters is of 1770; they are brought down (in the April number) to the year 1803. In the January and April numbers appear also installments of a history, by Hon. Charles I. Landis, of the Juliana Library Company in Lancaster, which appears to have had its beginning as the Lancaster Library Company in 1759. Other items of interest are: a letter of General Nathanael Greene to Dr. John Morgan, January 10, 1779 (January number), and a paper by Hon. Hampton L. Carson on Washington at Valley Forge (April).

Of the papers of Mr. George A. Cribbs on the Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania appearing in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, that in the April number is concerned with the period 1682-1800 and in particular with the Quakers' attitude toward war. This number contains also a paper by W. E. Albigh on Early Development of Transportation on the Monongahela River.

Volumes XXXVII. and XXXVIII. of the *Archives of Maryland*, edited by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner and published by authority of the state under the direction of the Maryland Historical Society, have come from the press. The first is entitled *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, May, 1730-August, 1732*; the second, *Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland hitherto Unprinted, 1694-1729*.

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains an account of the dedication, February 18, of the H. Irvine Keyser Memorial Building, the new home of the Maryland Historical Society. There are addresses by the Bishop of Maryland (Dr. John G. Murray), ex-Governor Edwin Warfield, president of the society, Governor Emerson Harrington, Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, and Professor John M. Vincent. The contents also include the introduction and first two chapters of a Life of Thomas Johnson (1732-1819), member of the Continental Congress and governor of Maryland, by E. S. Delaplaine; and an account, by M. P. Andrews, of the Passage of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment through Baltimore, April 19, 1861.

Mention should have been made in these pages of the Thomas Bray Club, which in 1916 issued reprints of seven rare books or pamphlets relating to colonial Maryland and the history of the Anglican church in the colonies, written by or closely related to Dr. Bray.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The *Proceedings of the Committees of Safety of Cumberland and Isle of Wight Counties, Virginia, 1775-1776*, edited, with an introduction, by Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, state librarian, has been issued by the Virginia State Library, bound with the *Fifteenth Annual Report* of the library board, 1917-1918. Although the proceedings of these two Virginia counties are by no means complete, they are said to be the most extensive that have survived. The Cumberland committee proceedings, which occupy 35 pages, extend from February 18, 1775, to October 28, 1776; the Isle of Wight committee proceedings (pp. 8) from January 13 to July 27, 1775. The *Bulletin* of the library for July and October, 1918 (double number, pp. 144), is an Analysis of Ruffin's *Farmers' Register*, with a Bibliography of Edmund Ruffin, by Earl G. Swem. The *Farmers' Register* was a monthly magazine edited and published by Ruffin from June, 1833, to December, 1842.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* begins in the January number its Roll of Honor, an alphabetical list of "Virginians who have died in the War for Freedom". In addition there is an extensive section of war notes concerning Virginians in the service. The Preston Papers (see this *Review*, XXIV. 340) are continued, as is also the series of documents pertaining to Virginia state troops in the Revolution.

The general assembly of North Carolina has authorized the State Historical Commission to employ "a person trained in the study of history and in modern historical methods of investigation and writing" to collect data bearing upon the activities of North Carolina and North Carolinians in the World War. The commission has employed for this work Lieut. R. B. House, a graduate of the University of North Carolina and a graduate student of Harvard University, who will enter upon

his duties July 1. Meanwhile the commission has already begun the work of collecting the material, having now in hand the records of the state council of defense and of the county councils of defense and other similar records.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has received from Hon. Joseph E. Brown of Georgia a quarto volume (108 pages) containing the orders given by Governor Tryon to the Provincials of North Carolina to march against the insurgents in 1771, together with a report of the provincial army while encamped at Husbands, Sandy Creek, May 22, 1771 (2 pages); also a journal of the expedition against the insurgents, beginning April 20, 1771, together with a plan of the camp and battle of Alamance, May 16, surveyed and drawn by C. J. Southier. These documents were formerly in the possession of Sir Henry Clinton. Other manuscripts recently acquired by the commission are 339 letters of Chief Justice Walter Clark, and letters of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, Jefferson Davis, Gen. D. H. Hill, and William A. Graham. The commission has in press vol. III. of the *Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, edited by J. G. deR. Hamilton.

In *Bulletin no. 5* of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr., secretary of the commission, describes the history of Parris Island from the Port Royal settlement of the Huguenots down to its recent extensive use as a training-ground for United States marines.

In the October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are found: an Indian land grant of 1734, copied and annotated by Miss Mabel L. Webber; continuations of Miss Webber's compilations from the marriage bonds of South Carolina and marriage and death notices from the *South Carolina Gazette and Public Advertiser*, and of the order-book of John F. Grimké; and a paper by Judge Henry A. M. Smith on Joseph West, Landgrave and Governor.

In vol. VI. of the "humanistic series" of the *Washington University Studies*, Chauncey S. Boucher of that university prints a paper on *South Carolina and the South on the Eve of Secession, 1850 to 1860* (pp. 79-144).

The issue of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for April, 1918, is a "Joan of Arc Number", and peculiarly enough includes proceedings of a date considerably subsequent to April. On May 1, 1918, a Joan of Arc celebration was held at the Cabildo under the auspices of the Louisiana Historical Society, when a statuette of Joan of Arc was presented to the society by the New York Museum of French Art. The several addresses on the occasion, together with some other related material, find place in this number of the *Quarterly*. Among the articles on other subjects are: General Collot's Reconnoitering Trip down the Mississippi and his Arrest in New Orleans in 1796 by Order of Governor Carondelet, by

Heloise H. Cruzat; the Admission of Louisiana into the Union, by Lillie Richardson, and New Orleans, by W. O. Hart. There are also two addresses, General Beauregard and General Blanchard in the Mexican War, and General Beauregard before the Civil War, by Hon. Milo B. Williams and Col. H. J. de la Vergne, respectively.

WESTERN STATES

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its twelfth annual meeting at St. Louis, May 8, 9, and 10, 1919. The president, Professor Harlow Lindley, read an address on Western Travel, 1800-1820. Among the others were one on Peñalosa by Dr. C. W. Hackett; one on Jefferson Davis in Wisconsin by Dr. M. M. Quaife; one on the Last Meeting of the Confederate Cabinet by Professor J. E. Walmsley; one on the general relations of North Carolina history by Professor Archibald Henderson; a group of papers on the commerce and transportation of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers; a group describing the activities of the state governments in respect to the history of the recent war, and several Missouri papers. The teachers' session was devoted to the post-bellum reorganization of history in the schools.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review for March has a paper by E. Merton Coulter of Marietta College on Commercial Interchange with the Confederacy in the Mississippi Valley; one by Robert S. Cotterill of Western Maryland College on the Early Agitation for a Pacific Railroad, 1845-1850; one by John L. Conger of Knox College on South Carolina and the Early Tariffs, all three based on careful research; and an excellent survey of religious forces in the United States, 1815-1830, by Miss Martha L. Edwards of Lake Erie College. The documents printed are a series of letters of 1832-1833 by John Ball, an early adventurer in Oregon, who went out with Nathaniel Wyeth in the year first named.

The most important item in the contents of the April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is an article by Professor A. M. Schlesinger entitled Salmon Portland Chase, Undergraduate and Pedagogue, consisting largely of two groups of letters, hitherto unprinted, written by Chase to his friend Thomas Sparhawk, in 1825 and 1826 while Chase was a student in Dartmouth College, and in 1827-1830, when he was conducting a school and studying law in Washington City. Among the other articles in the *Quarterly* are Some Notes on Ohio Historiography, by Professor Clarence E. Carter, and an address delivered by Hon. Thomas Ewing at Marietta in 1858 at the celebration of the seventieth anniversary of the "landing of the Pilgrim Fathers of the West".

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* consists of a second selection

from the William Greene Papers (see the *Review*, XXIII. 953), comprising twenty-one letters from Samuel F. Vinton to William Greene, written between 1833 and 1861. Vinton, a native of Massachusetts, was a member of Congress from Ohio from 1823 to 1837 and from 1843 to 1851 and a resident of Washington City during the last eight years of his life (1854 to 1862). Greene, a native of Rhode Island, was a lawyer of eminence in Cincinnati for many years, later becoming lieutenant-governor of his native state. The letters are largely concerned with politics.

The last general assembly of Indiana appropriated \$20,000 to be used by the Indiana Historical Commission in collecting and organizing historical data relating to the state's part in the recent war. Dr. John W. Oliver has been put in charge of this portion of the Commission's work. The department of Indiana history and archives, Indiana State Library, contemplates the publication in the near future of a calendar of the papers of John Tipton.

The principal articles in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are a paper, by Elmore Barce, on the Old Chicago Trail and the Old Chicago Road, and one by Paul T. Smith on the Militia of the United States from 1846 to 1860, and the concluding installment of Ernest D. Stewart's study of the Populist Party in Indiana.

The principal papers in the issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for April, 1918, which has but recently appeared, are: Illinois in the Democratic Movement of the Century, by Allen Johnson; Historical Sketch of Wabash County, Illinois, by B. A. Harvey; an Old Mormon Town, Nauvoo, Illinois, by Nancy D. Clark; and Kannekuk or Keeanakuk, the Kickapoo Prophet, by Milo Custer.

Most of the contents of the April number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* centre about Kaskaskia and Cahokia, Rev. Frederick Beuchman offering a paper on the commons of those two villages, Mr. Stewart Brown one on Old Kaskaskia Ways and Days, both to be continued, while Rev. Robert Hynes treats of the old church building at Cahokia, 1798. The editor, Joseph J. Thompson, finishes his papers on the Development of the Catholic Church in Illinois (1844-1919) and continues his series on Father Gibault; Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan writes of the Holy Family Parish in Chicago; Rev. John Rothensteiner presents letters of Archbishop Eccleston relating to the foundation of the Visitandines at Kaskaskia.

Dr. M. M. Quaife is the editor of a small volume entitled *Pictures of Illinois One Hundred Years Ago*, published in Chicago by Donnelley.

A Centennial History of the Villages of Iroquois and Montgomery and the Township of Concord [Ill.], 1818 to 1918, by Salem Ely, is brought out in Chicago (Regan).

The contents of the April number of the *Michigan History Magazine* include a paper by Hon. William L. Jenks entitled Legislation by Governor and Judges, an account of the development of the Ordinance of 1787, with some discussion of its legislative provisions, and a biographical sketch, by Hon. George W. Bates, of Dan H. Ball (1836-1918), a prominent lawyer of Marquette. Mr. Jenks's statement that the Continental Congress sat "in the same city and at the same time with the Federal Convention" in 1787 is of course erroneous.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has issued Dr. M. M. Quaife's volume entitled *The Movement for Statehood, 1845-1846*, which is the first volume in the *Documentary History of the Constitution* and constitutes vol. XXVI. of the society's *Collections*. The society has also issued a *Report on the Public Archives* (pp. 115), by Theodore Blegen, being a discussion of archival administration and conditions, with particular reference to Wisconsin.

The contents of the March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* include chapter I. of the Story of Wisconsin, by Louise P. Kellogg; a biographical sketch, by Thomas S. Johnson, of Moses Ordway, Pioneer Presbyterian Missionary; the Early History of Lafayette County, by Captain P. H. Conley; and continuations of Rev. P. Pernin's account of the great forest fires of 1871, and of the series of letters from the war, entitled "Badgers in the Great Adventure". Among the "Historical Fragments" is a brief account of the draft riots in Wisconsin during the Civil War.

The Wisconsin War History Committee has brought out *Wisconsin in the World War* (pp. 400), by R. B. Pixley.

The Minnesota War Records Commission, which has hitherto had only a provisional existence through the joint action of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety and the Minnesota Historical Society (see pp. 344, 560, *ante*), was, by a recent act of the Minnesota legislature, established upon a permanent basis and provided with funds. It is understood that during the coming biennium the commission will devote itself to the collection of materials pertaining to the history of the war and to the supervision of the work of its county committees. The commission has set forth in its *Bulletin*, no. 2, some suggestions relative to a tentative programme.

The *Minnesota History Bulletin* reprints in the November number the "Dakota Portraits", a group of character sketches of Dakota Indians, written by Rev. Stephen R. Riggs, a missionary, and published in the *Minnesota Free Press* in 1858. They are edited, with an introduction, by W. M. Babcock, jr.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* reprints in the December number Professor St. George L. Sioussat's paper, Tennessee, the Compromise of 1850, and the Nashville Convention, which appeared in the

Mississippi Valley Historical Review for December, 1915. Mr. A. V. Goodpasture's narrative of the Indian Wars and Warriors of the Old Southwest, 1730-1807, is concluded.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has issued a biography of *James Baird Weaver*, by Dr. Fred E. Haynes, which appears as vol. X. of the society's *Iowa Biographical Series*; also a volume by Dr. Ruth A. Gallaher relating the history of the *Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa*. The latest issue of the *Iowa and War* series is a *Tentative Outline for a County War History*.

The articles in the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are: an Historical Survey of Civic Instruction and Training for Citizenship in Iowa, by Clarence R. Aurner, whose *History of Education in Iowa* is well known; and the President of the Senate in Iowa, by Cyril B. Upham.

In the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* Mr. Walter B. Stevens, continuing his sketches of Missourians Abroad, describes a number of episodes in the life of David R. Francis, lately ambassador to Russia; Mr. Robert B. Oliver gives a history of the State Flag of Missouri. The papers of R. J. Britton and of Professor Jonas Viles on Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War, and Missouri Capitals and Capitols, respectively, are continued.

The Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis has acquired the private and official letters of the last Spanish governor of Upper Louisiana, Don Carlos Dehault DeLassus; also the personal, political, and professional papers of Frederick Bates, secretary of Louisiana and Missouri territories and later governor of Missouri.

Mr. Dallas Herndon, secretary of the Arkansas History Commission, has presented to the legislature of that state an exceptionally full history of the state's activities in the World War.

The April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains a paper by J. Fred Rippy on Mexican Projects of the Confederates—a brief general sketch of their Mexican relations. In the article Literature of California History Professor Charles E. Chapman gives brief analyses and valuations of the more important works in California history.

A History of Gage County, Nebraska, by H. J. Dobbs, is put forth in Lincoln by the Western Publishing and Engraving Company.

Reminiscences of General William Larimer and of his Son William H. H. Larimer, two of the Founders of Denver City, compiled from letters and from notes of the latter by Herman S. Davis, is brought out in Pittsburgh by the compiler.

The Nevada Historical Society has published *Taxation in Nevada: a History*, by R. C. Adams.

In the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* Charles W. Smith gives some account of the Clarence B. Bagley collection of newspapers, books, and other materials relating to the history of the Pacific Northwest, recently purchased by the University of Washington. Herbert H. Gowen, whose volume on Kamehameha is mentioned elsewhere in this number of the *Review*, writes concerning the Centenary of Kamehameha the Great. There is also an article by H. W. Fairweather, formerly an official of the Northern Pacific Railroad, on some aspects of the road's history. In the section of Documents appears some material relative to the northwest coast reprinted from *Niles' Register* of March 10, 1821, viz., a letter from William D. Robinson, author of *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1820), written in Washington, January 15, 1821, to Senator John H. Eaton, containing, among other things, an account of some explorations in the Northwest by Spanish friars in 1810-1811, and a letter from Commodore David Porter to President Madison, October 31, 1815, suggesting an expedition for the exploration of the northwest coast. The *Quarterly* completes in this number the publication of Washington's First Constitution, 1878, edited by John T. Condon.

In the March number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are found a paper by Miles Cannon on the Snake River in History, one by T. C. Elliott on the Northern Boundary of Oregon, and a continuation of Dr. L. B. Shippee's study of the Federal Relations of Oregon. The Correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher is brought down to the year 1857.

John B. Horner of Corvallis, Oregon, is the author and publisher of *Oregon, her History, her Great Men, her Literature*.

The University of California has brought out a *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest*, by Professor Charles E. Chapman. The university has also published *The Northwest Company*, a history of the company's growth and activities, by G. C. Davidson.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton's long-expected translation of the *Favores Celestiales* of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino (1699-1710), prepared from the manuscript discovered by him in the archives of Mexico, has now been published in two volumes (pp. 379, 329) by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland.

The Board of Commissioners of Public Archives of Hawaii have issued, as *Publication no. 1, Archives of Hawaii*, a volume of 301 pages containing a roster of the legislatures of Hawaii from 1841 to 1918, the constitutions of the monarchy and the republic, and speeches of the sovereigns and president.

The Napoleon of the Pacific: Kamehameha the Great, by Herbert

H. Gowen, D.D., F. R. G. S., is the history of the Hawaiian king who, at the close of the eighteenth century, consolidated the Hawaiian group of islands into a single monarchy (Revell).

CANADA

Mr. Hector Garneau, chief librarian of the Public Library of Montreal, expects to bring out in the autumn (Paris, Félix Alcan) the second and last volume of his edition (the fifth) of the well-known *Histoire du Canada* by his grandfather, the late François-Xavier Garneau. Mr. Garneau expects later to publish in this country and in England an English translation of the work.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The fourth volume of S. Ispizua's *Los Vascos en América* (Madrid, Rico, 1918, pp. 382) deals with the discovery of Venezuela.

Among the contents of the September-December number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* are: some reports relative to the defenses of Havana (1821-1824); a group of documents of 1851 pertaining to the insurgents; an "Expediente en que el Consul de España en Panamá comunica la salida del vapor *Hornet* para Cuba, conduciendo insurrectos y pertrechos de guerra"; and a continuation of the "Inventario general del Archivo de la Delegación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano" of New York, 1892-1898.

A new *Historia de la Independencia de México* (Madrid, Ed. América, 1918, pp. 352) is by M. Torrente.

Among the works of South American history which because of the war had not before come to our knowledge we should mention Señor Manuel S. Sánchez's *Bibliografía Venezolanista* (Caracas, *El Cojo*, 1914, pp. 494), in which writings of foreigners on Venezuela and its public men are discussed; and the third volume of Señor Carlos A. Villanueva's *La Monarquía en América: la Santa Alianza* (Paris, Paul Ollendorff), a work of the first importance for the period 1823-1826.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P.-G. Roy, *Les Officiers d'État-Major sous le Régime Français* [cont.] (*Revue Canadienne*, March, April, May); A. M. Schlesinger, *The American Revolution Reconsidered* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); J. A. R. Marriott, *The Foreign Policy of the United States* (*Edinburgh Review*, April); F. P. Renaut, *Le Premier Conflit Colonial Hispano-Américain: La Navigation du Mississippi, 1783-1795* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, January); Raúl de Cárdenas, *La Política de los Estados Unidos en el Continente Americano*, III., IV. (Cuba Contemporánea, March, April); W. K. Boyd, *Federal Politics in North Carolina, 1824-1836* [concl.] (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April); Margaret A. Kelley, *James W. Marshall: Life and Reminiscences of California's Gold Discoverer* (The Grizzly Bear,

March, April, May) ; N. W. Stephenson, *The Confederacy Fifty Years After* (Atlantic Monthly, June) ; E. D. Ross, *Grover Cleveland and the Beginning of an Era of Reform* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April) ; E. Mayor des Planches, *Reminiscenze di T. Roosevelt* (Nuova Antologia, January 16) ; E. Hovelague, *De la Neutralité à la Croisade: L'Évolution Guerrière des États-Unis* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15) ; Sir John Willison, *Reminiscences Political and Personal* [cont.] (Canadian Magazine, March, April, May) ; F. P. Renaut, *L'Émancipation du Brésil, 1821-1823*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXII. 4) ; R. Blanco-Fombona, *La Revolución de Independencia Argentina: las Ideas Filosóficas* (Cuba Contemporánea, March).

